MODERN HISTORY:
OR, THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
ALL NATIONS.

Deſcribing their reſpective
SITUATIONS, PERSONS, HABITS,
AND BUILDINGS;
MANNERS, LAWS AND CUSTOMS, RELIGION,
AND POLICY;
Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Huſbandry;
PLANTS, ANIMALS, AND MINERALS.

By Mr. *SALMON.*

Illuſtrated with CUTS and MAPS, accurately drawn according to the Geographical Part of this Work,
By *HERMAN MOLL.*

THE THIRD EDITION.

With conſiderable Additions and Improvements, interſperſed in the Body of the Work: Alſo the Hiſtory and Revolutions of each Country, brought down to the preſent Time.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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MDCCXLVI.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE PREFACE.

THE ancients were not very conſiſtent with themſelves when they related that the Torrid Zone was not habitable, and at the ſame time affirmed that *Africa* had been ſurrounded ſeveral times by ſhips, which muſt have paſſed the Torrid Zone twice in every ſuch voyage.

That they were deceived in their notion, *That the Torrid Zone was not habitable*, is now ſufficiently evident; and I am apt to think they were in an error alſo, as to the circumnavigation of *Africa* in thoſe early ages.

It is true, ſome of the moderns as well as the ancients are of this opinion; to ſupport which they quote the following paſſages out of HERODOTUS.

HEROD. lib. 4. cap. 41, 42. *Africa maria eſt manifeſtè circumflua, exceptò duntaxat ubi Aſiæ contermina eſt*; NECO *Ægyptorum Rege hoc primo demonſtrante, is enim miſit navibus Phenicis quoſdam, præcipiens ut tranſvecti columnas Herculeas penetrarent ad ſeptentrionale uſque mare atque ita ad Ægyptum remearent.*

Phenices igitur à rubro mari ſolventes abierunt in mare auſtrale, qui cum autunnus adveniſſet, applicatis ad terram navibus, ſementem faciebant in quamcunque Africæ partem navigantes perveniſſent ac meſſem expectabant.-----Deinde meſſo frumento navigabant. Ita biennio conſumpto anno tertio ad Herculeas columnas declinantes in Ægyptum remearunt, referentes quæ apud me fidem non habent, ſed fortè apud alios: In prætereundo Africam ſe habuiſſe ſolem ad dextram.

“ This is the fact, as related by HERODOTUS (ſay theſe gentlemen) and the queſtion is, How theſe men, thus ſent out by NECUS, ſhould really know that *Africa* was ſurrounded by water; that it might be ſailed round within the ſpace of three years; that in autumn they muſt be obliged to go on ſhore, and ſtay there long enough to ſow corn and reap it; and in the voyage, * *all along have the ſun to the right hand*, unleſs they had really performed this voyage.-----It will not be enough to ſay, that you can't ſee how ſuch a voyage could be performed, or to tell us of high ſeas, croſs winds, or to argue from conſequences, *viz.* How came it about that the King of *Ægypt* planted no colonies in thoſe new diſcovered countries? When a fact is ſo well circumſtantiated as this before us; and when modern experience ſhews thoſe circumſtances to be exactly true, nothing but ſhowing a downright impoſſibility for ſuch a fact being performed, can any way invalidate it. 'Tis plain from HERODOTUS, that from the teſtimony of theſe men, he believed that *Africa* was ſurrounded ſouthward by water.---All that ſeemed to him incredible in their narrative was,---That the land of *Africa* ſhould run out ſo far to the ſouth, as † *that theſe men ſhould ſee the ſun in the greateſt part of their voyage to the north of them.* You muſt not think that this ſtory was ſlighted, and looked upon as a fable in thoſe days.

“ A thouſand cauſes, difficulty of the voyage, a ſmall proſpect of advantage.---Troubles that immediately ſucceeded in Egypt, might hinder its being further proſecuted.---However we find, that about 115 years after NECUS, the matter was diſputed in XERXES's court.----For HERODOTUS tells us in the ſame book, chap. 43.---That when one of XERXES's great men had offended him, inſtead of putting him to death, he ordered him, by way of puniſhment, to endeavour to make this ſame voyage, viz. ‡ *To ſet out to Egypt, and to ſail by the Straights round Africa into the Red-ſea.* ---- This great man accordingly undertook the voyage; and after he had ſailed ſome months beyond the Straights, probably diſcouraged by the difficulties from wind, ſea, *&c.* he returned, telling XERXES that the voyage could not be performed.----But this anſwer was ſo far from ſatisfying that monarch, that he put him to death for his former crime.----From whence it is further evident, that the ancients, at leaſt ſome of them, believed that *Africa* was *Mari Circumflua.*”

There are others that mention three voyages round Africa performed by the ancients, and relate, that HANNO, the Carthaginian and Perſian Nobleman abovementioned, wrote particular hiſtories of their reſpective voyages; but had theſe voyages been really performed, would not the ancients have given us ſome account of the countries ſouth of the Equator? Would not they have taken notice of the ſouthern hemiſphere, and of the ſtars and conſtellations they obſerved there? which were ſuch remarkable diſcoveries, that if they had they been once made could never have been forgotten. But there are theſe further objections againſt the circumnavigation of *Africa* by the ancients, viz.

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* This is impoſſible.

† The paſſage in Herodotus does not ſay ſo.

‡ Directly contrary to the Phenician voyage.

1. That it was impoſſible to diſcover and navigate an unknown coaſt for fifteen or twenty thouſand miles extent, in the ſpace of two or three years without a compaſs, when the mariners were neither acquainted with the rocks and ſands upon that coaſt, or with the winds, currents, or ſeaſons they were to meet with in any part of it, and wanted the ſtars that uſed to guide them on this ſide the Equator.

2. It is ſtrange no nation ſhould make a ſecond attempt, or even ſettle one colony in *Africa*, ſouth of the Equator, or even near it, if the Phenicians made ſuch an expeditious and ſucceſsful voyage round it.

3. It is a further objection to this voyage, that the ancients knew nothing of the annual periodical winds or ſtorms between the Tropics, and of their ſhifting regularly every half year to the oppoſite points: that the winter or ſtormy ſeaſon always advanced with the ſun, and they had the faireſt weather when it was at the greateſt diſtance from them, contrary to what happens in countries without the Tropics.

4. The galleys of the ancients could never paſs the *Cape of Good Hope*, without many miraculous incidents, if the winds and ſeas there were what we find them at this day.

5. In ſuch low-built galleys they could neither lay in proviſions ſufficient for the voyage, nor could they ſtay to procure them by the way, if it was performed within the ſpace of two or three years: And if they would have gone on ſhore from time to time for them, it would have been impracticable on many parts of the coaſt of *Africa*, becauſe of the ſurf or ſwelling of the ſea in ſome places; and in others there are neither wood, water, or proviſions of any kind to be met with for ſome hundreds of miles.

6. They muſt have had extreme good fortune not to have been deſtroyed by diſeaſes, enemies, or other accidents on ſhore, if they had eſcaped the danger of the ſea.

7. They muſt have remained in harbour near one half the time, on account of the never-failing tempetuous ſeaſons and contrary winds, and muſt have lain by ſtill longer on account of dark nights and foggy weather, which reduces the time of their ſailing to a very few months, much too ſmall a ſpace of time to encompaſs *Africa* even with all the advantages we are maſters of; which conſideration alone is ſufficient to overthrow the credit of theſe voyagers of the ancients round *Africa*.

But all theſe objections united and duly weighed, I perſuade myſelf amount to a demonſtration, that this voyage could never be performed by the ancients within the ſpace of three years at leaſt, in the opinion of any ſeamen who are acquainted with the coaſt of *Africa* and the winds and ſeaſons upon that coaſt, and ſenſible of the hazard and difficulty of ſailing upon an unknown ſhore without a compaſs; though ſpeculative men, unacquainted with maritime affairs, may poſſibly be of another opinion.

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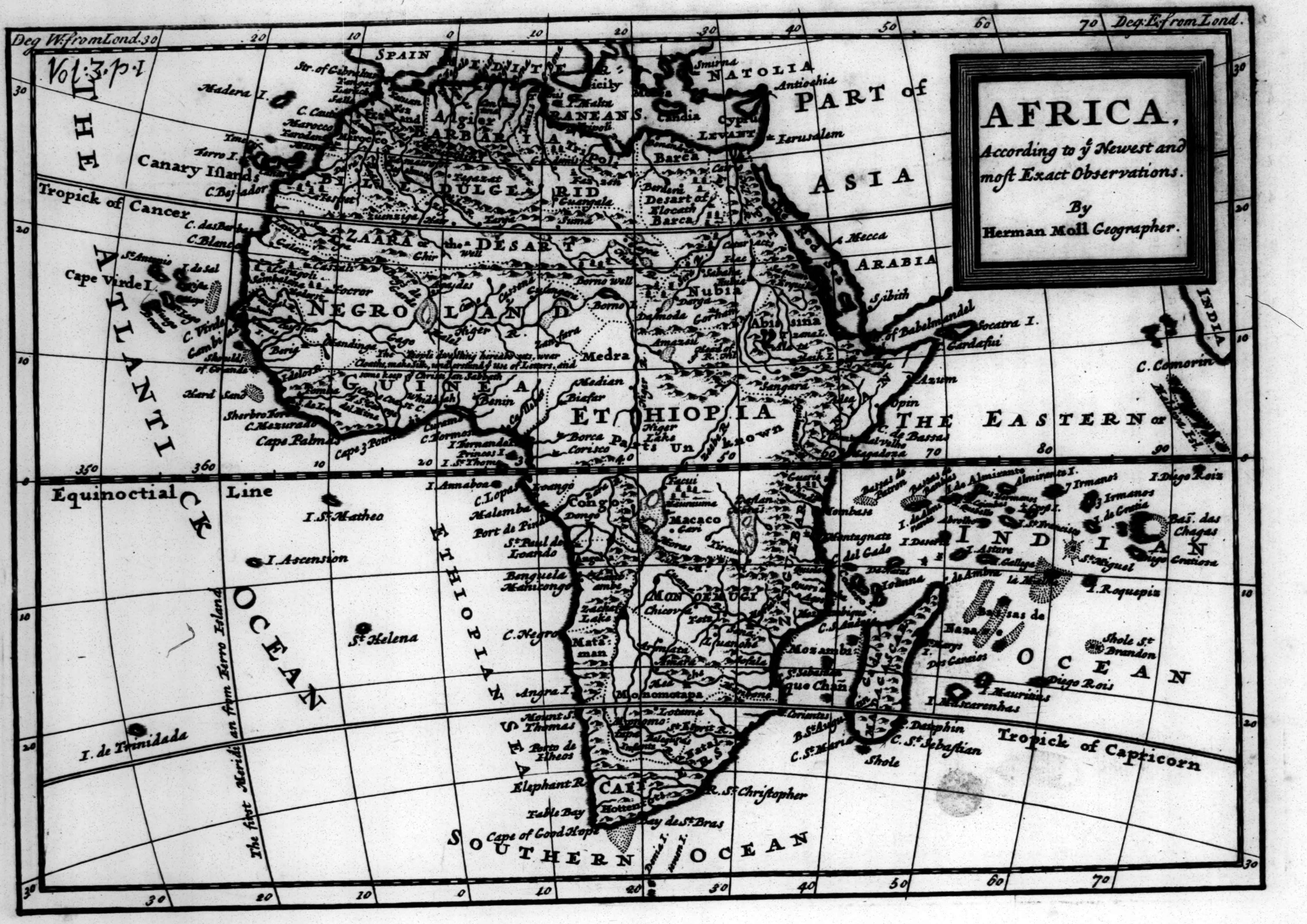
AFRICA,
According to yͤ Newest and moſt Exact Observations.
By
Herman Moll Geographer.
Vol.3.p.1
Deg W. from Lond. 30
Deg E. from Lond.
THE ATLANTICK OCEAN
ETHIOPIAN SEA
SOUTHERN OCEAN
THE EASTERN or INDIAN OCEAN
PART of ASIA
ARABIA
NATOLIA
INDIA
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEANS
BARBARIA
BILEDULGERID
ZAARA or the DESART
NEGRO LAND
GUINEA
ETHIOPIA
Parts Unknown
Nubia
Abissinia
CONGO
MONOEMUGI
Monomotapa
CAFFRES
Tropick of Cancer
Tropick of Capricorn
Equinoctial Line
The first Meridian from Ferro Island
Canary Islands
Cape Verde I.
Madera I.
I. S.t Matheo
I. Ascension
S.t Helena
I. de Trinidada
Cape of Good Hope
Madagascar
Mecca
Jerusalem
Candia
Cyprus
Sicily
Malta
Barca
Medra
Borno
C. Comorin
Socatra I.
C. Gardafui
Str. of Babelmandel
C. Blanco
C. Bojador
C. Verde
Cape Palmas
Mozambique
Mombasa
Melinde
Magadoxo
Loango
Benguela
C. Negro
Table Bay
I. Mauritius
I. Mascarenhas
Diego Rois
Shole S.t Brandon
I. Roquepiz
C. S.t Sebastian
Shole

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
AFRICA in general.

CHAP. I.

Of AFRICA *in general.*

CHAP. I.

The ſituation.

AFRICA is bounded by the Mediterranean ſea, which ſeparates it from Europe, on the north; by the iſthmus of Suez, the Red ſea and the Eaſtern ocean, which ſeparate it from Aſia, on the eaſt; by the Southern ocean on the ſouth; and by the Atlantick, or great Weſtern ocean, which divides it from America, on the weſt.

The figure of it.

It is of a pyramidal or triangular figure, the baſe whereof is the northen part of it, which runs along the ſhores of the Mediterranean, and the point or top of the pyramid the Cape of Good-Hope.

The latitude, longitude and extent.

Africa is a peninſula join'd by the narrow iſthmus of Suez to Aſia, and ſituated between the 37th degree of north latitude, and the 35th of ſouth latitude, the moſt weſtern part of it lying 18 degrees weſt of London, and the moſt eaſterly 51 degrees to the eaſtward of London: ſo that it takes up 72 degrees of latitude, and conſequently is 4320 miles in length from north to ſouth, if we reckon 60 miles to a degree as uſual; and 5040 miles in length, if we reckon 70 miles to a degree, which comes much nearer the truth; and, as it extends 69 degrees in breadth, viz. from Cape Verd in the weſt to Cape Gardefoy in the eaſt, we may reckon the breadth of it to be about 4839 miles, computing 70 miles to a degree.

Africa anciently contain'd ſeveral celebrated kingdoms and ſtates.

This quarter of the world once contain'd ſeveral kingdoms and ſtates, eminent for the liberal arts, for wealth and power, and the moſt extenſive commerce; tho', at this day, there is ſcarce one ſingle nation left upon that continent that deſerves our notice. There were ſituated the celebrated kingdoms of Egypt and Ethiopia, with the rich and powerful ſtate of Carthage, to which the kingdoms of Numidia and Mauritania were ſubject.

Then almoſt all the northern parts of Africa were full of people, from the Red ſea to the Atlantick ocean, and Carthage extended her commerce to every part of the then known world: even the Britiſh ſhores were viſited by her fleets, 'till JUBA, King of Mauritania and tributary to Carthage, unhappily call'd in the Romans, who, by the aſſiſtance of the Mauritanians, ſubdued Carthage, and made all the kingdoms and ſtates in Africa ſubject to them; after which, the natives neglected their trade, and even the cultivation of the ſoil; they were become provinces of Rome, liable to be plunder'd and impoveriſh'd by rapacious Viceroys and Governors ſent from that capital: whereupon their traffick, in a ſhort time, dwindled to nothing, and they cultivated no more of their lands, than what might ſerve for their ſubſiſtence. Upon the decline of the Roman empire, in the fifth century, the north of Africa was overrun by the Vandals, a barbarous northern people, who contributed ſtill more to the deſtruction of arts and ſciences there; and, to add to their miſfortune, the Saracens made a ſudden conqueſt of all the coaſts of Egypt and Barbary in the ſeventh century: Theſe were afterwards ſucceeded by the Turks; and both being of the Mahometan religion, whoſe diſciples carry ruin and devaſtation along with them where-ever they come, the ruin of that once flouriſhing part of the world was thereby compleated.

CHAP. I.

The ſoil of the northern ſhore of Africa is ſtill the ſame, capable of producing almoſt every thing deſirable in life, but poſſeſs'd by a wretched abandon'd people, that have given themſelves up to robbery and rapine; who, neglecting to cultivate their ſoil, or make any improvements, ſubſiſt chiefly by their piracies at ſea, and what they can raviſh from the honeſt and induſtrious part of mankind, who, being obliged to ſail by their coaſt, are ſo unhappy as to fall ſometimes into their hands.

The ſoil and produce of Africa in general.

From the diſcoveries that have been made in Africa of late years, we find, that it is not that barren deſart country it has been repreſented; for not only the north part of it is generally fruitful where it is cultivated, but the ſouth alſo produces corn and wine. And here we meet with herds of the fineſt cattle in the world; and even between the

Tropics there are multitudes of people, fine rivers, and a rich ſoil capable of the greateſt improvements. The cinamon tree actually grows there; and it is thought, that the reſt of the fine ſpices might be raiſed in thoſe latitudes, which would make thoſe ſpices more plentiful, and we ſhould no longer be obliged to purchaſe them of the Dutch (who barbarouſly diſpoſſeſs'd us of them in the Indies) with treaſure. However, here it is that we meet with plenty of the beſt gold and ivory; and from hence the Europeans export two hundred thouſand Negroe ſlaves, and upwards, annually to America; which ſhews, that Africa, between the Tropics, muſt be vaſtly populous, tho' the ancients held, that the Torrid Zone was not habitable.

The different people who inhabit Africa.

Three different people inhabit this continent, viz. Pagans, Mahometans, and Chriſtians: the firſt are the moſt numerous, poſſeſſing the greateſt part of the country from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and theſe are generally black: the Mahometans, who are of a tawny complexion, poſſeſs almoſt all the northern ſhores of Africa. The people of Abyſſinia, or the upper Ethiopia, are denominated Chriſtians, but retain abundance of Pagan and Jewiſh rites; and there are ſome Chriſtians upon the ſea-coaſts on almoſt every ſide of Africa; but theſe are a ſmall number, compared either with the Pagans or Mahometans. There are alſo ſome Jews in the north of Africa, who manage all the little trade that part of the country is yet poſſeſs'd of: but it is remarkable, that tho' the Carthaginians, who inhabited this very country of Barbary, had greater fleets, and a more extended commerce, than any other nation, or than all the people upon the face of the earth, when that ſtate flouriſh'd; and that Africa is better ſeated for a foreign trade, than any other quarter of the world; the natives have ſcarce a ſingle merchant-ſhip belonging to them, and no other ſhips of force, than what Sallee, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, ſet out for piracy; and theſe are but very few and ſmall, their whole ſtrength not being able to reſiſt a ſquadron of five European men of war. But it is time now to deſcend to particulars, and deſcribe the reſpective countries contained in Africa.

They have neither ſhips or commerce.

The ſeveral grand diviſions of Africa at this day, are theſe ten:

The grand diviſions of Africa.

1. Egypt. 2. Ethiopia ſuperior; and 3. Zanquebar, all which lie on the eaſt of Africa. 4. Monoemugi, Monomotapa and Caffraria, called by ſome the lower Ethiopia, which lie on the ſouth. 5. Congo and Guinea on the ſouth-weſt. 6. Nigritia or Negroeland in the middle of Africa, extending almoſt quite through the country from eaſt to weſt, on both ſides the great river Niger. 7. Zaara, or the deſart to the northward of Nigritia. 8. Biledulgerid, the ancient Numidia to the northward of Zaara. 9. The empire of Fez and Morocco, containing the north-weſt part of Africa. 10. and laſtly, The coaſt of Barbary on the north, containing the countries of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Barca.

Great diſagreement about the diviſion of Africa.

There are ſcarce any two nations, or indeed any two of the learned, that agree in the modern diviſion of Africa; for this very good reaſon, that ſcarce any traveller has penetrated into the heart of the country, and conſequently we muſt be content to acknowledge our ignorance of the bounds, and even the names of ſeveral of the midland nations. Theſe may well be reckon'd ſtill among the unknown and undiſcover'd parts of the world; but the beſt accounts and conjectures that have been made concerning them, I ſhall endeavour to preſent the reader with. Egypt has been already fully deſcrib'd, with the reſt of the Turkiſh dominions, in the firſt volume of Modern Hiſtory; I proceed, therefore, in the next place, to give the preſent ſtate of Ethiopia, which lies contiguous to it, comprehending under that name Abyſſinia, Nubia, Abex and Aian.

CHAP. II.

The preſent ſtate of ETHIOPIA Superior.

The ancient Ethiopia.

The boundaries of Ethiopia Superior, and the countries comprehended under that name.

THE ancients, it is pretty evident, called all that they knew of Africa, to the ſouthward of Egypt, Ethiopia, and the people Ethiops, from their dark complexions: but the country I now deſcribe, including only Abyſſinia, Nubia, Abex and Aian, is bounded by Egypt and the deſart of Barca on the north; by the Red ſea and the Eaſtern ocean on the eaſt; by Zanquebar and Nigritia, on the ſouth; and by Nigritia and Zaara, on the weſt: ſo that I include all that country, that lies between the 5th and the 20th degrees of north-latitude, and between the Eaſtern ſea and Nigritia, under the general name of Ethiopia. This is that country, which moſt of the learned conjecture was anciently govern'd by the celebrated Queen of Sheba, ſtyl'd the Queen of the ſouth; and afterwards by Queen CANDACE, whoſe prime miniſter, the eunuch, was converted and baptized by St. PHILIP: and laſtly, this was that country, whereof it is ſuppoſed the real or imaginary Preſter JOHN, or Preſbyter JOHN, was ſovereign. I come now to give a more particular deſcription of the countries I have reduced under the general name of Ethiopia.

Suppoſed to be ſubject to the Queen of Sheba, and Queen Candace, and to Preſter John.

Abyſſinia.

And 1ſt of Abyſſinia, a country of a thouſand miles extent, that has ſcarce any communication with the reſt of the world at this day. The Turks having made themſelves maſters of that part of Ethiopia that lies upon the Rea ſea, and the reſt of it being ſurrounded by mountains or unpaſſable deſarts; within theſe it appears to be an exceeding fine level country, diverſify'd with woods and fruitful plains, well planted with palm-trees, dates and cedars, and water'd by ſeveral noble rivers.

Rivers.

The river Nile riſes in the middle of Abyſſinia; and, having firſt taken a circuit almoſt round its ſource, runs an hundred miles to the northward, and afterwards two hundred miles towards the eaſt; and then, turning to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt, continues its courſe two hundred and fifty miles further; in which eaſtern courſe it forms the lake of Dambea, which is an hundred and twenty miles over: after which, it takes a ſemicircular ſweep; in which courſe it continues to run five hundred miles, and then turning directly north, enters the kingdom of Egypt; which winding courſe does not only render the ſoil extremely fruitful, but is of great advantage to their inland commerce; tho' after its entring Egypt, there are ſo many ſteep-falls and cataracts, that they can neither export or import any goods or merchandize upon this river.

There are alſo two other great rivers, call'd the Moraba and Albara, which run through the country from ſouth to north, and fall into the Nile, in the province of Sennar; and there is ſtill a fourth great river, call'd the Haouache; which, after a courſe of ſix hundred miles to the ſouth-eaſt, falls into the Red ſea or Arabian gulph.

CHAP. II.

Produce of the ſoil.

This country, thus happily watered, produces plenty of corn, rice, millet, dates, grapes, flax, cotton, ſugar, ſalt, and ſulphur: their flax is eſteemed the fineſt in the world; and from hence, 'tis ſaid, the Egyptians had theirs, of which they made the fine linen of Egypt mentioned in ſcripture: and had they, at this day, an opportunity of exporting the produce of their ſoil, 'tis ſaid this country alone might raiſe rice, ſugar, &c. ſufficient to ſupply all the neighbouring countries. The Turks, who are maſters of the coaſt of the Red ſea, though they will ſuffer no other nation to trade to Abyſſinia, annually fetch great quantities of rice from thence, particularly at the times of the great pilgrimages to Mecca, Arabia not affording proviſion ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence.

Gold is alſo very plentiful here, of which the Turks get ſome; and, had the Ethiopians an opportunity of bartering it for the merchandize of Europe, 'tis thought we might meet with as great plenty of it here, as any where, though there are no gold mines wrought: they have alſo mines of ſilver and copper, the latter of which they work, and have a good deal of that metal; and, 'tis ſaid, they have the largeſt emeralds in the world.

Animals.

As to their animals, they have camels, oxen, ſheep, and other cattle in great plenty, and very large; alſo wild beaſts, crocodiles, &c. common to the reſt of Africa; but what they are moſt famous for, is an excellent breed of horſes, equal to thoſe of Arabia; or, as ſome conjecture, thoſe of Arabia are, in reality, bred in Abyſſinia, where they abound in rich paſtures.

It may be objected here, that, if Ethiopia be thus cut off from any communication with other countries, how could the Queen of Sheba, or Queen CANDACE's eunuch, travel into Judæa? To which it may be anſwered, that the coaſt of the Red ſea was then a part of Ethiopia, by which it was very eaſy to viſit either Egypt, Arabia, or Paleſtine.

Ethiopia was then a mighty empire, ſubject to one ſovereign, who commanded the ſea coaſt as well as the inland country; but now the King, or Emperor of Ethiopia, is a Prince of ſmall power, his territories being divided into abundance of little principalities like Germany, the Princes whereof ſcarce acknowledge a ſuperior; and as they are ſeldom united, are by no means a match for their powerful neighbours, the Turks, who therefore keep them ſhut up within the bounds of Abyſſinia, and will not ſuffer them to correſpond or traffick with the reſt of the world.

Provinces and chief towns of Abyſſinia.

Travellers reckon up nine principalities or provinces in Abyſſinia; every one whereof has a diſtinct ſovereign, that acknowledges, however, the King of Abyſſinia for his chief Lord.

1. The province of Ambara; the chief towns whereof are, Ambara the capital of Abyſſinia, and ſituated in the middle of it, and Lalibela. 2. Begamedri; the chief towns whereof are, Amadora, Alata and Maket. 3. Dambea; the chief towns whereof are, Amba-Marjan, Dancas and Jenda. 4. Shoa; the chief towns whereof are, Debra, Libanos and Wenthit. 5. Gojam; the chief towns whereof are, Ledanegus, Debra, Semona and Selah. 6. Bugna; the chief towns whereof are Egala and Arguan. 7. Samen; the chief towns whereof are Waldeba and Toraf. 8. Gonga; and 9. Walaka, in the two laſt whereof no towns are mentioned; and indeed, the people in general live more in tents, than houſes, the King keeping his court, like the Great Mogul, for the moſt part in his camp, which looks like a city laid out into ſtreets; and, as he is followed by his nobility, officers, tradeſmen, ſubtlers, &c. the camp is always well ſupplied with proviſions and neceſſaries of all kinds. The King's tent is pitched in the centre of the camp, and his nobility and the reſt of his ſubjects encamp round about him, thoſe of the loweſt rank being at the greateſt diſtance from the royal pavilion.

The King generally lives in the field.

The air of the country.

The air of this country in the vallies is exceſſive hot during the ſummer months, but on the mountains cold; and, as ſome affirm, the cold there is more troubleſome than the heat, during that ſeaſon they call the winter, which is about the vernal equinox. They have terrible thunder, and three months of almoſt continual rain; which, falling from the mountains that ſurround Abyſſinia in torrents, occaſions the overflowing of the Nile in Egypt the ſucceeding months, of which a full account has been given in the deſcription of that country: all the reſt of the year almoſt they enjoy ſerene ſettled weather in Abyſſinia; the people being generally healthful, and living to a good old age.

Seaſons.

Perſons of the Ethiopians.

As to the perſons of the Ethiopians, they are generally of a good ſtature; their complexion a deep black; their features much more agreeable than thoſe of the Negroes, having neither ſuch thick lips or flat noſes: they are ſaid to have a great deal of vivacity and natural wit; to be of a teachable diſpoſition, and fond of learning, though they have but few opportunities of improving themſelves.

Their genius.

Their habits.

The better ſort of them are cloathed in veſts, made of ſilk ſtuffs or cotton, after the manner of the Franks in Turky; but their poor people go almoſt naked, having only a ſmall piece of ſkin or coarſe ſtuff wrapped about their waiſts.

Their diet.

They have no other bread than thin cakes baked upon the hearth as they want them: they eat all manner of fleſh almoſt as the Europeans do, except ſwine's fleſh, and ſuch other meats as were prohibited to the Jews; they alſo ſtill abſtain from things ſtrangled, and from blood, killing their meat in the ſame manner the Jews do: as to the poor people, they live chiefly upon milk, butter, cheeſe, roots, herbs, and what their flocks and herds produce.

The meat is brought to the tables of people of condition in earthen diſhes, and they have no other plates or trenchers than the thin cakes, that ſerve them for bread; and, according to ſome, they uſe neither knife, fork, or ſpoon; but this can't be entirely true, if what they tell us of another circumſtance in their eating be ſo: viz. That their Princes and Great men are above feeding themſelves, and are fed by boys with ſpoons; and this latter is the more probable, becauſe, in adminiſtring the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, the Prieſt gives the communicants the liquor they uſe inſtead of wine in ſpoons.

They ſeldom roaſt their meat; it is generally boiled or ſtewed, and they are very fond of the broth or ſoup that is made of it. Their uſual drink is mead or metheglin, the country abounding in honey. They have alſo liquors made of wheat and rice, and their Princes drink ſome wine; but they do not ſeem to be well ſkilled in making this liquor, though they have the fineſt grapes in the world: you cannot make their Princes a more acceptable preſent, than ſome bottles of European wine.

Their manufactures

Linen, I find, they have very little, tho' their country is found to be the moſt proper for flax of any in Africa; and indeed they do not ſeem to ſtand much in need of any, for they uſe no table linen, or ſheets; they lie on carpets or mats, as in other hot countries, and not in beds: and this leads me to ſpeak of their manufactures, which are very mean. The Jews are ſaid to be the only weavers and ſmiths amongſt them; and, as for other handicrafts, ſuch as carpenters, taylors and ſhoemakers, every man breeds up his children to the trade or profeſſion he uſes himſelf. There are particular families, whoſe buſineſs it is to make trumpets, horns, &c. and theſe ſeveral trades, like the caſts or tribes in the Eaſt-Indies, live ſeparately, and do not intermix with any other trade or tribe, either by marriage or otherwiſe.

Their buildings.

Their traffick.

Their buildings are exceeding mean, the generality of their houſes being but poor huts, made with clay and ſplinters. Some travellers tell us of the ruins of magnificent palaces and temples; but, when the Portugueſe Miſſionaries came amongſt them, about two hundred years ago, after that people had found the way to the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, by the Cape of Good Hope, there were neither palaces, temples, fortifications, or even a walled town to be found in the country. The Popiſh Miſſionaries indeed, after they had inſinuated themſelves into the favour of their Princes, taught them to build temples, palaces, and fortreſſes; but of theſe there are very few at this day: for the King, as has been obſerved, lives generally in the field, where he is attended by the petty princes, nobility, artificers, &c. the chief of them lying in pavilions and tents; but as theſe are not eaſily purchaſed by the common people, they make them little huts of clay and green boughs; and the towns they talk of, are compoſed of houſes of the like ſort: the ſilks, ſtuffs, calicoes, linen and carpets, they uſe for furniture or cloathing, they receive chiefly from the Turks, by the way of the Red ſea, who take the gold and emeralds of Abyſſinia in return for this merchandize, with ſome fine horſes: the Brokers, or Merchants, between the Turks and Abyſſines, are Jews, Arabians, or Armenian Chriſtians; few or none of the natives trade or travel abroad; and it is very probable, that the Turks would not ſuffer them, if they ſhould attempt it, leſt a communication ſhould be opened again between them and other nations, who might alſo exchange their manufactures for the gold and precious ſtones found in this country. When the Portugueze firſt found the way to Abyſſinia, the ſhores of the Red ſea were open; but now the Turks keep ſo ſtrict a guard there, that it is difficult for any other people to have acceſs to them.

Their way of travelling.

Arms and wars.

In travelling, they ride upon mules or camels, mules being the beſt of all animals to clamber the mountains, and camels for their ſandy plains: but, in war, horſes only are uſed to charge the enemy. Their troopers, 'tis ſaid, ride on mules, when they march, and lead their horſes; which are reſerved purely for the day of battle. Their arms are chiefly launces, bows, arrows and ſwords; and they have ſome fire-arms, which they purchaſe of the Turks. The wars of the King of Abyſſinia are principally with the Ethiopian Princes; who, being encouraged and aſſiſted by the Turks at firſt, mightily reduced that Prince's power, and, while the Ethiopians were engaged in civil wars at home, it was, that the Turks poſſeſſed themſelves of that part of their country that lay upon the Red ſea. Thus the Ethiopians, by their inſurrections and encroachments on their Prince, diſabled him to defend or recover that part of his dominions, by which only he could have any commerce with the reſt of mankind. He is now reduced as low as the Turks can wiſh, having no trade or intercourſe with any other nation, but what they are pleaſed to allow him; and has loſt much of his power and authority at home, by the Princes and Governors of provinces ſetting up for themſelves; which leads me to enquire into the King's titles, prerogatives, government, &c.

The Prince's titles and prerogatives.

This Prince, according to the Portugueſe, who viſited his country, ſoon after their paſſing the Cape of Good Hope, in the 16th century, was ſtiled Preſter JOHN, or Preſbyter JOHN; which ſome imagine, was given him becauſe he ſeemed to be the High prieſt of his religion, as well as King, having a croſs always carried before him, and acting as ſupreme Governor in eccleſiaſtical affairs, as well as civil, in all caſes except that of ordination: Others ſay, the Turks and Arabians gave him the title of Preſter Chan, or Cham, that is, King of Slaves; they receiving moſt of their black ſlaves from Ethiopia, of which he was Sovereign. But, however that be, travellers generally agree, that his own ſubjects ſtyle him Negus, or King; and oftener, Negaſcha, Negaſcht; which, in their langurge, ſignifies King of Kings, to diſtinguiſh him from the Princes and Governors of provinces, who are ſtyled alſo Negus: And, for this reaſon, the Europeans give this Ethiopian ſovereign the title of Emperor: The Perſians alſo give him the title of Pat-Sha, the Diſpoſer of kingdoms, which is the higheſt title known in Aſia, and equal to that of Emperor in Europe. But every one of theſe Princes, at his acceſſion to the throne, aſſumes a particular name, or rather motto; one ſtyles himſelf the Pillar of Faith; another the Virgin's Incenſe; and, a third, the Beloved of God, ſprung from the ſtock of JUDAH, the ſon of DAVID, the ſon of SOLOMON, &c. for they have a tradition, that their Princes are deſcended from SOLOMON by the Queen of Sheba.

His arms alſo are ſaid to be a lion rampant, holding a croſs, with this motto, The lion of the tribe of JUDAH has won.

Government.

The common people ſlaves.

This Prince is, or rather was abſolute, and his throne hereditary; but, as he has loſt much of his power and prerogatives, which the Great men of the country have uſurped; he is now frequently controlled by his Lords: The eldeſt ſon alſo is ſometimes paſſed by, and a younger, or an illegitimate ſon, advanced by the Nobility to the imperial dignity: The civil power, however, ſtill ſeems to be ſubject to the military. The King is moſt of the year in the field, attended by great armies of horſe and foot; and conſequently their laws, if they have any, are ſilent, when the Prince pleaſes to controll them; but what laws they have, ſeem chiefly to relate to their religion. Thus far, indeed the Abyſſinian Princes and Nobility are in a better condition than they were formerly; that though they have few or no laws to ſkreen them from the arbitrary dominion of their Emperor; yet they are become ſo powerful, that he is cautious how he oppoſes them, or enters upon any thing of conſequence without their concurrence; however, the common people ſtill remain in a manner ſlaves to the Emperor, or their reſpective Lords. They have gained little by the encroachments the Great men have made on the authority of their ſovereign: They have no inheritance in their lands; but they themſelves, their lands and goods are in a manner their Lord's property: they labour but to maintain the grandeur of their ſuperiors, and make a poor proviſion for their own wretched families.

The Prince's revenues.

The Emperor's revenues are paid in kind, not in money, of which I can't find they have any in their country; but then, pure gold is one of the articles (which is found in the ſands of their rivers, or under the roots of trees, on the tops and ſides of mountains, for they have not yet wrought one gold mine, tho' it is evident, there are many in the country). Part of his revenues ariſe by the duties that he lays on merchandize brought from Turky by the way of the Red ſea: the Farmers alſo pay him a thirtieth part of all their grain, cattle, fruit and produce of their farms every year, by which his table, court and guards are maintain'd in plenty: and every Weaver, and other artificer, preſents him with part of his manufacture; whereby his ſervants and officers are furniſh'd with cloathing and other neceſſaries; the King's revenues alſo ariſe, by his creating Knights of St. Anthony; every one of whom, pays him a fine on being knighted: Theſe are an order, partly eccleſiaſtical, and partly military, and very numerous; every man of quality being oblig'd to make one of his younger ſons a Knight of this order; and ſome authors relate, that he has no leſs than twelve thouſand of theſe Knights in his army.

Knights of St. Anthony.

Coronation of the Emperor.

The Emperor is crown'd in one of their principal churches, with a kind of coronet ſet with glittering ſtones, which is plac'd upon his head by their metropolitan, in the preſence of the Nobility and Clergy; when there are hymns ſung, guns fir'd, and other demonſtrations of joy ſuitable to the ſolemnity, as in Europe. The Prince no ſooner aſcends the throne, 'tis ſaid, but he orders all his brothers, children and relations to be ſecur'd in a fortreſs, ſituated on an almoſt inacceſſible rock, that his Nobility may not ſet up any of them to rival him, which they frequently do, when they have an opportunity; and the ſucceſſor is kept in the profoundeſt ignorance, till he is ſent for out of priſon, and advanc'd to the imperial dignity.

The laws and cuſtoms of the Abyſſinians.

If the Abyſſinians have no written laws, they have however certain immemorial cuſtoms, by which offenders are puniſh'd according to their reſpective crimes; unleſs the Prince, or ſome great Lord interpoſes his authority to prevent it: For capital crimes, criminals are beheaded, hang'd, ſton'd or drubb'd to death with clubs; except murderers, and theſe are put into the hands of the relations of the murder'd perſons, who may kill, torture him, or make him their ſlave as they ſee fit; but priſoners of quality, guilty of notorious crimes, 'tis ſaid, are only baniſh'd to a certain rock, ſituated in the lake of Tzane. For theft, the offender is whipp'd, and oblig'd to make reſtitution; but adultery is puniſh'd with death: Civil cauſes the parties plead themſelves (I can't learn, there are any Lawyers in the country, any more than written laws) before their reſpective Lords; and they may appeal from theſe tribunals to the Emperor, 'tis ſaid; but this is ſeldom done, leſt it ſhould be reſented by their immediate Governors.

Their religion.

I proceed in the next place to treat of their religion, which ſeems to be a mixture of Chriſtianity and Judaiſm; but in their Chriſtianity, they approach much nearer the Greek than the Latin church: They keep both the Jewiſh and Chriſtian ſabbath, and keep each of them more like a faſt than a feſtival: They circumciſe their children, both males and females, the eighth day, and baptize them a fortnight after: formerly they baptiz'd none, till they were thirty years of age. The circumciſion of their females ſounds a little odd to us; but, 'tis ſaid, they have an excreſcence, or ſuperfluous ſkin, that falls over the Pudenda, a piece whereof is cut off on this occaſion: Certain it is, other nations of Africk have ſuch an excreſcence, and travellers report that the Ethiopians have it: but of this I cannot be ſo poſitive, as that the females of ſome other nations have.

Circumciſion is perform'd by any old woman; but baptiſm only by a Prieſt. If it be an adult perſon, the Prieſt anoints him with oil, and then going with him into ſome river or pond, by the aſſiſtance of two Deacons, plunges him three times under water; ſaying, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt. Then the Deacons bring the perſon out, and he is anointed again; after which he is cloathed with a white garment, ſignifying purity or innocence; and over it they put a red veſt, to ſignify he was redeem'd and regenerated by the blood of Christ: after which, he is introduc'd into the church and receives the holy communion, and at his departure is preſented with milk and honey, and receives the Prieſt's benediction.

An infant that is baptiz'd, is only gently dipp'd and ſprinkled with water; but to theſe alſo they give ſome of the conſecrated bread and cup: and annually they celebrate the 6th of January as a feſtival, going into the water and dipping themſelves, in commemoration of our Saviour's baptiſm, which they ſuppoſe happen'd on that day; from whence ſome have conjectur'd, that they renew'd their baptiſm once a year.

At the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, the conſecrated elements are placed on a great ſquare, wooden cheſt, inſtead of a table; the holy utenſils are a diſh, a cup and a ſpoon, call'd the ſpoon of the croſs; with which they diſtribute the liquor they uſe inſtead of wine, which is made of the bruis'd ſtones of raiſins infus'd in water; and this, after the bread, the Deacon delivers with the ſpoon both to the Clergy and Laity. They have alſo conſecrated urns and cenſers, in which they burn perfumes at theſe times. Every perſon receives the ſacrament once a month, or as often as he thinks fit; but never out of a church. They acknowledge the ſame books of holy ſcripture, as we do, for their rule of faith; and, 'tis ſaid, have a more correct copy of the Septuagint, than is to be met with in Europe.

They admit the councils of Nice, Conſtantinople and Epheſus, with other provincial councils receiv'd till the council of Chalcedon; and, beſides the Nicene canons, have eighty-four other canons in the Arabic language, which their Emperor Constantine ſent to Jeruſalem, anno 440, and were carried from thence to Rome, anno 1646. This book contains the ſynod of the Apoſtles, ſaid to be written by St. Clement; the councils of Ancyra, Cæſarea, Nice, Gangra, Antiochia, Laodicea and Sardis, with the acts of 318 fathers; a treatiſe of the ſabbath, with a decree and canon of penance; to which is annex'd their general liturgy, prayers and offices for the communion, a particular ſervice for holidays, with books containing the lives of Martyrs and Saints, and hymns in praiſe of the bleſſed Virgin.

They uſe the Nicene creed, but have not the Apoſtle's creed: They hold, according to Ludolphus, that the three perſons in the Trinity are one

God: that there are not two natures and wills in CHRIST; and yet affirm he is perfect God and perfect Man, without confuſion of the two natures; which, I muſt acknowledge, I do not comprehend. They have but two ſacraments (viz.) Baptiſm and the Euchariſt, and give the bread and the cup both to Clergy and Laity, as has been related already: They believe the real preſence in the ſacrament, but not tranſubſtantiation; and therefore do not ſay at the conſecration, this is my body; which words, according to the Roman catholicks, produce the change; but this bread is my body, and this cup is my blood; neither do they give thoſe divine honours to the conſecrated elements, which the diſciples of tranſubſtantiation do.

They make general confeſſions of their ſins, and receive as general abſolutions; but make no particular confeſſions: They ſeem to believe the ſoul to be produc'd from matter, and yet, that it is immortal, and that, after death, the ſouls of good men remain in ſome intermediate ſtate, and have not the viſion of God, till the reſurrection; for they have in their divine ſervice, the following petition for their dead (viz.) Remember, Lord, the ſouls of thy ſervants; and, O Lord, releaſe our fathers: From whence the Roman Miſſionaries infer, that they believe a purgatory: They keep holidays in honour of the Saints; and invoke them, begging their interceſſion, eſpecially the virgin MARY's, whoſe picture they have, but no image of her, or any other Saint: They alſo invoke the holy Angels, as they have ſometimes appear'd to good men, and brought them anſwers of their prayers; and reckon up nine orders of thoſe celeſtial beings: They faſt the forty days in Lent, and at ſome other times, keeping their faſts ſo ſtrictly, that they eat nothing within the ſpace of four and twenty hours, and ſometimes faſt two whole days together (which is done much eaſier in hot, than in cold countries): They alſo obſerve Chriſtmas, Eaſter and Whitſuntide, and all other feſtivals of the ancient church, tho' at different times from the Latins.

The Emperor, as has been obſerv'd, is ſupreme in all eccleſiaſtical, as well as civil cauſes; and the Clergy, as well as Laity, are under the juriſdiction of the King's Judges: they have, however, a Metropolitan, conſecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria, who confers orders on the Clergy, who are chiefly Monks: They have neither Archbiſhop or Biſhops, or any order ſuperior to Prieſts; only the Abbot of every ſociety of Monks is their ſuperior, and has ſome authority over them.

Theſe Monks do not live in cloyſters or convents, but every one in his own hut, forming a kind of village near ſome church, where they perform divine ſervice in their turns: Their inferior orders below the Prieſt or Preſbyter are, the Sub-preſbyter, Deacon and Sub-deacon: The Monks never marry; but one would imagine they had ſome Clergy that were not Monks; becauſe travellers relate, that Clergymen, who are not Monks, may marry once; poſſibly this may be meant of the inferior orders, who are not Monks: Theſe Monks manure ſmall parcels of ground, and live by their labour.

Their principal churches were built at firſt, after the model of the temple of Jeruſalem, with a ſanctuary and outward court; but they have built them ſince in the form of a croſs, like the cathedrals in other Chriſtian nations: the Princes of the royal family and chief Nobility all receive the order of Deacon; and are thereupon admitted into the choir and chancel, and every Prince has a croſs carried before him, even after his acceſſion to the throne; from whence, and the ſupreme eccleſiaſtical authority he exerciſes, this Prince is held to partake of the ſacred function; and, according to ſome, from hence it was, their Emperors were ſtil'd Preſbyter Chan, or Cham (not Preſbyter JOHN) King of Prieſts, or the Prieſtly King.

The people uſe lighted tapers at divine ſervice like the Greek church: They neither ſit or kneel in their churches, but ſtand; tho' the ſervice, on ſome holidays, laſts whole days and nights; but they have crutches, on which they are permitted to lean: They keep their churches exceeding neat, and put off their ſhoes when they enter them, which ſhews their regard for them, as uncovering the head does with us: And ſuch is their veneration for theſe ſacred ſtructures, that they will not ſpit on the pavement for the world; and, when they are travelling, 'tis ſaid, they will light when they come near a church, and walk paſt it: They have pictures of the Saints in their churches, but no images; and, tho' their Clergy carry a croſs in their hands, which is kiſs'd by all they meet, and they often ſign themſelves with the ſign of the croſs, yet they are not ſuffered to carry about them either an image or picture of CHRIST crucified.

According to LUDULPHUS, they formerly acknowledg'd the Biſhop of Rome to be the firſt Patriarch; but denied his ſupremacy over the whole church: But the Portugueſe Miſſionaries, reſorting to Ethiopia at the latter end of the fifteenth century, when their countrymen found the way thither round the Cape of Good Hope, had almoſt made good Catholicks of the Ethiopians, and perſuaded their Emperor, not only to acknowledge the Pope's ſupremacy, but to admit a Patriarch amongſt them, ſent thither from Rome. The government alſo conſented to aboliſh their ancient rites and ceremonies, and conform entirely to the ritual of the Roman church: But many of the Nobility and Governors of the provinces, with a majority of the Common people, having the greateſt abhorrence of the Popiſh religion, roſe in arms againſt their Emperor, which occaſion'd civil wars in Ethiopia, that laſted upwards of an hundred years, wherein many thouſands were killed; but the Court, with the aſſiſtance of the Jeſuits, European Engineers, and ſome Portugueſe troops, were generally victorious over thoſe of the ancient religion, but could never ſubdue their obſtinate perſeverance in it; and ſeveral provinces revolted entirely from the Emperor: However, their Emperors continued ſtill to profeſs the Popiſh religion, and ſubmit to the dictates of Rome; till at length the Jeſuits, under pretence of maintaining the Pope's eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, took upon them to direct almoſt all ſecular affairs, treating the Prince rather as a Viceroy to his Holineſs, than Sovereign of the country; and, having erected and garriſon'd ſeveral fortreſſes, were ſending for European forces to maintain their uſurped power; which gave ſuch an alarm to the Emperor, as well as to the Nobility, that it was agreed at once to aboliſh Popery, and reſtore their ancient religion. The Romiſh Prieſts were hereupon generally ſacrificed to the fury of the people, and their Patriarch very narrowly eſcaped out of the country with his life: And when three Capuchins afterwards came as far as Squaquena, upon the Red ſea, from whence they ſent letters to the Emperor of Ethiopia to obtain leave to come into his territories again; that Prince requeſted the

Their Emperor ſubmits to the Pope.

Which occaſions a civil war.

Several provinces revolt.

The uſurpations of the Jeſuits.

The Papiſts are maſſacred.

The old religion reſtored.

Turkiſh Baſſaw, who commanded on that coaſt, to ſuffer no Franks to come that way into his territories, and to ſend him the heads of thoſe Capuchins; which the Baſſaw did not only oblige him in, but ſent him their ſkins flea'd off, and ſtuff'd, that he might know them to be Franks by their colour, and Prieſts by their ſhaved crowns. Thus have the Jeſuits and Fathers of the Romiſh church procured their ſuperſtition to be baniſh'd out of almoſt every country where they have planted it: They have indeed, by their ſkill in phyſick and mathematicks, and an artful addreſs, inſinuated themſelves into the courts of many great Princes; but then their advancing the Pope's ſupremacy to ſuch an extravagant height, and pretending to controll the government in civil, as well as eccleſiaſtical matters, has ever occaſion'd their expulſion. Thus it was in Japan, where that Emperor, finding them uſurping upon his civil authority, order'd every Chriſtian in his dominions to be maſſacred; and that no Chriſtian ſhould ever ſet his foot on ſhore there again. This alſo has put a ſtop to their progreſs in China, and occaſion'd very ſevere perſecutions of the Chriſtians there; but ſtill they perſiſt in their encroachments on Princes where they have an opportunity; and probably will never be ſatisfied, till they have made his Holineſs univerſal monarch in temporals as well ſpirituals; or procured their own extirpation by the general conſent of Chriſtian Princes, as the Knights-Templars did by their inſolence in the fourteenth century. But to return to Ethiopia:

The Jeſuits every where do more miſchief than good to Chriſtianity, by preaching up the Pope's ſupremacy.

Marriages of the Abyſſinians.

Their marriages are no more than contracts before friends, which are, however, bleſſed afterwards by the Prieſt; but this is, I preſume, where a perſon confines himſelf to one wife, for their religion prohibits polygamy, and they are ſometimes excommunicated for taking more wives than one; and yet their Emperor has an hundred at leaſt, and their Great men as many wives as they pleaſe: it is only the common people that are forced to keep to one wife; and poſſibly they need but little reſtraint in this particular, not being able to maintain more. The ſons of the Emperor ſucceed according to their ſeniority, as do thoſe of the Nobility, who have obtained an independency: But the reſt of the people have no inheritance in their lands, nor can diſpoſe of their eſtates or effects, but by the permiſſion of the King, or their reſpective Lords.

Polygamy practiſed by their Great men.

Inheritances.

Their funerals.

They ſeem aſtoniſh'd, and make great howlings and lamentations, on hearing of the death of their friends, or any great man. The corpſe, after it is waſh'd and perfum'd, is wrapped up in a cloth; and, being laid on a bier, is carried to the burying-place by ſome of the Clergy, who read over ſome paſſages out of the Pſalms on the occaſion: After which, the corpſe is laid into the grave without a coffin; but they have no particular funeral ſervice: The relations and friends of the deceaſed mourn for ſome time afterwards in rags or tatter'd cloaths, imagining a poor neglected dreſs beſt expreſſes their ſorrow for their deceaſed friends; and this ſeems to have been the general opinion of the ancients, who, upon any melancholy occaſion, rent their cloaths, or at leaſt put on ſuch as were ſo; and did not ſtudy dreſs while they were in mourning, as ſome of the moderns do.

Learning and languages of the Abyſſinians.

As to the learning of the Ethiopians, it appears to be very mean at preſent; reading and writing the languages, in uſe amongſt them, ſeems to be their higheſt attainments; ſcarce any of their Clergy pretend to more. The Arabick language, is that wherein the ſcriptures, their liturgy and divine offices, as well as all acts of ſtate, are written: The Court and Nobility uſe a language, call'd the Amarick, from its being ſpoken chiefly in the province of Amara; and the common people the Ethiopick, of which there are abundance of different dialects; one province ſcarce underſtanding another. Both the Amarick and Ethiopick are a mixture of languages; and, according to ſome, compounded of the Arabick, Hebrew and Chaldee.

Nubia, the preſent ſtate of it.

Nubia is one of thoſe countries I have comprehended under the general name of Ethiopia, becauſe it is contiguous to Abyſſinia, and was certainly part of the ancient Ethiopia, if it be not of the modern; and becauſe the Nubians, according to the beſt accounts we can get of them, reſemble the Ethiopians more than any other people.

Its ſituation and extent.

Nubia is uſually bounded by the deſarts of Barca, and Egypt towards the north; by Abyſſinia, on the eaſt; by the lower Ethiopia, on the ſouth; and Zaara, on the weſt; and is ſaid to be four hundred leagues in length, and two hundred in breadth; but ſcarce any two Hiſtorians or Geographers agree in theſe matters; and, in truth, they ſeem to gueſs at almoſt every thing they relate of Nubia, and this is the caſe of almoſt every other inland country of Africa.

Some tell us of a river that riſes in this country, and falls into the Nile; that it abounds in gold, muſk, ſandal, wood and ivory; having elephants, horſes, camels, lions, and ſuch other animals, wild and tame, as are to be found in the neighbouring country of Abyſſinia; but they don't ſo much as know, whether it be a monarchy or commonwealth; or whether it is divided into many little kingdoms and ſtates; the laſt of which is moſt probable, becauſe we hear ſo little of them. The ſame uncertainty we meet with in relation to their religion: it is ſuppos'd they were once Chriſtians, there being the ruins of ſome Chriſtian churches there, 'tis ſaid: They relate alſo, that their religion is a mixture of Paganiſm, Chriſtianity, Judaiſm and Mahometaniſm, and it is highly probable, every one of theſe religions is profeſs'd by one or other of the natives, people of all thoſe various religions bordering upon them.

Chief towns.

Dangala is ſaid to be their capital city, and ſituated in 17 degrees of north latitude; and Geographers pretend to give us the names of ſeveral other towns, which perhaps never had any exiſtence; and therefore I ſhall not trouble the reader with them. I believe we may conclude, that their towns are not better than thoſe in Abyſſinia, which we find are compos'd of very mean huts and cottages. Thus much however, I believe, we may conclude, that the people are black, as in Ethiopia, and partake of many of their cuſtoms; but as for any thing elſe, little regard is to be given to what Hiſtorians or Geographers have written of them, and therefore I ſhall take leave of this *terra incognita*, and not tire the reader with ſuch accounts of it, as are not to be depended on.

Perſons of the natives.

Abex and Anian.

That part of Ethiopia, which I comprehend under the names of Abex and Anian, or Aian, is bounded by Egypt and Abyſſinia towards the north and weſt; by the Red ſea, and the Eaſtern ocean, on the eaſt; and by Zanguebar on the ſouth, extending from the 5th degree of north latitude to the 20th.

The ſtate of Anian.

Anian lies upon, or near, the Eaſtern ocean, and the Red ſea; of which the Portugueſe and other Europeans, who have viſited it of late years, aſſure us, it is a perfect deſart, from latitude 5, to the ſtraits of Babelmandel, or the entrance into the Red ſea, and even within thoſe ſtraits for ſeveral miles; the

Of Abex.

Chief towns.

the country being cover'd with ſand and weeds, and producing ſcarce any ſuſtenance either for man or beaſt; neither inhabited or habitable; no harbour for ſhipping, or river that waters any part of it, ſays my author: Tho' there are others, who pretend, that the country is populous, and abounds with plenty of all things; but this can be underſtood only of the coaſt of Abex, to the northward of Aian. and lying on the weſtern ſhore of the Red ſea, ſome degrees within the ſtraits of Babelmandel, of which the Turks are maſters. This province is indeed very fruitful; the principal ports whereof are, Suaquem or Suaquee, and Arquico or Ercoco, about 150 miles diſtant from each other; and in theſe the Turks keep ſtrong garriſons, which command the country, and collect great quantities of rice and other proviſions, which they ſend over to Jeddo in Arabia, the port town to Medina and Mecca, for the ſervice of the Pilgrims that reſort thither, both from Africa and the north and eaſtern parts of Aſia, in vaſt multitudes; but I do not meet with any other ports or great towns on the coaſts of Abex, 'till we come as high as Egypt.

Inhabitants.

The people here are chiefly Turks and Arabians, and their manners and cuſtoms the ſame with thoſe already deſcrib'd in the firſt volume of *Modern Hiſtory*, that treat of Arabia and Turkey.

CHAP. III.

The preſent ſtate of ZANGUEBAR.

CHAP. III.

Countries comprehended in it.

UNDER the name of Zanguebar I include all the eaſt coaſt of Africa, extending from 5 degrees north to 28 ſouth, bounded by Aian or Anian on the north, the Eaſtern ocean on the eaſt, Caffraria on the ſouth, and the inland unknown countries of Africa, ſometimes call'd Ethiopia inferior, on the weſt; comprehending, under the general name of Zanguebar, the countries of Magadoxa, Melinda, Quiloa, Mozambique and Zofala.

Magadoxa.

The country of Magadoxa lies a little to the northward of the Equator; the chief town, of the ſame name, ſituated at the mouth of a river, in 3 degrees ſome odd minutes north latitude. The people here are in alliance, or, rather, ſubject to the Portugueſe; as are all the people almoſt upon this coaſt. Their country is very barren, affording ſcarce any merchandize, or cattle, unleſs a good breed of Horſes, which, 'tis ſaid, they ſell to the Portugueſe, who diſpoſe of them again to the Arabs. The people are a mixture of Pagan, Mahometans and Chriſtians: Their complexions, generally, a deep black, with flat noſes and thick lips, like the reſt of the Negroes.

Melinda.

The country of Melinda lies to the ſouthward of the Line; the chief town, of the ſame name, being ſituated in 2 degrees and a half ſouth latitude, on an iſland at the mouth of the river Melinda, and is the capital of the Portugueſe dominions in this part of the world.

Air.

Buildings.

Produce of the country.

Notwithſtanding this country lies ſo near the Equator, it is exceeding pleaſant, fruitful, and healthful; being frequently refreſh'd with ſhowers and fine ſea-breezes. The city of Melinda is a large populous place, well built, conſidering where it ſtands; has a good harbour, commanded by a ſtrong citadel. And here the Porugueſe have 17 churches, and 9 religious houſes: They have alſo warehouſes ſtock'd with all ſorts of European goods, with which they trade with the natives for the produce of the country, viz. gold, Elephants teeth, ſlaves, Oſtrich-feathers, wax, and drugs; ſuch as ſenna, aloes, Guinea grains, civet, ambergreaſe, and frankincenſe. The country produces alſo rice, millet, ſugar and fruits; and the Portugueſe export great quantities of rice to their other ſettlements, beſides what they uſe. Some calculate, that the inhabitants of the city of Melinda, and the little iſland on which it ſtands, do not amount to leſs than 200000 ſouls, great part of them Chriſtians.

Religion.

The natives have a King of their own, who is a Mahometan; but many of his people are ſtill Pagans; and all of them in ſome ſubjection to the Portugueſe. The publick buildings in Melinda, beſides the churches and monaſteries already mention'd, are the Governor's palace, the publick magazine and town-hall; all which are ſaid to be magnificently built; at leaſt, they exceed any thing of the kind that is to be found in Africa.

Quiloa.

Tributary to Portugal.

The country of Quiloa lies to the ſouth-ward of Melinda; the capital city, of the ſame name, being in 8 degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude. The Portugueſe poſſeſs'd themſelves of this place on their firſt diſcovery of this coaſt; but it being an unhealthful ſituation, they quitted it again: However, the King of the country is tributary to them (as the reſt of the Princes on this coaſt are;) and pays them, 'tis ſaid, a tribute in gold, amounting to the value of an hundred thouſand cruſadoes annually. This part of the country produces excellent ſugar-canes; but the Portugueſe do not improve them, receiving great quantities of ſugar every year from their countrymen at Brazil, who come hither annually for ſlaves.

Mozambique.

The country of Mozambique lies ſouth of Quiloa; the chief town, ſituate on an iſland on the mouth of a river, of the ſame name, in 15 degrees ſouth latitude. Here is a good harbour, defended by a citadel; the town it ſelf regularly fortify'd; and the iſland, on which it ſtands, is thirty miles in circumference, and extremely populous. Here are ſix churches, and ſeveral monaſteries; the Monks whereof make abundance of proſelytes in the neighbouring country. Here the Portugueſe alſo barter European goods with the natives (whom they have taught to cloath themſelves) for their gold, Elephants teeth, and ſlaves; and here their ſhipping to and from India calls for refreſhments: And, as this country produces great herds of cattle, the Portugueſe kill Beef, and ſalt it up, ſending it to the Brazils, or ſelling it to European ſhipping.

Mongale.

Mongale, an iſland-town in this country, alſo is garriſon'd by the Portugueſe: And here is their chief ſtaple for European goods. The gold they receive for them of the natives, is found near the ſurface of the earth, or in the ſands of rivers; there being no gold mines wrought in Africa.

Mombaza.

The city of Mombaza, in the country of Mozambique, lies in 7 degrees 4 minutes ſouth latitude, which the Portugueſe poſſeſs'd themſelves of when they firſt viſited the eaſt coaſt of Africa; and, being beaten out of it afterwards, recover'd it again; and have at preſent a conſiderable trade here.

Zofala.

In Zofala, to the ſouthward of Mozambique, the Portugueſe have alſo ſome little ſettlements; and, indeed, they have the trade of the whole coaſt almoſt to themſelves as far as the Tropic of Capricorn.

CHAP. IV.

The preſent ſtate of CAFFRARIA:

Particularly the ſouth part of it, the country of the Hottentots.

CHAP. IV.

Situation and extent.

CAFFRARIA is the moſt ſouthern part of Africa, lying in the form of a creſcent about the inland country of Monomotapa, and bounded by the ocean on the eaſt, ſouth and weſt, extending it ſelf from the Tropic of Capricorn on the eaſt, to the moſt ſoutherly point of Africa, call'd Cape d'Aguilas, latitude 35, running up from thence to the northward as high as the ſame Tropic, on the weſt ſide of Africa; and by ſome is carried to latitude 15 ſouth.

Diviſion. Hottentot country. Situation.

This country is divided into two parts, viz. the country of the Hottentots, and Caffraria Proper. The country of the Hottentots is the moſt ſouthern part of Caffraria, lying between lat. 28 and 35, and between the eaſtern and weſtern ocean, being about 300 miles from eaſt to weſt, and about 400 from north to ſouth. The Dutch town, which has obtain'd the name of the Cape, lying in lat. 34 degrees 15 minutes, longitude 18 degrees to the eaſtward of London.

Firſt diſcovery of it.

This country was firſt diſcovered by the Portugueſe Admiral **Diaz**, in his attempt to find a way to the Eaſt-Indies round Africa, about two hundred and forty years ago. The Portugueſe, ſome years after, attempted to make a ſettlement there; but the inhabitants falling upon them, and cutting in pieces ſeveral of their people; and there being no harbours for the ſecurity of their ſhipping againſt the violent ſtorms upon that coaſt, they laid aſide their deſign. The Engliſh afterwards viſited the Cape, and were diſcouraged from ſettling there, for much the ſame reaſons the Portugueſe quitted it; namely, the tempeſtuous ſeas, and the want of harbours, together with the untractableneſs of the people: However, the Dutch obſerving the fruitfulneſs of the country, and judging that it would be of great uſe to ſupply them with proviſions in their voyages to and from the Indies, fixed a colony at the Cape about the year 1651, erected a fort, and entered into a treaty with the natives, who, for a very moderate conſideration, transferred a good part of their country to them; and here the Dutch have remained ever ſince, enlarging their territories to that degree, that they have now ſettlements upwards of two hundred miles to the north and eaſt, well planted and cultivated, of which I ſhall give a more particular account hereafter.

The Dutch ſettle at the Cape.

The face of the Hottentot country.

The country of the Hottentots is mountainous; but the tops of the hills, as well as the valleys, are generally fruitful: It is alſo adorned with groves of trees, and a great variety of plants and flowers, that are watered by little rivulets, and render it exceeding pleaſant during the fine ſeaſon; but in the time of the rains or munſoons, they ſwell into unpaſſable torrents. The winds alſo rage great part of the year, and do not only make the coaſts very unſafe for ſhips, but do a great deal of miſchief by land to the grain and fruits, as well as to their buildings. Theſe winds, while the ſun is in the ſouthern ſigns, blow from the ſouth-eaſt, and are then very dangerous to ſhips coming into the Cape. When the ſun is in the northern ſigns, they blow from the north-weſt, and then are no leſs dangerous to the ſhips at anchor in the bay. However, 'tis obſerved, that the inhabitants are never more healthful than during this ſtormy weather: If the wind ceaſes for a week or ten days, they are ſubject to the head-ach and other diſtempers, which go off again when ever the wind riſes.

CHAP. IV.

On approaching the Cape of Good Hope, three remarkable mountains are diſcovered, viz. the Table-hill, the Lion's-hill, and the Wind, or Devil's-hill, which may be ſeen 40 or 50 miles out at ſea.

The Table-land.

The Table-hill was firſt named ſo by the Portugueſe, as reſembling, at a diſtance, a ſquare table; the perpendicular height is upwards of 1850 feet. On the top of it are ſeveral good ſprings, the water whereof is exceeding clear and well-taſted. Between this hill and the bay where the ſhips ride, is a valley, where ſtands the Dutch town, their fort, and their fine garden, the admiration of all travellers; but theſe will be more particularly deſcribed hereafter. In the ſummer-ſeaſon, viz. from September to March, a cap of clouds conſtantly covers the top of this hill before a ſtorm, and gives notice to the Sailors to prepare for it.

Table-valley.

The Lion's-hill.

The Lion's-hill is not ſo high as the former: It lies contiguous to the ſea, and bears weſt from the Table-mountain, being ſeparated from it by a narrow valley. It is ſuppoſed to have obtained its name from the reſemblance it bears to a Lion couchant, with his head erect; or, according to others, from its being infeſted with Lions when the Dutch firſt ſettled there. On this hill ſtands a flag, guarded by ſome Soldiers, who give notice of the approach of ſhipping, from what quarter they come, and their number, by hoiſting and lowering the flag.

The Devil's-hill.

The Devil's-hill ſuppoſed to be ſo called from the furious winds that iſſue from thence when the top is covered with a white cloud, is not ſo high as either of the former: It lies alſo along the ſhore, being ſeparated from the Lion's-hill by a ſmall valley or cleft. Theſe three hills lie in the form of a creſcent, about the Table-valley.

The ſeveral Hottentot nations.

The Hottentot nations, who inhabit this ſouthern promontory of Africa, are 16 in number; at leaſt the Dutch are acquainted with ſo many; but that there are more to the northward of theſe, ſeems pretty certain.

The 16 nations enumerated by travellers, and particularly by **Kolben**, are, 1. The Gongeman nation; 2. The Kochaqua; 3. The Suſſaqua; 4. The Adiqua; 5. Chirigriqua; 6. The greater and leſſer Namaqua; 7. The Attaqua; 8. The Koopman; 9. The Heſſaqua; 10. The Sonqua; 11. The Dunqua; 12. The Damaqua; 13. The Gauros, or Gauriqua; 14. The Hauteniqua; 15. The Chamtouer; 16. The Heykom.

The Gongeman nation.

The Gongeman nation firſt trafficked with the Dutch; and, in conſideration of ſome braſs rings, beads, and other trifles, admitted them into that fine country where the Cape-Town now ſtands; but when they ſaw the Dutch erecting a fortreſs and encloſing the lands, from whence they excluded the cattle of the Hottentots, the natives repreſented, that they meant no more in their treaty with the Dutch, than that they ſhould be at liberty to dwell with them, and have paſture for their cattle; they were not ſo ſtupid as to exclude themſelves from their own country, or to ſuffer forts to be built that would bring them under the ſubjection of foreigners; and, when the Dutch refuſed to throw open their encloſures, aſſembled in arms to drive them out of their country. But the Hollanders were become ſo ſtrong, that they engaged

Their treaty with the Dutch.

gaged the natives, and defeated them, compelling them to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the victors were pleaſed to impoſe; which were, in ſhort, no other, but that the Hottentots might ſtill remain in their own country, and graze their cattle upon ſuch lands as were not encloſed by the Dutch; and accordingly the Gongeman nation are intermixed with the Dutch at this day, but enjoy no more of their lands than the Hollanders have not thought fit to appropriate to themſelves (which indeed is all the beſt part of it.) The Gongeman nation are barely permitted to feed their cattle upon the common or waſte grounds that are not encloſed. The Hollanders are now lords of the country, and the natives little better than their vaſſals, or tenants at will; though the Dutch are obliged to uſe them with ſome tenderneſs, leſt the other nations, their brethren, ſhould diſturb their diſtant colonies.

Kochoqua nation.

2. The Kochoqua nations lie to the northward of the Gongemans, in whoſe limits is a great deal of good paſture, part of which is encloſed by the Dutch; but the natives ſtill poſſeſs more than half the lands: In this country are ſeveral ſalt-pits; but, as there are few ſprings, not many of the Dutch reſide here.

Suſſaquas.

3. The Suſſaqua's lie to the northward of the Kochoqua's. The country is mountainous, and there are but few villages in this territory, and no great herds of cattle; the people deſerting the country for want of water, though there is good paſture on the hills as well as in the valleys.

Odiqua's.

4. The Odiqua's country lies contiguous to that of the Suſſaqua's; and theſe two nations are always in a confederacy againſt their neighbours the Chirigriqua's.

Chirigriqua's.

5. The Chirigriqua's are a numerous people celebrated for their ſtrength and dexterity, in throwing the Haſſagaye or Launce: Their country is mountainous, and extends along the ſea-coaſt; the ſoil, however, generally good, there being rich paſtures on the top of their hills, as well as in the valleys; and through the middle of it runs one of the largeſt of their rivers, called the Elephant river, from the Elephants reſorting in great numbers to it. Here are alſo woods of large, tall trees, different from any we meet with in Europe; and theſe are infeſted with Lions, Tigers, and almoſt all manner of wild beaſts.

Namaqua's.

6. The greater and leſſer Namaqua; the leſſer extending along the coaſt, and the other contiguous to it, on the eaſt. This people 'tis ſaid, are able to bring an army of twenty thouſand men into the field, and are the moſt ſenſible of all the Hottentot nations: Their country however, is mountainous and barren, deſtitute of wood, and hath but one ſpring in the whole territory; only the Elephant river, running through their country, ſupplies ſome part of it with water. Here are alſo great numbers of wild beaſts, and ſmall ſpotted Deer, of which hundreds and thouſands are ſometimes ſeen in a herd. The veniſon, generally, is fat and good.

Attaqua's.

7. The Attaqua's lie to the northward of the Namaqua's, poſſeſſing a very barren country, with very little water in it, and is neither populous, nor well ſtocked with cattle, the natives diſperſing themſelves in ſmall parties, that they may the better find a ſubſiſtence. This is the moſt northern nation, deſcribed by KOLBEN on the weſtern coaſt, though he mentions another nation ſtill to the northward of the Attaqua's, called the Chorogauqua's, poſſeſſing a vaſt extent of country, and ſuppoſes there may be ſtill ſeveral other nations to the northward of them, before we come to Angola. Then, returning ſouthward, he brings us to

Koopmans.

8. The Koopmans, who lie to the eaſtward of the Gongemans, and the Cape Town: Here the Dutch have a great many ſettlements and plantations, and a rich tract of land encloſed; but the natives, however, are ſuffer'd to dwell among them, and graze their cattle on the uncultivated grounds. This country is well wooded and water'd: There runs a rapid ſtream through the valleys into the ſea, call'd Palamit river, whoſe ſource is in the Drakenſtein mountains, on the Dutch frontiers, receiving ſeveral leſſer rivulets in its courſe; the largeſt whereof is called the Black river. In this territory alſo is a hot bath, and ſeveral ſalt-pits.

Heſſaqua's.

9. The country of the Heſſaqua's joins alſo to the Gongemans. They abound in Cattle, Sheep, and Oxen (the only riches of the natives) more than any other Hottentot nation, and traffick more with the Dutch for brandy, tobacco, corral, braſs beads, and other trifles; for which they give their cattle in exchange. They are ſaid to be the moſt effeminate of the Hottentots, and leaſt addicted to war; and when they are attack'd therefore by an enemy, beg the protection of the Hollanders. Their Kraals, or Villages, are larger than thoſe of any other nation; and their country does not only abound with cattle, but great plenty of game, and every thing deſirable in life: The Heſſaqua's who have no ſtock, frequently ſerve the Dutch; but when they have got a little money to buy cattle, they uſually leave their maſters, and, returning to their Kraal, ſet up for themſelves.

Sonqua's.

10. The Sonqua's, who lie to the eaſtward of the Koopman nation, are ſaid to be a ſmall, but brave people, and dexterous in the management of their arms. Their country is rocky and mountainous, and the barreneſt of all thoſe about the Cape. As they are reckon'd good Soldiers, they are frequently hired by their neighbour nations, as the Swiſs are in Europe, to aſſiſt them in their wars, and ſerve purely for bread; having very little food of their own but roots and herbs, and what they can get in hunting, at which they are very expert: They alſo plunder the woods for honey, which they ſell to the Europeans, not being fond of it themſelves.

Dunqua's.

11. The Dunqua's nation borders upon the Sonqua's. This people enjoy a more level country than the former: It is alſo well water'd with rivulets, that fall into the Palamite river: The hills as well as vales are good paſture, and they abound in cattle and game.

Damaqua's.

12. The Damaqua's, who lie next them, alſo enjoy a fruitful level country, abounding in cattle and game, and the Palamite runs in a winding or ſerpentine courſe thro' it; but here is a great ſcarcity of wood: They have ſome ſalt-pits; which, being at a great diſtance from the Dutch, no uſe is made of them, the Hottentots eating no ſalt.

Gauro's.

13. The Gauro's, or Gauriqua's, lie next to the Damaqua's. They poſſeſs a ſmall country, but are, however, a numerous people, the ſoil being rich, and every where well ſupply'd with wood and water: The country abounds alſo in cattle, and no leſs in wild beaſts; which the natives are ſo far from regretting, that it is ſaid they look upon it as a happineſs they have ſo many opportunities of ſhewing their dexterity and courage in engaging them, and they are moſt of them cloathed in the ſkins of Tigers or other wild beaſts they have killed.

Houteniqua's.

14. The Houteniqua's lie on the ſea-coaſt, northeaſt of the Gauro's, in whoſe country is a great deal

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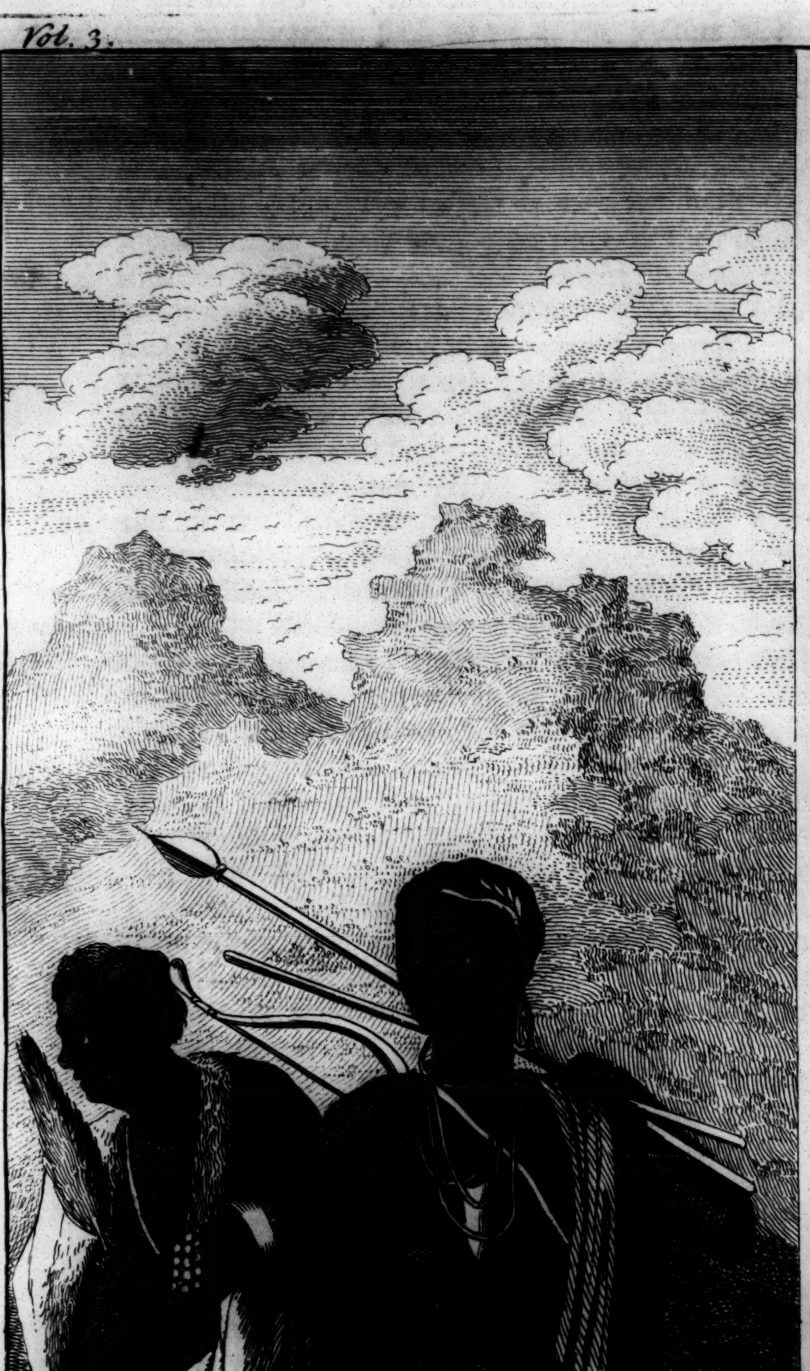
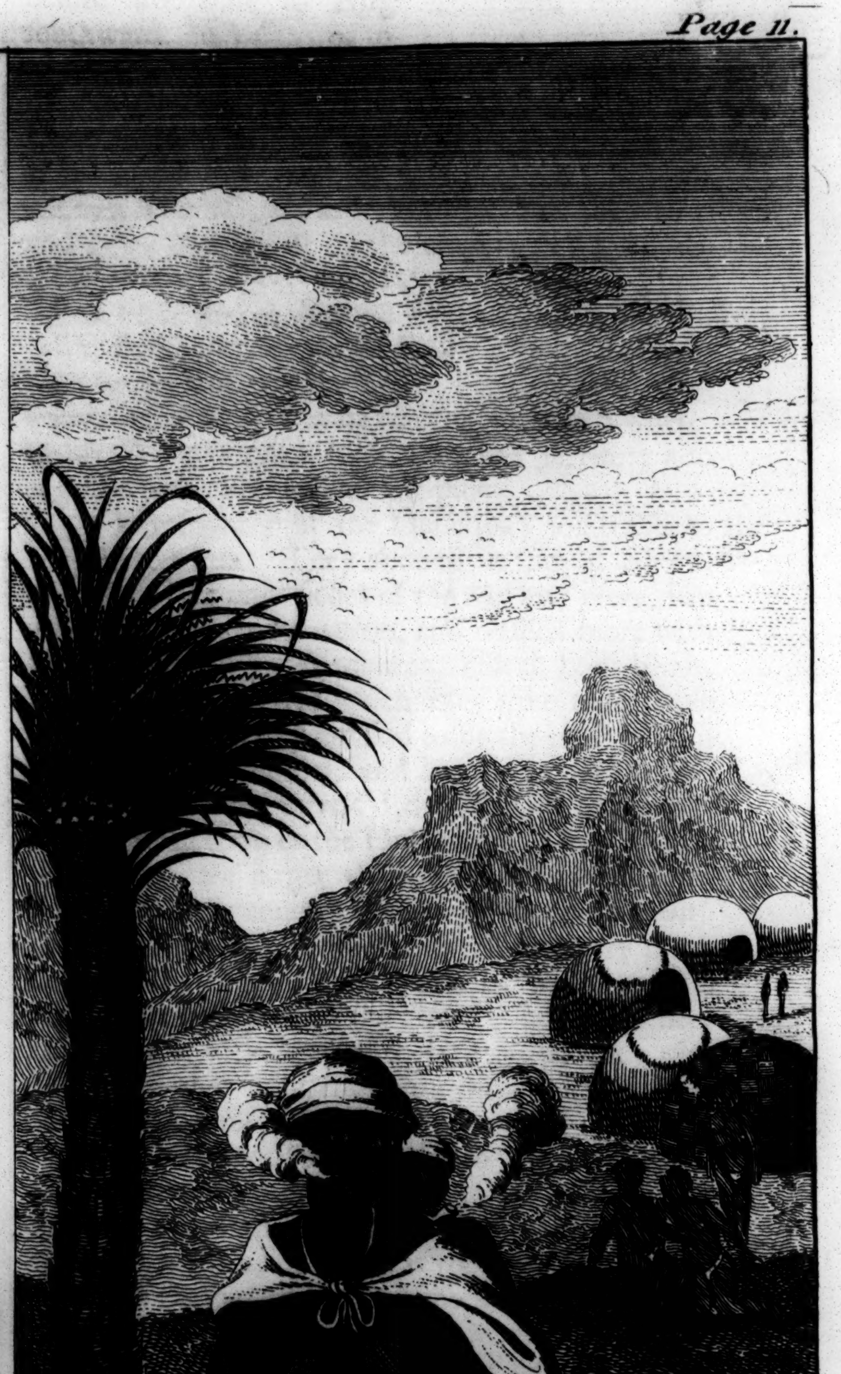


The APPAREL of the Hottentot Men.



The APPAREL of the Hottentot Women.

deal of good paſture; and they have woods repleniſh'd with timber, with great variety of herbs and flowers.

Chamtouers.

15. The nation of the Chamtouers, who lie contiguous to the Houteniqua's, poſſeſs a very fruitful country, well wooded and water'd; their ſtreams affording variety of fiſh. Here are alſo abundance of wild beaſts, and plenty of game.

Heykoms.

16. The Heykoms lie to the north-eaſt of the Chamtouers; their country mountainous and deſtitute of water, but has, however, ſome fruitful valleys: This is ſaid to be the moſt northerly country of the Hottentots, on the eaſt coaſt of Africa, and to lie contiguous to the Terra de Natal, inhabited by the Caffries, properly ſo call'd, who are a very different people from the Hottentots.

Of their name, and original.

As to the derivation of the name of Hottentot, I could never meet with any ſatisfactory account: They had given themſelves this name, it ſeems, before any European nation arriv'd on their coaſt; and this is all we know certainly of the matter. Their original is no leſs obſcure; but from ſome of their cuſtoms, that reſemble thoſe of the Jews and the ancient Troglodites, it is imagin'd they deſcended from one or other of thoſe nations. Mr. Kolben tells us, they have a tradition amongſt them, that their firſt parents came into their country through a window or door (the word for both in the Hottentot language being the ſame): That the name of their male anceſtor was N'oh, and his wife's, Hingn'oh: That they were ſent thither by God himſelf; and that they taught their deſcendants huſbandry. This tradition, he ſays, prevails in all the Hottentot nations; which he looks upon as a certain evidence of their being deſcended from Noah.

The perſons of the Hottentots.

He adds, that they reſemble the Jews in their offerings, and regulating their feſtivals by the new and full moon, and in their ſeparation from their wives at certain times, as well as in abſtaining from certain ſorts of food, eſpecially Swines-fleſh, and undergoing a kind of circumciſion at a certain age: But ſtill he thinks they are rather deſcended from the Troglodites, who inhabited the ſouth part of Egypt, or Ethiopia, in this very quarter of the world, and had theſe and ſeveral other cuſtoms which the Hottentots obſerve; as, the giving their children the name of a favourite animal, and their expoſing their ſuperannuated parents without any food, and thereby putting an end to their lives. He obſerves alſo, that the manner of hunting of the Hottentots reſembles that of the Troglodites; and that their funeral ceremonies are much the ſame. But, to proceed to ſomething more certain, namely a deſcription of their perſons. As to the ſtature of the men, they are rather low than tall; for though there may be ſome 6 foot high, there are more about 5 foot. Their bodies are proportionable, and well made: They are ſeldom either too fat or lean, and ſcarce ever any crooked or deform'd perſons amongſt them, any farther than they disfigure their children themſelves, by flatting and breaking the griſtles of their noſes; looking on a flat noſe as a beauty. Their heads, as well as their eyes, are rather of the largeſt: Their lips are naturally thick; their hair black and ſhort, like the Negroes, and they have exceeding white teeth; and after they have taken a great deal of pains, with greaſe and ſoot to darken their natural tawny complexions, reſemble the Negroes pretty much in colour. The women are much leſs than the men; and what is moſt remarkable in them, is a callous flap or ſkin that falls over the Pudenda, and in a manner conceals it: The report of which uſually excites the curioſity of the European Sailors, to viſit the Hottentot village near the Cape, where a great many of thoſe ladies, on ſeeing a ſtranger, will offer to ſatisfy his curioſity for a halfpenny, before a croud of people; which perfectly ſpoils the character the pious Mr. Kolben has given of their modeſty.

Their habits.

The men cover their heads with handfuls of greaſe and ſoot mix'd together; and, going without any thing elſe on their heads in ſummer-time, the duſt ſticks to it, and makes them a very filthy cap; which, they ſay, cools them, and preſerves their heads from the ſcorching heat of the ſun; and in winter they wear flat caps of Cat-ſkin or Lamb-ſkin, half dry'd, which they tie with a thong of the ſame leather under their chins. The men alſo wear a kroſſe or mantle, made of a Sheep-ſkin or other ſkins, over their ſhoulders, which reaches to the middle; and, being faſten'd with a thong about their neck, is open before. In winter they turn the woolly or hairy ſides next their backs, and in ſummer the other: This ſerves the man for his bed at night; and this is all the winding-ſheet or coffin he has when he dies. If he be a Captain of a village, or Chief of his nation, inſtead of a Sheep-ſkin, his mantle is made of Tyger-ſkins, wild Cat-ſkins, or ſome other ſkins they ſet a value upon: But, tho' theſe mantles reach no lower, generally, than their waiſts, yet there are ſome nations who wear them as low as their legs, and others that have them touch the ground.

They conceal or cover thoſe parts alſo which every other people do, with a ſquare piece of ſkin about two hands-breadth, generally with a Cat-ſkin, the hairy ſide outwards, which is faſten'd to a ſtring or girdle about their bodies.

The man alſo hangs about his neck a greaſy pouch, in which he keeps his knife, his pipe and tobacco, and ſome dacha (which intoxicates like tobacco) and a little piece of wood, burnt at both ends, as a charm againſt witchcraft. He wears alſo three large ivory rings on his left arm, to which he faſtens a bag of proviſions when he travels. He carries in his right hand two ſticks, the firſt call'd his kirri, which is about three foot long, and an inch thick, but blunt at both ends; the other, call'd his rackum-ſtick, about a foot long, and of the ſame thickneſs, but has a ſharp point, and is uſed as a dart, to throw at an enemy or wild beaſt; which he ſeldom miſſes, if he be within diſtance. In his left hand he has another ſtick, about a foot long, to which is faſten'd a tail of a Fox or wild Cat; and this ſerves him as a handkerchief to wipe off the ſweat. They wear a kind of ſandals, alſo made of the raw hide of an Ox or Elephant, when they are oblig'd to travel through ſtony countries; and ſometimes have buſkins, to preſerve their legs from buſhes and briars; but ordinarily their legs and thighs have no covering.

The women wear caps, the crowns whereof are a little raiſed; and theſe are made alſo of half-dry'd ſkins, and tied under their chins. They ſcarce put them off night or day, winter or ſummer. They uſually wear two kroſſes or mantles, one upon another, made of Sheep-ſkins, or other ſkins, which are ſometimes border'd with a fringe of raw leather; and, as theſe are only faſtned with a thong about their necks, they appear naked down to the middle: But they have an apron, larger than that of the mens to cover them before, and another of ſtill larger dimenſions that cover their back-ſides. About their legs they wrap thongs of half-dry'd ſkins, to the thickneſs of a jack-boot, which are ſuch a load to them, that they lift up their legs with difficulty, and walk very much like a Trooper in jack-boots: This ſerves both for a diſtinction of their ſex, and for ornament. But this is not all their finery: If they are people of any figure, inſtead of Sheep-ſkin they wear a Tyger-ſkin, or a mantle of wild Cat-ſkins. They have alſo a pouch hangs about their necks, in which they always carry ſomething to eat, whether they are at home or abroad, with their dacha, tabacco, and pipe.

Ornaments.

But the principal ornaments both of men and women are braſs or glaſs beads, with little thin plates of glittering braſs and mother of pearl, which they wear in their hair, or about their ears. Of theſe braſs and glaſs beads ſtrung they alſo make necklaces, bracelets for the arms, and girdles; wearing ſeveral ſtrings of them about their necks, waiſts and arms, chuſing the ſmalleſt beads for their necks: Thoſe are fineſt that have the moſt ſtrings of them; and their arms are ſometimes covered with bracelets from the wriſt to the elbow; the largeſt beads are on the ſtrings about the middle; in theſe they affect a variety of colours, all of which the Dutch furniſh them with, and take their cattle in return.

There is another kind of ornament peculiar to the men; and that is, the bladder of any wild beaſt they have killed, which is blown up and faſtened to their hair, as a trophy of their valour.

Both men and women powder themſelves with a duſt they call bachu; and the women ſpot their faces with a red earth or ſtone (as ours do with black patches) which is thought to add to their beauty, by the natives; but, in the eyes of Europeans, renders them more frightful and ſhocking than they are naturally.

Diet.

But, as part of their dreſs, I ought to have mentioned in the firſt place, the cuſtom of daubing their bodies, and the inſide of their caps and mantles, with greaſe and ſoot. Soon after their children are born, they lay them in the ſun, or by the fire, and rub them over with fat or butter, mixed with ſoot, to render them of a deeper black, 'tis ſaid; for they are naturally tawny: And this they continue to do almoſt every day of their lives, after they are grown up, not only to increaſe their beauty poſſibly, but to render their limbs ſupple and pliable. As ſome other nations pour oil upon their heads and bodies, ſo theſe people make uſe of melted fat. You can't make them a more acceptable preſent than the fat or ſcum of a pot that meat is boiled in to anoint themſelves. Several of theſe Hottentots coming on board our ſhip as ſoon as we arrived at the Cape, addreſſed themſelves in the firſt place to the Cook for ſome of the fat he had ſkimmed off his boiling coppers; which, being gratify'd in, they immediately clapped it on their heads by handfuls; which confirmed us in the opinion of their naſtineſs, of which we had heard ſo much. Nor are they more cleanly in their diet than in their dreſs; for they chuſe the guts and entrails of cattle, and of ſome wild beaſts (with very little cleanſing) rather than the reſt of the fleſh, and eat their meat half-boil'd or broil'd; but their principal food conſiſts of roots, herbs, fruits, or milk: They ſeldom kill any of thoſe cattle, unleſs at a feſtival; they only feed on ſuch as die of themſelves, either of diſeaſes or old age, or on what they take in hunting; and when they are hard put to it, they will eat the raw leather that is wound about the womens legs, and even ſoles of ſhoes: And, as their mantles are always well ſtocked with lice of an unuſual ſize, they are not aſhamed to ſit down in the publick ſtreets at the Cape, pull off the lice, and eat them. And I ought to have remembered, that they boil their meat in the blood of beaſts when they have any of it.

They rather devour their meat than eat it, pulling it to pieces with their teeth and hands, diſcovering a canine appetite and fierceneſs: They abſtain, however, from Swine's-fleſh, and ſome other kinds of meat, and from fiſh that have no ſcales, as religiouſly as ever the Jews did. And here it may not be improper to ſay ſomething of the management of their milk and butter: They never ſtrain their milk, but drink it with all the hairs and naſtineſs with which it is mix'd in the milking by the Hottentot women. When they make butter of it, they put it into ſome ſkin made in the form of a Soldier's knapſack, the hairy ſide inwards; and then two of them taking hold of it, one at each end, they whirl and turn it round till it is converted into butter, which they pot up for anointing themſelves, their caps and mantles with, for they eat no butter; and the reſt they ſell to the Dutch, without clearing it from the hairs and dirt it contracts in the knapſack. The Hollanders, when they have it indeed, endeavour to ſeparate the naſtineſs from it, and ſell it to the ſhipping, that arrives there, frequently for butter of their own making; and ſome they eat themſelves (but ſurely none but a Dutchman could eat Hottentot butter) and the dregs and dirt that is left they give to their ſlaves; which having been found to create diſeaſes, the Governor of the Cape ſometimes prohibits their giving their ſlaves this ſtuff by publick edict; which is not, however, much regarded. The butter-milk, without any manner of cleaning or ſtraining, the Hottentots drink themſelves; giving what they have to ſpare, to their Lambs and Calves.

The uſual drink of the Hottentots is Cow's-milk, or water, and the women ſometimes drink Ewes-milk; but this the men never touch: and 'tis obſerved, that the women are never ſuffered to eat with the men, or come near them, during the time of their menſes.

Since the arrival of the Dutch among them, it appears that the Hottentots are very fond of wine, brandy, and other ſpirituous liquors: Theſe, and the baubles already mentioned, the Hollanders truck for their cattle; and tho' a Hottentot will turn ſpit for a Dutchman half a day for a draught or two of ſour wine, yet do they never attempt to plant vineyards (as they ſee the Dutch do every day) or think of making wine themſelves. I proceed, in the next place, to give an account of their towns and houſes, or rather, their camps and tents.

Their towns or camps.

The Hottentots, like the Tartars and Arabs, remove their dwellings frequently for the conveniency of water and freſh paſture: They encamp in a circle formed by twenty or thirty tents, and ſometimes twice the Number, contiguous to each other; within the area whereof they keep their leſſer cattle in the night, and the larger on the outſide of their camp: Their tents, or, as ſome call them, houſes, are made with ſlender poles, bent like an arch, and cover'd with mats or ſkins, and ſometimes both: They are of an oval figure, the middle of the tent being about the height of a man, and decreaſing gradually (the poles being ſhorter) towards each end, the loweſt arch, which is the door or entrance, being about 3 foot high, as is the oppoſite arch at the other end; the longeſt diameter of the tent being about 12 or 14 feet, and the ſhorteſt 10; and in the middle of the tent is a ſhallow hole about a yard diameter, in which they make their fire, and round which the whole family, conſiſting of nine or ten people of all ages and ſexes, ſit or lie night and day in ſuch a ſmoak (when it is cold, or they are dreſſing of victuals) that it is impoſſible for an European to bear it, there being uſually no vent for the ſmoak but the door, tho' I think I have ſeen a hole in the top of ſome of their huts to let out the ſmoak, and give them light. Such a circle of tents or huts as has been deſcrib'd, is call'd by the Hottentots a Kraal, and ſometimes by the Europeans a town or village; but ſeems to be more properly a camp: For a town conſiſts of more ſubſtantial buildings, and is ſeldom capable of being removed from one place to another; whereas theſe dwellings conſiſt of nothing more than ſmall tent-poles, covered with ſkins or mats, which are moveable, and carried away upon their baggage-Oxen whenever they remove with their herds to a diſtant paſture.

Furniture.

As to the furniture of their tents; this conſiſts of little more than their mantles which they lie on, ſome other ſkins of wild beaſts they have kill'd or purchas'd, an earthen pot they boil their meat in, their arms, and perhaps ſome other trivial utenſils. The only domeſtick animals they keep, are Dogs, as ugly in their kind as their maſters, but exceeding uſeful to them in driving and defending their cattle.

Their genius and temper.

The Hottentots are agreed by all to be the lazieſt generation under the ſun: They will rather ſtarve, or eat dry'd ſkins, or ſhoe-ſoles at home, than hunt for their food; and yet, when they do apply themſelves to the chaſe, or any other exerciſe, no people are to be found more active and dexterous than the Hottentots; and they ſerve the Europeans often with the greateſt fidelity and application, when they contract to ſerve them for wages: They are alſo exceeding generous and hoſpitable; they will ſcarce eat a piece of veniſon, or a diſh of fiſh they have catch'd, or drink their beloved drams alone, but call in their neighbours to partake with them as far as it will go.

Government of the Hottentots.

The next thing I ſhall enquire into, is the government of the Hottentots; and I find all people agree, that every nation has its King or Chief, call'd Konquer, whoſe authority devolves upon him by hereditary ſucceſſion; and that they do not pretend to elect their reſpective ſovereigns.

Their Kings.

That this Chief has the power of making peace and war, and preſides in all their councils and courts of Juſtice: But then his authority is ſaid to be limited; and that he can determine nothing without the conſent of the Captains of the ſeveral Kraals, who ſeem to be the Hottentot ſenate. The Captain of every Kraal, whoſe office is hereditary alſo, is their Leader in time of war, and Chief magiſtrate of his Kraal in time of peace; and, with the head of every family, determines all civil and criminal cauſes within the Kraal; only ſuch differences as happen between one Kraal and another, and matters of ſtate, are determined by the King and Senate. The Dutch, ſince their arrival at the Cape, have preſented the King, or Chief of every nation of the Hottentots in alliance with them, with a braſs crown; and the Captains of each Kraal with a braſs-headed cane, which are now the badges of their reſpective offices; formerly they were diſtinguiſh'd only by finer ſkins, and a greater variety of beads and glittering trifles.

In their councils their King ſits on his heels in the centre, and the Captains of the Kraals ſit in like manner round about him. At his acceſſion, 'tis ſaid, he promiſes to obſerve their national cuſtoms; and gives them an entertainment, killing an Ox, and two or three Sheep, upon the occaſion; on which he feaſts his Captains, but their Wives are only entertain'd with the broth: But then the next day, 'tis ſaid, her Hottentot Majeſty treats the Ladies, and their Huſbands are put off in like manner with the ſoup.

Magiſtrates.

The Captain of each Kraal alſo, at his acceſſion, 'tis ſaid, engages to obſerve the cuſtoms of his Kraal, and makes an entertainment for the Men, as his Lady does the next day for the Women; and though this people ſhew their Chiefs great reſpect, 'tis ſaid, they allow neither their King or inferior Magiſtrates any revenue; they ſubſiſt, as other families do, upon their ſtock of cattle, and what they take in hunting.

Juſtice adminiſter'd.

As they have no notion of writing or letters, they can have no written laws; but there are ſome ancient cuſtoms, from which they ſcarce ever deviate. Murder, adultery and robbery, they conſtantly puniſh with death; and, if a perſon is ſuſpected of any of theſe crimes, the whole Kraal join in ſeizing and ſecuring him; but the guilty perſon ſometimes makes his eſcape to the mountains, where robbers and criminals, like himſelf, ſecure themſelves from juſtice, and frequently plunder the neighbouring country; for no other Kraal or nation of Hottentots will entertain a ſtranger, unleſs he is known to them, and can give a good reaſon for leaving his own Kraal.

If the offender is apprehended, the Captain aſſembles the people of his Kraal in a day or two; who, making a ring, and ſitting down upon their heels, the criminal is placed in the centre of them; the witneſſes on both ſides are heard, and the party ſuffer'd to make his defence: After which, the caſe being conſider'd, the Captain collects the ſuffrages of his Judges; and, if a majority condemn him, the priſoner is executed on the ſpot: The Captain firſt ſtrikes him with a truncheon he carries in his hand, and then the reſt of the Judges fall upon him, and drub him to death: Then wrapping up the corpſe in his kroſſe or mantle, it is carried ſome diſtance from the Kraal, and buried.

In civil caſes alſo the cauſe is determin'd by a majority of voices, and ſatisfaction immediately order'd the injur'd party out of the goods of the perſon that appears to be in the wrong. There is no appeal to any other Court; the King and his Council, conſiſting of the Captains of the Kraals, never interpoſe, unleſs in matters that concern the Publick, or where the Kraals are at variance. It may be proper here to add, that the Hottentots cattle and perſonal eſtate deſcend to his eldeſt ſon: He cannot diſinherit him, or give his effects to his other children; but, as for a property in lands, or any certain real eſtate, no man has any: The whole country is but one common, where they feed their cattle promiſcuouſly, moving from place to place to find water or freſh paſture as neceſſity requires.

Even the ſeveral nations have no ſtated bounds; but uſe ſuch tracts of land as their anceſtors did before them: 'Tis true, their reſpective limits ſometimes create differences between the ſeveral nations, and occaſion bloody wars; which brings me to treat of their arms, and the arts and ſtratagems they uſe in war.

Their arms.

The arms of a Hottentot are, 1. His launce, which reſembles a half-pike, ſometimes thrown and uſed as a miſſive weapon; and, at others, ſerves to puſh within cloſe fight, the head or ſpear whereof is poiſon'd. 2. His bow and arrows, the arrows bearded and poiſon'd likewiſe, when they engage an enemy, or a wild beaſt they do not intend for food: Their bows are made of iron or olive wood; the ſtring, of the ſinews or guts of ſome animal: The quiver is a long narrow caſe, made of the ſkin of an Elephant, Elk or Ox, and ſlung at their backs, as

Soldiers ſling their knapſacks. 3. A dart of a foot long, which they throw exceeding true, ſcarce ever miſſing the mark they aim at, tho' it be not above the breadth of a half-crown; theſe alſo are poiſon'd, when they engage an enemy, or a wild beaſt that is not to be eaten: And, laſtly, when they have ſpent the reſt of their miſſive weapons, they have recourſe to ſtones, ſeldom making a diſcharge in vain: and what is moſt remarkable in their ſhooting, or throwing arrows, darts, or ſtones, they never ſtand ſtill, but are all the while ſkipping and jumping from one ſide to the other, poſſibly to avoid the darts and ſtones of the enemy.

They never fight on horſeback.

They are all Foot, they never engage on Horſeback; but have diſciplin'd Bulls or Oxen taught to run upon the enemy, and to toſs and diſorder them; which theſe creatures will do, with the utmoſt fury, on the word of command, not regarding the weapons that are thrown at them: for, tho' the Hottentots have numbers of large Elephants in their country, they have not yet learnt the art of taming them, or training them up to the war, as the military men in the Eaſt-Indies do.

Every man a ſoldier.

Every able-bodied man is a Soldier, and poſſeſs'd of a ſet of ſuch arms as has been deſcrib'd; and, on the ſummons of his Prince, appears at the rendezvous with all imaginable alacrity and contempt of danger, and every man maintains himſelf while the expedition laſts. As their Officers, civil and military, have no pay; ſo neither do the Private men expect any: a ſenſe of honour, and the publick good, are the ſole motives for hazarding their lives in their country's ſervice.

The cauſes of war amongſt them.

The principal inducement to their entring into a war at any time, is the preſervation of their territories: As they have no land-marks or written treaties to adjuſt the exact bounds of every nation, they frequently diſagree about the limits of their reſpective countries; and, whenever any neighbouring nation grazes their cattle upon a ſpot of ground another claims, ſatisfaction is immediately demanded; and, if it be not given, they make repriſals, and have recourſe to arms. But this is not the only occaſion of wars among the Hottentots: They are not always that chaſte and virtuous people Mr. KOLBEN has repreſented them, ſome tempting HELEN (for Hottentots poſſibly may appear amiable in one another's eyes with all the greaſe and carrion they are cloathed with) has ſmitten a neighbouring Chief perhaps, who prevails on his people to aſſiſt him in the rape of the deſired female; and this frequently ſets their tribes together by the ears. The ſtealing each other's cattle is another cauſe of deadly ſtrife; for tho' each Kraal puniſhes theft among themſelves with death, yet it is looked upon as an heroick act to rob thoſe of another nation; at leaſt the body of the people are ſo backward in giving up the offender, that they frequently come to blows upon it.

Their way of fighting.

When they march into the field, every man follows his particular Captain, the Chief of his Kraal: They obſerve little order; neither do they take the precaution of throwing up trenches to defend themſelves, and, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, have no ſhields to defend themſelves againſt miſſive weapons, tho' ſome ſay they will ward off a launce or dart, and even a ſtone, with a little truncheon about a foot long, which they carry in their hands.

The ſeveral Companies advance to the charge, at the command of their Chief; and, when thoſe in the front have ſhot one flight of arrows, they retreat, and make room for thoſe in the rear; and, when theſe have diſcharg'd, the former advance again; and thus alternately they continue the fight, till they have ſpent all their miſſive weapons, and then they have recourſe to ſtones, unleſs they are firſt broken and diſperſed by a troop of Bulls; for the wiſe Chiefs and Generals of each ſide, according to the European practice, remaining on an eminence in the rear, to obſerve the fortune of the day, when they obſerve their people are hard preſs'd, give the word of command to their Corps de Reſerve of Bulls, who break into the body of the enemy, and generally bring all into confuſion; and that ſide that preſerves their order beſt, on this furious attack of theſe Bulls of Baſan, are ſure to be victorious. The ſkill of the General ſeems to lie chiefly in managing his Bulls; who never charge each other, but ſpend their whole rage upon the men, who have, it ſeems, no Dogs of Engliſh breed to play againſt them, or this ſtratagem would be of little ſervice: But I ſhould have obſerved, that as the battle always begins with horrid cries and noiſe, which perhaps ſupplies the place of drums and trumpets; ſo the victors inſult with no leſs noiſe over the conquered enemy, killing all that fall into their hands: but they ſeldom fight more than one battle, ſome neighbouring power uſually interpoſing to make up the quarrel; and of late the Dutch perform this good office, between ſuch nations as lie near their ſettlements. From their wars with each other, I naturally proceed to their wars with wild beaſts, with which their country abounds more than any other: Theſe people, it ſeems, eſteem it a much greater honour to have killed one of theſe foes to mankind, than an enemy of their own ſpecies.

Their way of attacking a wild beaſt.

There are inſtances of a Hottentot's engaging ſingly with the fierceſt wild beaſts, and killing them; but uſually the whole Kraal or village aſſemble, when a wild beaſt is diſcovered in their neighbourhood, and, dividing themſelves in ſmall parties, endeavour to ſurround him. Having found their enemy, they uſually ſet up a great cry, at which the frighted animal endeavours to break thro' and eſcape them: If it prove to be a Rhinoceros, an Elk, or Elephant, they throw their launces at him, darts and arrows being too weak to pierce thro' their thick hides: If the beaſt be not killed at the firſt diſcharge, they repeat the attack, and load him with their ſpears; and, as he runs with all his rage at the perſons who wound him, thoſe in his rear follow him cloſe, and ply him with their ſpears, on whom he turns again, but is overpowered by his numerous enemies, who conſtantly return to the charge, when his back is towards them, and ſcarce ever fail of bringing the creature down, before he has taken his revenge on any of them. How hazardous ſoever ſuch an engagement may appear to an European, theſe people make it their ſport; and have this advantage, that they are exceeding ſwift of foot, and ſcarce ever miſs the mark they aim at with their ſpears: If one of them is hard preſſed by the brute, he is ſure to be relieved by his companions, who never quit the field till the beaſt is killed, or makes his eſcape; though they ſometimes dexterouſly avoid the adverſary, they immediately return to the charge, ſubduing the fierceſt either by ſtratagem or force.

In the attacking a Lion, a Leopard or a Tyger, their darts and arrows are of ſervice to them; and therefore they begin their engagement at a greater diſtance, than when they charge an Elephant or Rhinoceros; and the creature has a wood of darts and arrows upon his back, before he can approach his enemies, which make him fret, and rage, and fly at them with the greateſt fury; but thoſe he attacks, nimbly avoid his paws, while others purſue him, and finiſh the conqueſt with their ſpears. Sometimes a Lion takes to his heels, with abundance of poiſoned darts and arrows in his fleſh: but, the poiſon beginning to operate, he ſoon falls, and becomes a prey to thoſe he would have preyed upon.

The Elephant, the Rhinoceros, and the Elk, are frequently taken in traps and pitfalls, without any manner of hazard. The Elephants are obſerved to go in great companies to water, following in a file one after another, and uſually take the ſame road till they are diſturbed: The Hottentots therefore dig pits in their paths, about 8 feet deep, and 4 or 5 over; in which they fix ſharp ſtakes pointed with iron, and then cover the pit with ſmall ſticks and turf, ſo as it is not diſcernable: and as theſe animals uſually keep in one track, frequently one or other of them falls with his fore-feet into the pit, and the ſtake pierces his body; the more he ſtruggles, the deeper the weight of his monſtrous body fixes him on the ſtake. When the reſt of the herd obſerve the misfortune of their companion, and find he can't diſengage himſelf, they immediately abandon him: Whereupon the Hottentots, who lie concealed, in expectation of the ſucceſs of their ſtratagem, approach the wounded beaſt, ſtab him with their ſpears, and cut his largeſt veins, ſo that he ſoon expires; whereupon they cut him to pieces, and, carrying the fleſh home, feaſt upon it as long as it laſts. His teeth they make into rings for their arms, and, when they have any ivory to ſpare, diſpoſe of it to the Europeans. The Rhinoceros and Elk are frequently taken in pitfalls, as Elephants are.

Honours conferr'd on him that kills a wild beaſt.

The Hottentot, who kills any of theſe, or a Lion, Leopard, or Tyger, ſingly, has the higheſt honour conferred upon him, and ſeveral privileges, which belong only to ſuch intrepid heroes. At his return from this hazardous and important ſervice, the men of Kraal depute one of the ſeniors to congratulate him on his victory, and deſire that he will honour them with his preſence; whereupon he follows the old Deputy to the aſſembly, whom he finds, according to cuſtom, ſitting upon their heels in a circle; and a mat of diſtinction being laid for him in the centre, he ſets himſelf down upon it: After which, the old Deputy piſſes plentifully upon him, which the hero rubs in with great eagerneſs, having firſt ſcratched the greaſe off his ſkin with his nails; the Deputy all the while pronouncing ſome words unintelligible to any but themſelves. After this they light a pipe of tobacco, which they ſmoak, and hand one to another till there remains nothing but aſhes in the pipe; and theſe the old Deputy ſtrews over the gallant man, who rubs them in as they fall upon him, not ſuffering the leaſt duſt to be loſt. After which, his neighbours having ſeverally congratulated him on his advancement to this high honour, they diſperſe, and go to their reſpective tents. The conqueror, afterwards, faſtens the bladder of the furious beaſt he has killed to his hair; and is from that time, by every one, eſteemed a brave man, and a benefactor to his country.

Being retired to his tent, his neighbours ſeem to vie which of them ſhall oblige him moſt, and are, for the next three days, continually ſending him one delicious morſel or other; nor do they call upon him to perform duty during that time, but ſuffer him to indulge his eaſe: But, what is ſtill more unaccountable, his wife or wives (for he may have more than one) are not allowed to come near him for three days after this honour is conferred upon him; but they are forced to ramble about the fields, and keep to a ſpare diet, leſt they ſhould, as Mr. Kolben ſurmiſes, tempt the huſband to their embraces: But, on the third day, in the evening, we are told, the women return to their tent; are received with the utmoſt joy and tenderneſs; mutual congratulations paſs between them; a fat Sheep is killed, and their neighbours invited to the feaſt; where the proweſs of the hero, and the honour he has obtained, are the chief ſubject of the converſation.

There is ſcarce any wild beaſt, but the fleſh is good eating, if it be not killed with poiſoned weapons; but the Tyger is the moſt delicious morſel, and, as the whole Kraal partake of the feaſt, the perſon who kills him meets with a double ſhare of praiſe, as he both rids the country of an enemy, and pleaſes their palates. Mr. Kolben relates, that he has himſelf eaten of the fleſh of a Tyger, and that it exceeds any veal in the world. But to return to the field-ſports of the Hottentots: When they hunt a Deer, a wild Goat, or a Hare, they go ſingly, or but two or three in company, armed only with a dart or two, and ſeldom miſs the game they throw at; yet, as has been obſerved already, ſo long as they have any manner of food left, if it be but the raw hides of cattle, or ſhoe-ſoles, they will hardly be perſuaded to ſtir to get more; tho', it is true, when they apprehend their cattle in danger from wild beaſts, no people are more active, or purſue the chaſe of them with greater alacrity and bravery.

The Hottentot fiſhing.

From hunting, I proceed to treat of their fiſhing, at which, according to Kolben, they are very expert; taking fiſh with angles, nets, and ſpears; and by groping they get a certain fiſh, called Rock-fiſh, particularly by groping the holes of the rocks near the ſhore when the tide is out: Theſe are mightily admired by the Europeans; but, having no ſcales, the Hottentots will not eat them.

When they throw their lines into the ſea, Kolben pretends, they allure the fiſh towards the bait by whiſtling and other noiſes; which I ſhall not encourage my readers to have much faith in, our fiſhermen imagining that a noiſe frights away the fiſh: However, both ſeem to be of opinion, that fiſh can hear in the water; and, if this may be depended on, I can't ſee why fiſh, as well as ſerpents, may not be charmed with muſick, or ſomething like it. Certain it is, the ſnakes in the Eaſt-Indies will riſe up and dance to the voice of a girl, and the muſick of a very ill inſtrument: But ſtill, I muſt confeſs, I am in doubt, whether fiſh can hear in the water; and, if they can, whether they may be charmed with ſounds of any kind.

Their way of ſwimming.

But the manner of the Hottentot's ſwimming is as particular as his fiſhing; for he ſtands upright in the ſea, and rather walks and treads the water, than ſwims upon it, his head, neck and ſhoulders being quite above the waves, as well as his arms; and yet they move faſter in the water than any European can: even in a ſtorm, when the waves run high, they will venture into the ſea, riſing and falling with the waves like a cork, in my author's phraſe: However, he obſerves, that before they venture either into the ſea or a river, they mutter ſomething to themſelves, which he ſuppoſes to be a ſhort prayer; adding, that when they have put up their fiſh in ſkins, they will ſwim, or rather walk, with a great load of them on their heads through the waves to the ſhore.

The marriages of the Hottentots.

The next thing I ſhall conſider, is the marriage of the Hottentots; and it ſeems, every young fellow has ſuch a regard to the advice of his father (or rather the laws and cuſtoms of the country require it) it) that he always conſults the old man before he enters into a treaty with his miſtreſs; and, if he approves the match, the father and ſon, in the firſt place, pay a viſit to the father of the damſel; with whom having ſmoaked, and talked of indifferent things for ſome time, the father of the lover opens the matter to the virgin's father; who, having conſulted his wife, returns an anſwer immediately to the propoſal: If it be rejected, the lover and his father retire without more words; but, if the offer be approved by the old folks, the damſel is called, and acquainted, that they have provided a huſband for her; and ſhe muſt ſubmit to their determination, unleſs ſhe can hold her lover at arms-end, after a night's ſtruggling: For Kolben tells us, where the parents are agreed, the two young people are put together; and, if the virgin loſes her maidenhead, ſhe muſt have the young fellow, tho' ſhe be never ſo averſe to the match; but then ſhe is permitted to pinch and ſcratch, and defend herſelf as well as ſhe can, and, if ſhe holds out till morning, the lover returns without his miſtreſs, and makes no farther attempts: But, if he ſubdues her, ſhe is his wife to all intents and purpoſes, without farther ceremony; and the next day the man kills a fat Ox, or more, according to his circumſtances, for the wedding-dinner, and the entertainment of their friends, who reſort to them upon the occaſion, bringing abundance of good wiſhes for the happineſs of the married couple, as is uſual among politer people. The Ox is no ſooner killed, but all the company get ſome of the fat, and greaſe themſelves with it from head to foot, powdering themſelves afterwards with Buchu; and the women, to add to their charms, make red ſpots on their black faces with red oker.

The entertainment being ready, the men form a circle in the area of the Kraal (for a large company cannot ſit within doors) and the women form another; the bridegroom ſitting in the middle of the men's circle, and the bride in the centre of her own ſex: Then the Prieſt, as Kolben calls him, enters the men's circle, and piſſes upon the bridegroom, which the young man rubs in very joyfully: Then this Prieſt, as he is called, goes to the ladies circle, where he does the bride the ſame favour, and ſhe rubs in the urine in like manner: And thus the old man goes from the bride to the bridegroom, and back again, till he has exhauſted all his ſtore; which is another inſtance of the modeſty of the Hottentots, that Kolben cries up ſo much. But, to proceed: He affords them a great many good wiſhes all the time; as, "That they may live long and happily "together; that they may have a ſon before the "end of the year, and that he may prove a brave "fellow, and an expert huntſman, and the like." After which, the meat is ſerved up in earthen pots glazed with greaſe; and, ſome of them having knives ſince the Europeans came amongſt them, they divide their meat pretty decently; but more of them make uſe of their teeth and claws, pulling it to pieces, and eating as voraciouſly as ſo many Dogs; having no other plates or napkins than the ſtinking corners of the mantles they wear; and ſea-ſhells without handles, uſually ſerve them inſtead of ſpoons. And here it may be proper to deſcribe their manner of roaſting meat, which, in ſpeaking of their diet, was forgot. They take a broad flat ſtone, and having fixed it in the ground, they make a fire upon it, till it is thoroughly heated; then taking off the coals, they lay the meat upon the ſtone, which they cover with another flat ſtone of the ſame dimenſions. Then they make a fire on the uppermoſt ſtone, and kindle another round about them both; and thus the meat is ſoon roaſted, at leaſt as much as they deſire it ſhould; for, if it be a little more than hot through, it is enough for them.

Their way of roaſting meat.

What they leave the firſt meal, is ſet by for the next; and, the pots and pans being taken away, each circle lights a pipe of tobacco, which is handed round; and, when that is out, another: Thus they continue ſmoaking, and talking merrily on the occaſion, till morning. They drink ſcarce any thing but water and milk; and that very rarely, but at their meals. They have no ſtrong liquors at their weddings, nor do they dance at the entertainment; but, towards break of day, the bride ſteals off, and the bridegroom after her; and then the company diſperſe. There is no throwing the ſtocking.

The next day all the gueſts return again, and feaſt upon what was left, ſmoak and chat as the day before; and this is repeated as long as the proviſion laſts: after which, they take their leaves of the new married couple, and return home. The Hottentots allow of polygamy; but ſeldom have more than three wives at a time; and, it ſeems, 'tis death to marry or lie with a firſt or ſecond couſin, or any nearer relation.

The Hottentots allow a plurality of wives.

A father ſeldom gives his ſon more than two or three Cows, and as many Sheep, upon his marriage; and with theſe he muſt make his way in the world; and I don't find they give any more with their daughters, than a Cow or a couple of Sheep: nor do they leave them, or their younger ſons, any thing when they die; but all the children depend upon the eldeſt brother, and are his ſervants, or rather ſlaves, when the father is dead, unleſs the eldeſt brother enfranchiſe them: nor has the mother any thing to ſubſiſt on, but what her eldeſt ſon allows her. As there are no great fortunes among them, they match purely for love; an agreeable companion is all their greateſt men aim at: Their Chiefs intermarry frequently with the pooreſt men's daughters; and a brave fellow, who has no fortune, does not deſpair of matching with the daughter of a Prince. Merit, according to Kolben, is more regarded here, than among the politer nations.

A widow, who marries a ſecond time, is obliged to cut off a joint of one of her fingers; and ſo for every huſband ſhe marries after the firſt: Either man or woman may be divorc'd, on ſhewing ſufficient cauſe before the Captain and the reſt of the Kraal; the woman, however, muſt not marry again, tho' the man is allowed to marry, and have as many wives as he pleaſes at the ſame time.

Divorces allowed.

A young Hottentot never is maſter of a hut or tent till he marries, unleſs his father dies and leave him one: Therefore the firſt buſineſs the bride and bridegroom apply themſelves to after their marriage-feaſt, is to erect a tent or hut of all new materials, in which work the woman has as great a ſhare as the man; and, this taking them up about a week's time, the new-married couple are entertain'd in the mean time in the tents of ſome of their relations.

When they reſort to their new apartment, and come to keep houſe together, the wife ſeems to have much the greateſt ſhare of the trouble of it: ſhe fodders the cattle, milks them, cuts out the firing, ſearches every morning for roots for their food, brings them home, and boils or broils them, while the drone of a huſband lies indolently at home, and will ſcarce give himſelf the trouble of getting up to eat, when his food is provided for him by the drudges his wives: The more of them he has, ſtill

the

The women work to maintain their huſbands in idleneſs.

the lazier life he leads, the care of making proviſion for the family being thrown upon them.

He will, 'tis ſaid, in his turn attend his cattle in the field; but expects every one of his wives ſhould do at leaſt as much towards taking care of them, as he does: he will alſo ſometimes, but very rarely, go a hunting with the men of his Kraal, and bring home a piece of veniſon, or a diſh of fiſh; but this is not often: and, if he is of any handicraft trade, he may work at it two or three hours in a week, and inſtruct his children in the art. He alſo takes upon him to ſell his cattle, and purchaſe tobacco and ſtrong liquors of the Dutch, with neceſſary tools, beads, and other ornaments, for which the Hottentots barter away their cattle. Their wives are not permitted to intermeddle in the buſineſs of buying and ſelling; this being the ſole prerogative of the man.

They have ſcarce any ſenſe of ſhame.

Kolben is pleaſed to take all occaſions to cry up the chaſtity of theſe poor wretches: You never ſee them, he ſays, kiſſing and toying, or even looking amorouſly at one another; the woman, he adds, never preſumes to enter her huſband's apartment, tho' he ſometimes ſteals to hers. One would think by this deſcription, every Hottentot took as much ſtate upon him as an Eaſtern Monarch; and that the poor hut or tent he lies in, had as many ſpacious rooms in it as a palace: whereas, in another place, Kolben himſelf informs us, that the dimenſions of a hut are exceeding ſmall, about 6 foot high and 12 foot diameter; that the man has frequently two or three wives; that his ſons and daughters lie in the ſame hut, when they are men and women grown; and for all this company how is is poſſible there can be diſtinct apartments? For my part, I have looked into theſe huts, where I have ſeen a fire-hearth of about 3 foot diameter in the middle of it, and the whole family, men, women and children, of all ages and ſexes, lying round about the fire-place like ſo many brutes, no partitions between them, nor indeed room for any. It is merry enough alſo to hear this grave gentleman talk of ſeparate beds, when they have nothing like a bed; but every one lies down upon his ſheep-ſkin mantle, and has no other covering in cold weather but another ſkin; and when it is warm, none of them have any covering at all: Nor is it at all improbable, that the Hottentot lies with his wives before all this company; for they have no back rooms to retire into when they have a call. What makes this alſo the more probable is, that we ſee nothing like modeſty among them; for, when the Europeans came out of curioſity to ſee the Hottentot villages, the women, old and young, will take off their greaſy modeſty-bit, and ſhew you all they have for the value of a half-penny; and that before their own family and the whole village: They will cry their ware as you paſs by their tents, and invite you to ſee it; but the carrion they wear about them on their backs and legs, and the ſhocking and frightful countenances they take pains to make themſelves, are enough to drive any man from them: Indeed, if they happen to be to the windward, no European noſe can bear the fragrant odours, raviſhingly ſweet to them, but enough to poiſon any thing elſe that walks upon two legs. But it is time now to give ſome account of their management of lying-in women.

The lying-in women.

When the wife finds herſelf near her time, the midwife (who is choſen by the whole Kraal, and enjoys that office for life) is called with the good women her neighbours, and the huſband is obliged to leave the tent, on pain of forfeiting a couple of Sheep for the entertainment of the Kraal: When the woman has a bad time, they boil milk and tobacco together, and make her drink it; which, 'tis ſaid, is generally of great ſervice to her, and haſtens the birth. If the child be ſtill-born, it is immediately buried, and the whole Kraal are forced to remove to another camp, as they do whenever any perſon dies. If the woman brings a live ſon into the world, there is great rejoycing: But the firſt thing they do with the child, is to daub it all over with Cow-dung; then they lay it before the fire, or in the ſun, till the dung is dried; after which, they rub it off, and waſh the child with the juice of certain herbs, laying it in the ſun, or before the fire again, till this liquor is dried in; after which, they anoint the child from head to foot with butter, or Sheep's fat melted, which is dried in as the juice was: And this cuſtom of anointing their bodies with fat they retain afterwards as long as they live.

They expoſe their female children, if they have twins

If the woman has twins, and they are girls, the man propoſes it to the Kraal, that he may expoſe one of them, either upon pretence of poverty, or that his wife has not milk for them both; and this they uſually indulge one another in: They do the ſame when they have a boy and a girl; but always preſerve the boys, tho' they happen to have two at a birth. The expoſed child is carried to a diſtance from the Kraal; and, if they can find a cave or hole in the earth, that ſome wild beaſt has made, they put the child alive into it; and then, having ſtopped up the mouth of the den with ſtones or earth, leave it there to ſtarve: If they cannot meet with ſuch a cavity, they tie the infant to the lower bough of a tree, or leave it in ſome thicket of buſhes, where it is frequently deſtroyed by wild beaſts.

They do not deal thus however, as has been obſerv'd, by their male children. On the birth of a boy, they kill a Bullock; and, if they have twins, two Bullocks; and make an entertainment for all the neighbourhood, who congratulate the parents on their good fortune; and, as with us, the greateſt rejoycings are on the birth of the firſt ſon.

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But, notwithſtanding theſe people are ſo inhuman to expoſe their children, they have an unaccountable abhorrence of their being cut in pieces and diſſected, as they are ſometimes ſerved by European Surgeons, if the children have not been dead long when they are found. The Hottentots imagine, that this is done with a deſign to uſe their fleſh in witchcraft or magick; and, it ſeems, they watch the corpſe of a relation that is buried, for ſome time, leſt their own pretended conjurers ſhould take them up again, and apply them to the like purpoſes; even the Sheep-ſkin mantle the woman is brought to bed upon, and that after the birth, are carefully buried together, leſt ſome wizard ſhould make uſe of them to enchant the mother, or ſome of the family.

The mother names the child.

The ſame day a Hottentot child is born, it is named by the mother, and generally has the name of ſome animal given it, that the mother moſt admires, it) that he always conſults the old man before he enters into a treaty with his miſtreſs; and, if he approves the match, the father and ſon, in the firſt place, pay a viſit to the father of the damſel; with whom having ſmoaked, and talked of indifferent things for ſome time, the father of the lover opens the matter to the virgin's father; who, having conſulted his wife, returns an anſwer immediately to the propoſal: If it be rejected, the lover and his father retire without more words; but, if the offer be approved by the old folks, the damſel is called, and acquainted, that they have provided a huſband for her; and ſhe muſt ſubmit to their determination, unleſs ſhe can hold her lover at arms-end, after a night's ſtruggling: For Kolben tells us, where the parents are agreed, the two young people are put together; and, if the virgin loſes her maidenhead, ſhe muſt have the young fellow, tho' ſhe be never ſo averſe to the match; but then ſhe is permitted to pinch and ſcratch, and defend herſelf as well as ſhe can, and, if ſhe holds out till morning, the lover returns without his miſtreſs, and makes no farther attempts: But, if he ſubdues her, ſhe is his wife to all intents and purpoſes, without farther ceremony; and the next day the man kills a fat Ox, or more, according to his circumſtances, for the wedding-dinner, and the entertainment of their friends, who reſort to them upon the occaſion, bringing abundance of good wiſhes for the happineſs of the married couple, as is uſual among politer people. The Ox is no ſooner killed, but all the company get ſome of the fat, and greaſe themſelves with it from head to foot, powdering themſelves afterwards with Buchu; and the women, to add to their charms, make red ſpots on their black faces with red oker.

The entertainment being ready, the men form a circle in the area of the Kraal (for a large company cannot ſit within doors) and the women form another; the bridegroom ſitting in the middle of the men's circle, and the bride in the centre of her own ſex: Then the Prieſt, as Kolben calls him, enters the men's circle, and piſſes upon the bridegroom, which the young man rubs in very joyfully: Then this Prieſt, as he is called, goes to the ladies circle, where he does the bride the ſame favour, and ſhe rubs in the urine in like manner: And thus the old man goes from the bride to the bridegroom, and back again, till he has exhauſted all his ſtore; which is another inſtance of the modeſty of the Hottentots, that Kolben cries up ſo much. But, to proceed: He affords them a great many good wiſhes all the time; as, "That they may live long and happily "together; that they may have a ſon before the "end of the year, and that he may prove a brave "fellow, and an expert huntſman, and the like." After which, the meat is ſerved up in earthen pots glazed with greaſe; and, ſome of them having knives ſince the Europeans came amongſt them, they divide their meat pretty decently; but more of them make uſe of their teeth and claws, pulling it to pieces, and eating as voraciouſly as ſo many Dogs; having no other plates or napkins than the ſtinking corners of the mantles they wear; and ſea-ſhells without handles, uſually ſerve them inſtead of ſpoons. And here it may be proper to deſcribe their manner of roaſting meat, which, in ſpeaking of their diet, was forgot.

Their way of roaſting meat.

They take a broad flat ſtone, and having fixed it in the ground, they make a fire upon it, till it is thoroughly heated; then taking off the coals, they lay the meat upon the ſtone, which they cover with another flat ſtone of the ſame dimenſions. Then they make a fire on the uppermoſt ſtone, and kindle another round about them both; and thus the meat is ſoon roaſted, at leaſt as much as they deſire it ſhould; for, if it be a little more than hot through, it is enough for them.

What they leave the firſt meal, is ſet by for the next; and, the pots and pans being taken away, each circle lights a pipe of tobacco, which is handed round; and, when that is out, another: Thus they continue ſmoaking, and talking merrily on the occaſion, till morning. They drink ſcarce any thing but water and milk; and that very rarely, but at their meals. They have no ſtrong liquors at their weddings, nor do they dance at the entertainment; but, towards break of day, the bride ſteals off, and the bridegroom after her; and then the company diſperſe. There is no throwing the ſtocking.

The next day all the gueſts return again, and feaſt upon what was left, ſmoak and chat as the day before; and this is repeated as long as the proviſion laſts: after which, they take their leaves of the new married couple, and return home.

The Hottentots allow a plurality of wives.

The Hottentots allow of polygamy; but ſeldom have more than three wives at a time; and, it ſeems, 'tis death to marry or lie with a firſt or ſecond couſin, or any nearer relation.

A father ſeldom gives his ſon more than two or three Cows, and as many Sheep, upon his marriage; and with theſe he muſt make his way in the world; and I don't find they give any more with their daughters, than a Cow or a couple of Sheep: nor do they leave them, or their younger ſons, any thing when they die; but all the children depend upon the eldeſt brother, and are his ſervants, or rather ſlaves, when the father is dead, unleſs the eldeſt brother enfranchiſe them: nor has the mother any thing to ſubſiſt on, but what her eldeſt ſon allows her. As there are no great fortunes among them, they match purely for love; an agreeable companion is all their greateſt men aim at: Their Chiefs intermarry frequently with the pooreſt men's daughters; and a brave fellow, who has no fortune, does not deſpair of matching with the daughter of a Prince. Merit, according to Kolben, is more regarded here, than among the politer nations.

Divorces allowed.

A widow, who marries a ſecond time, is obliged to cut off a joint of one of her fingers; and ſo for every huſband ſhe marries after the firſt: Either man or woman may be divorc'd, on ſhewing ſufficient cauſe before the Captain and the reſt of the Kraal; the woman, however, muſt not marry again, tho' the man is allowed to marry, and have as many wives as he pleaſes at the ſame time.

A young Hottentot never is maſter of a hut or tent till he marries, unleſs his father dies and leave him one: Therefore the firſt buſineſs the bride and bridegroom apply themſelves to after their marriage-feaſt, is to erect a tent or hut of all new materials, in which work the woman has as great a ſhare as the man; and, this taking them up about a week's time, the new-married couple are entertain'd in the mean time in the tents of ſome of their relations.

The women work to maintain their huſbands in idleneſs.

When they reſort to their new apartment, and come to keep houſe together, the wife ſeems to have much the greateſt ſhare of the trouble of it: ſhe fodders the cattle, milks them, cuts out the firing, ſearches every morning for roots for their food, brings them home, and boils or broils them, while the drone of a huſband lies indolently at home, and will ſcarce give himſelf the trouble of getting up to eat, when his food is provided for him by the drudges his wives: The more of them he has, ſtill the lazier life he leads, the care of making proviſion for the family being thrown upon them.

He will, 'tis ſaid, in his turn attend his cattle in the field; but expects every one of his wives ſhould do at leaſt as much towards taking care of them, as he does: he will alſo ſometimes, but very rarely, go a hunting with the men of his Kraal, and bring home a piece of veniſon, or a diſh of fiſh; but this is not often: and, if he is of any handicraft trade, he may work at it two or three hours in a week, and inſtruct his children in the art. He alſo takes upon him to ſell his cattle, and purchaſe tobacco and ſtrong liquors of the Dutch, with neceſſary tools, beads, and other ornaments, for which the Hottentots barter away their cattle. Their wives are not permitted to intermeddle in the buſineſs of buying and ſelling; this being the ſole prerogative of the man.

They have ſcarce any ſenſe of ſhame.

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The lying-in women.

When the wife finds herſelf near her time, the midwife (who is choſen by the whole Kraal, and enjoys that office for life) is called with the good women her neighbours, and the huſband is obliged to leave the tent, on pain of forfeiting a couple of Sheep for the entertainment of the Kraal: When the woman has a bad time, they boil milk and tobacco together, and make her drink it; which, 'tis ſaid, is generally of great ſervice to her, and haſtens the birth. If the child be ſtill-born, it is immediately buried, and the whole Kraal are forced to remove to another camp, as they do whenever any perſon dies. If the woman brings a live ſon into the world, there is great rejoycing: But the firſt thing they do with the child, is to daub it all over with Cow-dung; then they lay it before the fire, or in the ſun, till the dung is dried; after which, they rub it off, and waſh the child with the juice of certain herbs, laying it in the ſun, or before the fire again, till this liquor is dried in; after which, they anoint the child from head to foot with butter, or Sheep's fat melted, which is dried in as the juice was: And this cuſtom of anointing their bodies with fat they retain afterwards as long as they live.

They expoſe their female children, if they have twins

If the woman has twins, and they are girls, the man propoſes it to the Kraal, that he may expoſe one of them, either upon pretence of poverty, or that his wife has not milk for them both; and this they uſually indulge one another in: They do the ſame when they have a boy and a girl; but always preſerve the boys, tho' they happen to have two at a birth. The expoſed child is carried to a diſtance from the Kraal; and, if they can find a cave or hole in the earth, that ſome wild beaſt has made, they put the child alive into it; and then, having ſtopped up the mouth of the den with ſtones or earth, leave it there to ſtarve: If they cannot meet with ſuch a cavity, they tie the infant to the lower bough of a tree, or leave it in ſome thicket of buſhes, where it is frequently deſtroyed by wild beaſts.

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But, notwithſtanding theſe people are ſo inhuman to expoſe their children, they have an unaccountable abhorrence of their being cut in pieces and diſſected, as they are ſometimes ſerved by European Surgeons, if the children have not been dead long when they are found. The Hottentots imagine, that this is done with a deſign to uſe their fleſh in witchcraft or magick; and, it ſeems, they watch the corpſe of a relation that is buried, for ſome time, leſt their own pretended conjurers ſhould take them up again, and apply them to the like purpoſes; even the Sheep-ſkin mantle the woman is brought to bed upon, and that after the birth, are carefully buried together, leſt ſome wizard ſhould make uſe of them to enchant the mother, or ſome of the family.

The mother names the child.

The ſame day a Hottentot child is born, it is named by the mother, and generally has the name of ſome animal given it, that the mother moſt admires,

mires, as that of the Lion, the Elephant, the Horſe, the Hart, &c. The man is not allowed to come near his wife in the month, or at ſuch times as the Jews were prohibited approaching theirs, on pain of treating his neighbours with an Ox or Sheep, or forfeiting a pair of gloves, as our nurſes call it; but whether there be any religion in the matter, as Kolben inſinuates, I much queſtion, any more than in the woman's purification, or daubing herſelf with greaſe and duſt before they meet again: But, if I underſtand Mr. Kolben right, the Hottentots imitate brutes more than men, in the act of generation.

When the woman goes abroad again, after her lying in, ſhe ties the infant between two Sheep-ſkin mantles at her back, never taking the child into her arms to ſuckle it; but throws her breaſt over her ſhoulder as ſhe walks, and lets the child take its fill of it, while ſhe perhaps is ſmoaking a ſhort pipe of tobacco, which the wind frequently blows into the child's face; but they are ſo uſed to it from the time they are born, they don't much regard the ſmoak. They are weaned at about ſix months old; and then the mother puts a pipe into the child's mouth, and teaches it to ſmoak itſelf, which ſerves ſometimes inſtead of more ſubſtantial diet. As ſoon as they can go alone, which is very early, they follow the mother abroad wherever ſhe goes, unleſs it be bad weather; and then they remain at home with the indolent father, who never ſtirs out, unleſs neceſſity forces him abroad: The women and their daughters, as they grow up, do all the laborious work, cut the wood, drag it home, dig roots, and dreſs them for the father and the ſons, who ſcarce ever give them any aſſiſtance, as has been related already: Tho' the ſons, 'tis ſaid, are perfectly under the government of the mother, and dangle after her wherever ſhe goes, till they are formally admitted into the ſociety of the men by a certain ceremony, that will be deſcrib'd hereafter; but this is not perform'd till the ſons are 17 or 18 years of age: And this leads me to treat of the religion of the Hottentots.

The religion of the Hottentots.

On the firſt diſcovery of this people, and even till within thirty or fifty years paſt, it was much doubted, whether the Hottentots had any religion; nay, it was ſo confidently affirmed by thoſe who had viſited the Cape, that they had none, that moſt of our learned Divines knew not how to deny it; and only anſwered, that they were monſters in nature: That, as every other people appeared to have ſome ſenſe of God and religion ſtamped upon them by nature, this one exception ought not to affect that general maxim: "That God had imprinted the "knowledge of himſelf in the hearts of all man"kind." But now we have the fulleſt evidence, that the Hottentots are not an exception to this general rule.

Saar relates, that the Hottentots acknowledge, they believe there is a God, who made heaven and earth.

Father Tachart affirms, that the moſt ſenſible of the Hottentots declared, in a conference he had with them on their religion, that they believed there was a God that made heaven and earth, and cauſed it to thunder and rain, and who provided food and cloathing.

They worſhip the moon.

Boeving ſays, they profeſſed to believe, that, as the Chief of a Hottentot nation preſided over the Captains of the ſeveral Kraals, ſo God was the ſupreme Being, and Commander of all inferior deities. But Kolben, who has taken moſt indefatigable pains to be acquainted with their principles, travelled from nation to nation, and continued many years among the Hottentots, with a view of making diſcoveries, and particularly to underſtand what religion the people had, aſſures us, that they believe a ſupreme Being, Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things therein; the Governor of the world, through whoſe omnipotence all things live and move: And that this Being is endow'd with incomprehenſible attributes and perfections; ſtyling him, Gounja Gounja, or Gounja Ticquoa, God of Gods: That he is good, and does no-body any hurt, and dwells far above the moon. And yet it ſeems agreed, that they pay no divine worſhip to this ſupreme God, tho' they worſhip ſeveral ſubordinate deities; which Kolben demanding the reaſon of, they anſwer'd, that their firſt parents grievouſly offended the ſupreme God; and he thereupon curſed them, and all their poſterity with hardneſs of heart; ſo that they now know little of him, and have leſs inclination to ſerve him: This tradition he again and again aſſures us the Hottentots have; and that he has given it us without the leaſt addition or improvement of his own. But, however they have diſuſed the worſhip of the ſupreme God, it ſeems they adore the moon. Father Tachart ſays, that, on the appearance of the moon, they aſſemble in great numbers, and dance in circles, clapping their hands, crying and raving (as the Europeans at firſt term'd it) all night long. They throw themſelves into ſurprizing diſtortions of body, ſtare wildly towards heaven, extend every feature, and croſs their foreheads with a red ſtone: And theſe, ſays Kolben, are certainly acts of religion, tho' he acknowledges the Hottentots have frequently denied it; which, he ſays, proceeded from the Europeans laughing at them, when they ſaw them in theſe ecſtaſies. They denied it to Boeving, and often to himſelf; but they have ſeriouſly acknowledged at other times, that theſe dancings and howlings are religious honours and invocations of the moon, whom they call Gounja; whereas they call the ſupreme Being Gounja Gounja, or Gounja Ticquoa, the God of Gods. The moon, they hold, is an inferior viſible god, and the repreſentative of the high and inviſible: That the moon has the direction of the weather; and therefore they pray to her when it is unſeaſonable. They never fail to aſſemble and worſhip this planet at the new and full moon, let the weather be never ſo bad; and tho' they diſtort their bodies, grin, and put on very frightful looks, crying and howling in a terrible manner, yet they have ſome expreſſions that ſhew their veneration and dependance on this inferior deity; as, "Mutſchi Atze, I ſalute you; "you are welcome: Cheraqua kaka chori Ounqua, "grant us paſture for our cattle and plenty of milk." Theſe and other prayers to the moon they repeat, frequently dancing and clapping their hands all the while; and, at the end of every dance, crying, Ho, ho, ho, ho! raiſing and falling their voices, and uſing abundance of odd geſtures, that appear ridiculous to European ſpectators; and which, no doubt, made them at firſt, before they knew any thing of their language, conclude, that this could not be the effect of devotion, eſpecially when the people themſelves told them, it was not an act of religion, but only intended for their diverſion. But to return:

They continue thus ſhouting, ſinging and dancing, with proſtrations on the earth, the whole night, and even part of the next day, with ſome ſhort intervals, never reſting, unleſs they are quite ſpent with the violence of the action; and then they ſquat down upon their heels, holding their heads between their hands, and reſting their elbows on their knees; and,

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and, after a little time, they ſtart up again, and fall to ſinging and dancing in a circle as before, with all their might.

They worſhip a Fly.

The Hottentots alſo adore a Fly about the bigneſs of a Hornet: Whenever they ſee this inſect approach their Kraal, they all aſſemble about it, and ſing and dance round it while it remains there, ſtrewing over it the powder of Buchu, by Botaniſts call'd Spiræam; which, when it is dried and pulveriz'd, they always powder themſelves with it at feſtivals. They ſtrew the ſame powder alſo over the tops of their tents, and over the whole area of the Kraal, as a teſtimony of their veneration for the ador'd Fly. They ſacrifice alſo two Sheep as a thankſgiving for the favour ſhewn their Kraal, believing they ſhall certainly proſper after ſuch a viſit: And, if this inſect happens to light upon a tent, they look upon the owner of it for the future as a Saint, and pay him more than uſual reſpect. The beſt Ox of the Kraal alſo is immediately ſacrificed, to teſtify their gratitude to the little winged deity, and to honour the Saint he has been pleaſed thus to diſtinguiſh: To whom the entrails of the beaſt, the choiſeſt morſel in their opinion, with the fat and the caul is preſented; and the caul being twiſted like a rope, the Saint ever after wears it like a collar about his neck day and night, till it putrifies and rots off; and the Saint only feaſts upon the entrails of the beaſt, while the reſt of the Kraal feed upon the joints, that are not in ſo high eſteem among them: With the fat of the ſacrifice alſo the Saint anoints his body from time to time, till it is all ſpent; and, if the Fly lights upon a woman, ſhe is no leſs reverenced by the neighbourhood, and entitled to the like privileges.

It is ſcarce poſſible to expreſs the agonies the Hottontots are in, if any European attempts to take or kill one of theſe inſects, as the Dutch will ſometimes ſeem to attempt, to put them in a fright: They will beg and pray, and fall proſtrate on the ground, to procure the liberty of this little creature, if it falls in a Dutchman's hands: They are, on ſuch an occaſion, in no leſs conſternation than the Indians near Fort St. George, when the Kite, with a white head, which they worſhip, is in danger. If a Soldier takes one of theſe alive, and threatens to wring the neck of it off, the Indians will gather in crowds about him, and immediately collect the value of a ſhilling or two, to purchaſe the liberty of the captive bird they adore. But to return to the Hottentots: They imagine, if this little deity ſhould be killed, all their cattle would die of diſeaſes, or be deſtroy'd by wild beaſts; and they themſelves ſhould be the moſt miſerable of men, and look upon that Kraal to be doom'd to ſome imminent misfortune, where this animal ſeldom appears.

They worſhip departed Saints and Heroes.

The Hottentots alſo pay a ſort of religious worſhip to the ſouls of departed Saints and Heroes: They conſecrate fields, mountains, woods, and rivers to their memory; and when at any time, they happen to paſs by ſuch conſecrated ground, they put a ſhort prayer to the ſubordinate deity of the place, and ſometimes dance round, and clap their hands, as they do in their adorations of the moon: And being aſked the reaſon of it, they will ſometimes anſwer ſeriouſly that this is done in honour of certain Heroes among their anceſtors; who, when they were upon the earth, were eminent for their valour, beneficence, or other conſpicuous virtues: But as the Europeans uſually laugh at them for their ridiculous geſtures on theſe occaſions, they will very ſeldom anſwer ſeriouſly; and only reply, this is the Hottentot cuſtom. And from theſe different accounts it is, that we find authors, who have written of the Hottentots, frequently differ in their hiſtory; ſome aſſuring us, that theſe are acts of devotion and religion; and others, that they have not any thing like religion amongſt them, and that theſe antick poſtures and geſtures are only the effects of mirth and cuſtom.

Mr. Kolben relates, that nothing can be more certainly depended on, than the Hottentots worſhipping departed Saints and Heroes, and gives the following inſtance of it. He ſaw (he ſays) a Hottentot ſkipping and jumping round a little mount; and inquiring thereupon into the hiſtory of the Saint to whom it was dedicated, the Hottentot anſwered, he did not know it was conſecrated to the memory of any particular deity; but he did not doubt but ſome eminent Saint reſided in that place; for, happening to reſt here one night, as he was upon a journey, when he awaked next morning, to his great ſurprize, he ſaw a Lion ſtanding near him; but that the creature let him paſs, without attempting to ſeize him; which he would certainly have done, he thought, if the ſaint, who inhabited that mount, had not protected him. He now therefore gratefully paid his acknowledgments to this good Demon for his wonderful preſervation, or to that effect.

But this people, it ſeems, do not only pay divine honours to good, but evil Demons: They worſhip, as the natives of the Eaſt-Indies do, a powerful evil ſpirit, whom they believe the author of all the calamities in life; and who has nothing good or gracious in his compoſition, but rather delights in the miſeries of mankind: And this being, or evil genius, they worſhip, and ſacrifice Sheep and Oxen to, that he may do them no miſchief; and the Indians, in like manner, perform a ſolem ſacrifice once a year to this enemy of mankind, at which the whole nation aſſiſts, under an apprehenſion that ſome great evil will befal them, if they neglect it.

The endeavours of the Dutch Miſſionaries to make proſelytes of the Hottentots.

The Hollanders have ſent ſeveral reverend Divines to the Cape as Miſſionaries, who have ſpared no pains to bring the Hottentots off from their idolatry, and induce them to embrace Chriſtianity; even their covetouſneſs and ambition have been applied to, and temporal rewards offered them, on condition of their being inſtructed in the principles of Chriſtianity. But no motives whatever, whether thoſe relating to this or another ſtate, have yet been able to make the leaſt impreſſion on any one of them: They hold faſt and hug their ancient ſuperſtitions, and will hear of no other religion; which, with me, is a great argument that they have a religion or ſuperſtition of their own; for were they governed only by ſecular motives, and had no notion of God or providence, why ſhould they not accept the rewards the Dutch offer, and importune them to accept of on their embracing Chriſtianity? And I am apt to think, that the reaſon that they neither imitate the Europeans in their building, planting or cloathing, is becauſe they imagine themſelves to be religiouſly obliged to follow the cuſtoms of their anceſtors; and that, if they ſhould deviate from them in the leaſt of theſe matters, it might make way for a total change of their religion and manners, which they cannot think of without abhorrence.

Kolben relates, that one of the Dutch Governors at the Cape bred up an Hottentot from his infancy, obliging him to follow the faſhions and cuſtoms of the Europeans, to be taught ſeveral languages, and to be fully inſtructed in the principles of the Chriſtian religion, cloathing him handſomely, and treating him, in all reſpects, as a perſon for whom he had a high eſteem; and let him know, that he deſign'd him for ſome beneficial and honourable employment. The Governor afterwards ſent him a voyage to Batavia, where he was employed, under the Commiſſary his friend, for ſome time, till that gentleman died; and then he returned to the Cape of Good Hope: But, having paid a viſit to the Hottentots of his relations and acquaintance, he threw off all his fine cloaths, bundled them up, and laid them at the Governor's feet, and deſired he would give him leave to renounce his Chriſtianity, and live and die in the religion and cuſtoms of his anceſtors; only begg'd the Governor would give him leave to keep the hanger and collar he wore, for his ſake; which while the Governor was deliberating with himſelf upon, ſcarce believing the fellow to be in earneſt, the young Hottentot took the opportunity of running away, and never came near the Cape afterwards, thinking himſelf extremely happy that he had exchanged his European cloaths for a Sheep-ſkin and the reſt of the Hottentot dreſs and ornaments: The Engliſh Eaſt-India company, I'm inform'd, made the like experiment, bringing over two of that nation hither, whom they cloathed decently after the European manner, and uſed them in all reſpects, with the greateſt goodneſs and gentleneſs, hoping, by that means, to be better informed of the condition of their country, and whether it might be worth their while to make a ſettlement there; but the two Hottentots only learnt Engliſh enough to bewail their misfortune in being brought from their country and their friends; and, after two years trial of them, being again ſet on ſhore at the Cape, they immediately ſtripp'd off their European cloaths, and, having taken up the Sheep-ſkin mantle again, rejoiced beyond meaſure for their happy eſcape from the Engliſh.

"These infidel Hottentots, ſays the reverend Boeving, ſhew the utmoſt reluctance to the reaſoning on matters of religion. How often (ſays he) have I exhorted them to adore Gounja Gounja, the God of Gods (as they acknowledge him to be) and to thank him for the benefits they receive daily from his hands. To which they would anſwer, they did thank him, but ſtill they performed no manner of divine worſhip to him. And, being told they ought to expreſs their thanks to this God of Gods, by paying him the honour and veneration due to him, they grew uneaſy, and had not patience to hear the good man any longer; but retir'd, ſome frowning, and others mocking and laughing at him; ſo that I could not (ſays he) ſo much as pave a way towards inſtructing them in Chriſtianity."

The reverend Peter Kolben alſo informs us, that he has frequently allured them in ſmall companies with tobacco, wine, brandy, and other things they are fond of, to places of retirement, that he might draw them off from their idolatry, and inſtruct them in the true worſhip of God: That, as long as his ſtock laſted, he had their company, and they ſeemed to attend to him with a deſign to learn, but he ſoon found they only ſpunged upon him for what they could get, and laughed at him when he was gone. When his ſtores were ſpent, they ſtill called out for more; and, when they found they were exhauſted, gave him to underſtand they would hear no more. But this learned Divine very judiciouſly adds, that the immoral lives of the Europeans at the Cape, do not a little contribute to the prejudice of the Hottentots againſt Chriſtianity: The contradiction between the profeſſion, and the practice of the Hollanders, has been fatal to the Chriſtian faith they ſend their Miſſionaries to propagate. Theſe people are not ſo dull of apprehenſion, but they can ſee, that their principles and practices are diſſimilar, as well as other people: And, as they diſcover ſuch a wide difference between them at the Cape, it is not to be doubted, but this gives theſe Infidels unconquerable prejudices, and defeats all attempts of the Miſſionaries to convert them; and this muſt be acknowledg'd to be the caſe alſo in every other Pagan nation the Europeans viſit. Our ſea-faring men are not the ſobereſt and diſcreeteſt people in their conduct even here at home; but, when they get abroad, they throw off all manner of reſtraint, as if travelling gave them a licence to turn debauchees, and to practiſe every infamous vice their religion prohibits: They run into much greater exceſſes than the infidels themſelves, and give them ſuch an abhorrence of them and their religion, which the natives imagine encourages theſe extravagancies, that they can never entertain a favourable opinion of it; for even Pagans generally admire virtue, and deteſt notorious vices; and are apt to think that religion beſt, that makes the beſt men. Till our morals are better, therefore, we muſt never expect to make any real proſelytes abroad, tho' poſſibly we may ſometimes make a hypocrite; who, on ſome temporal views, may for a Time conform himſelf to our cuſtoms.

Some rites peculiar to the Hottentots.

But to return to the Hottentots: They have ſeveral other ceremonies and cuſtoms, which intelligent travellers conjecture have a relation to their religion; particularly that of depriving their males of the left teſticle, which is univerſally obſerved in every Hottentot nation generally at eight or nine years of age; tho', if the parents are poor, and not able to be at the expence of the feaſt, it is ſometimes deferred till their ſons are eighteen or nineteen.

At the performance of this rite, a Sheep is killed in the firſt place, and the Prieſt, with the fat of the entrails, greaſes the young lad, who is to undergo the operation, from head to foot; then tying his hands and feet, he is laid on the ground on his back, ſtretched at his full length, ſome friend or relation ſitting upon each arm and leg, and another lying croſs his body to prevent his ſtruggling: Then the Prieſt takes a common knife well ſharpened, and, taking hold of the left teſticle, makes a large orifice in the ſcrotum, ſqueezes out the teſticle, and then ties up the veſſels in an inſtant; after which, he takes a little ball, conſiſting of Sheep's fat, the powder of Buchu, and of ſome other herbs, and ſtuffs into the vacant ſcrotum, and then ſews up the wound, uſing the bone of a ſmall bird as an awl, and a Sheep's ſinew inſtead of thread: The Prieſt then anoints the patient again with the fat of the entrails of the new-kill'd Sheep; which, having ſcraped off again in ſome Places with his long nails, he piſſes upon the boy, and rubs in the urine; and thus the ceremony being finiſhed, the patient is laid in a tent provided for that purpoſe, where he is left two whole days and nights without any manner of nouriſhment: In which time, however, the wound is uſually ſo well healed, that he is able to ſhift for himſelf: And my author obſerves, they undergo the whole operation almoſt without a groan; nor was there any inſtance of a boy's miſcarrying by this painful rite.

In the mean time, the company reſort to the father's tent, where the men feaſt upon the Sheep killed on this occaſion, and the women are allowed to eat the ſoup, but do not touch a morſel of the fleſh; and the remainder of the day, and the ſucceeding night, being ſpent in ſmoaking, ſinging, and dancing, they greaſe or anoint themſelves the next morning with the remaining fat of the ſacrifice, and powder themſelves with Buchu; after which, they retire to their reſpective tents, the Prieſt being firſt preſented with a Calf or a Lamb for his trouble and attendance.

As to the reaſon of this painful rite among the Hottentots, ſome have imagined they uſe it, becauſe it contributes to their ſwiftneſs, their ſpeed being equal to that of the fleeteſt Horſes, as it is ſaid. But, as I much doubt whether they are ſo very ſwift of foot, as ſome relate, ſo I can ſee no manner of reaſon to believe that this adds to their heels, if they are ſo: It is not unlikely, as **Kolben** conjectures, that the uſing this rite proceeded from a miſtake at firſt, and was performed inſtead of circumciſion; though it was certainly a very unlucky miſtake, if it was one, it putting the patient to ſo much more pain than the other; but, however that be, no man is permitted to marry, till he can produce evidence, that he has undergone this operation; and the women, it ſeems, inſiſt upon it the more, becauſe they have a notion, that every man, who has two teſticles, gets twins; though, it ſeems, there are inſtances among them, that a man with one does the ſame. There is ſtill another ceremony to be performed, before a perſon can enter into the married ſtate; and that is, the admitting the young fellow into the company and converſation of the men, which is performed when they are about 18 years of age: Before this, they converſe only with the women, and follow their mothers from place to place wherever they go. When the Kraal are inclined to admit a youth into the ſociety of the men, they aſſemble; and, ſitting on their heels in a circle, the lad is ſent for, when the Captain, or ſome other ſenior Hottentot, demands of the reſt, if they think fit to admit him into their ſociety, and to make a man of him? which being anſwer'd in the affirmative, the ſpeaker informs the young man, that he is now to leave the converſation of his mother and the women, and no more amuſe himſelf with childiſh toys: That, if he is known to converſe with his mother, or any of the ſex for the future, till he is married, he will be looked on as unfit for the company of men: That he muſt now behave as a man, and not diſcover any ſoftneſs or effeminacy in his conduct. And theſe lectures being frequently repeated, that they may make the deeper impreſſion, this, like many other Hottentot rites, is concluded by the old man's piſſing upon him, and repeating ſome wiſhes at the ſame time; as that good fortune may attend the youth; that his beard may grow, and that he may encreaſe and multiply. After which, a Sheep being killed, part of which is roaſted and the other boiled, they feaſt upon it; and, at the latter end of the entertainment, the young fellow is called in, and ſuffered to eat with them; and from thence forward is looked upon as a compleat man. But, if he is ever ſeen to converſe with the women afterwards, he becomes extremely contemptible; he is in a manner unmann'd, and muſt give a freſh entertainment to his village, before he can be reſtored to the privilege of a man: Among which, I find one is, that he may then inſult his mother, and even beat her for his own humour, without any provocation, and is not liable to be puniſhed for it; nor is his ill uſage of her any reflection on him, but rather looked upon as an argument of a noble ſpirit.

The initiating ceremony.

Sacrifices of thankſgiving.

They have feſtivals, and kill ſacrifices alſo upon many other occaſions; as an obtaining a victory over wild beaſts or men, on their recovery from a fit of ſickneſs, and the like. At theſe feſtivals they erect an arbour in the centre of the Kraal, which the women adorn with ſweet herbs and flowers, while the men take an Ox, and, tying his legs with ropes, throw him on his back; and, having extended his legs to the utmoſt ſtretch, they faſten the cords to ſtakes drove into the ground: After which, they rip the beaſt open alive from one end to the other; then they tear the guts from the carcaſe and nobler parts, avoiding as much as poſſible the breaking the blood-veſſels about the heart; by which means the creature is ſometimes half an hour a dying. When the entrails are taken out, they anoint themſelves with the fat of them; and then roaſt and boil the reſt of the ſacrifice, the guts and inwards being the portion of thoſe of the beſt quality among them, as they are eſteemed preferable to any other part of the Bullock: But, tho' the men feaſt upon the fleſh, they ſend no part of it to their wives, the women are forced to be content with the broth, as upon other occaſions: After which, they ſmoak, dance, and play upon ſuch inſtruments as they have; but ſcarce ever drink any other liquor at theſe feaſts, than their uſual beveridge, milk and water; tho' no people are fonder of ſpirituous liquors. My author obſerves, they keep themſelves perfectly ſober at all religious ſolemnities, how odd ſoever their antick poſtures and diſtortions in their dances may make them appear to ſtrangers.

At the removing of their Kraal, or camp, which they always do upon the death of any perſon in it, as well as for water and freſh paſture, the men ſacrifice a Sheep, and eat it up among themſelves, allowing their wives only the ſoup; and when they come to a new camp, the women ſacrifice a Sheep, and eat it up among themſelves, ſending the broth only to the men: They alſo anoint themſelves with the fat of the ſlain beaſt, powdering themſelves with Buchu, as the men do; which my author looks upon alſo as religious ceremonies, performed for the proſperity of their Kraal.

They have no notion of a future ſtate.

But whatever notions the Hottentots may have of God or his providence, Father **Tachart** is of opinion, that they expect no life after this; and therefore, he obſeves, they endeavour to make the preſent life as eaſy and comfortable to them as they can. **Boeving** alſo affirms, that they do not believe the reſurrection of the dead; but imagine, they and other animals, at death, periſh alike; for he ſays, talking with ſome Hottentots once on this ſubject, they anſwered, "Only here, hereafter nothing: The dead come to life again! How can "that be?" **Kolben** on the other hand ſays, that tho' the Hottentots have no notion of a reſurrection, yet it is manifeſt, from ſeveral cuſtoms they retain among them, that they do believe the immortality of the ſoul: As firſt, they offer prayers and praiſes to thoſe they eſteem holy Hottentots after their deaths.

But believe however the immortality of the ſoul, according to ſome.

2. They are apprehenſive the dead may return, and give them ſome diſturbance; and therefore, upon the death of any one of the ſociety, they always remove their camp to another place, believing that the dead never haunt any place, but that where they died: And, as if they imagined the dead might ſtand in need of the ſame things they did while living, they leave the tent ſtanding where he died, with all his cloaths, arms, furniture and implements of houſhold-ſtuff, and never will touch any thing belonging to a dead man, no not of an enemy's kill'd in the battle.

Another argument Kolben brings to prove they believe the immortality of the ſoul, is their faith in witchcraft; and that their pretended wizards can lay a troubleſome ſpirit, and prevent their appearing again: For, it ſeems, the Hottentots aſcribe all ſuch diſeaſes as their Phyſicians can't cure, to the power of magick; and, as in Europe, look upon every decrepid old woman as a Witch. Now, ſays Kolben, if they did not believe the ſouls of departed mortals had a being after they were dead, why ſhould they take any pains to prevent their haunting their abodes? It is manifeſt alſo, he obſerves, that they believe the ſouls of men, good or bad, remain about the places they inhabited; and conſequently that they do not die with the body: However he admits, that, whatever they believe of departed ſouls, they have no notion either of heaven or hell, or of a ſtate of rewards or puniſhments: This is evident from the behaviour of a dying Hottentot, and thoſe about him; neither he nor his friends offer up any prayers to their gods for the ſalvation of his ſoul; or even mention the ſtate of departed ſouls, or their apprehenſions of his being happy or miſerable after death: However, they ſet up ſuch terrible howlings and ſhriekings, when the ſick man is in his laſt agonies, that they may be heard, ſays my author, at a mile's diſtance; and yet theſe very people are frequently guilty of murdering their ancient parents, as well as their innocent children. When the father of a family is become perfectly uſeleſs and ſuperannuated, he is obliged to aſſign over his ſtock of cattle, and every thing elſe he has in the world, to his eldeſt ſon; and, in default of ſons, to his next heir-male: After which, the heir erects a tent or hut in ſome unfrequented place a good diſtance from the Kraal or camp he belongs to; and, having aſſembled the men of the Kraal, acquaints them with the condition of his ſuperannuated relation, and deſires their conſent to expoſe him in the diſtant hut; to which the Kraal ſcarce ever refuſe their conſent. Whereupon a day being appointed to carry the old man to the ſolitary tent, the heir kills an Ox, and two or three Sheep, and invites the whole village to feaſt and be merry with him; and, at the end of the entertainment, all the neighbourhood come and take a formal leave of the old wretch, thus condemn'd to be ſtarv'd or devour'd by wild beaſts (which ſeems to me the moſt cruel and ill-natur'd part of the whole tragedy): Then the unfortunate creature is laid upon one of their carriage-Oxen, and carried to his laſt home, attended to the place, where he is to be buried alive, by moſt of his neighbours. The old man being taken down, and ſet in the middle of the hut provided for him, the company return to their Kraal, and he never ſees the face of a human creature afterwards: They never ſo much as enquire whether he was ſtarv'd to death, or devour'd by wild beaſts: He is no more thought of, than if he had never been. In the ſame manner they deal with a ſuperannuated mother; only as ſhe has nothing ſhe can call her own, ſhe has not the trouble of aſſigning her effects to her ſon.

They expoſe their parents to certain death.

When the Hottentots are upbraided with this unparallel'd piece of barbarity, they reply, it would be a much greater cruelty to ſuffer an old creature to languiſh out a miſerable life, and to be many years a dying, than to make this quick diſpatch with them; and that it is out of their extreme tenderneſs they put an end to the lives of theſe old wretches; all the arguments in the world, againſt the inhumanity of the cuſtom, can make no impreſſion on them: And, indeed, as long as the Dutch have reſided at the Cape, they have not been able to break them of one ſingle cuſtom, or prevail with them to alter any part of their conduct, how barbarous or abſurd ſoever: And, it ſeems, the Captain of a Kraal is not exempted from ſeeing his funeral ſolemniz'd in this manner, while he is alive, if he happens to become uſeleſs. And this leads me to treat of ſuch funerals as are ſolemniz'd after the perſon is really dead.

Their funerals.

The ſick man, having reſigned his breath, is immediately bundled up, neck and heels together, in his Sheep-ſkin mantle, exceeding cloſe; ſo that no part of the corpſe appears: Then the Captain of the Kraal, with ſome of the ſeniors, ſearch the neighbouring country for ſome cavity in a rock, or the den of a wild beaſt, to bury it in, never digging a grave, if they can find one of theſe within a moderate diſtance. After which, the whole Kraal, men and women, prepare to attend the corpſe, ſeldom permitting it to remain above ground more than ſix hours. When all things are ready, all the neighbourhood aſſemble before the door of the deceas'd, the men ſitting down on their heels in one circle, and reſting their elbows on their knees (their uſual poſture) as the women do in another: Here they clap their hands, and howl, crying, Bo, bo, bo! (*i. e.* father) lamenting their loſs. The corpſe then being brought out on that ſide the tent, where the perſon died, and not at the door, the bearers carry him in their arms to the grave, the men and women following it in different parties, but without any manner of order, crying all the way, Bo, bo, bo! and wringing their hands, and performing a thouſand ridiculous geſtures and grimaces, which is frequently the ſubject of the Dutchmen's mirth; it being impoſſible, 'tis ſaid, to forbear laughing at the antick tricks they ſhew on ſuch an occaſion.

Having put the corpſe into the cavity prepared for it, they ſtop up the mouth of it with Ant-hills, ſtones, and pieces of wood, believing the Ants will feed on the corpſe, and ſoon conſume it. The grave being ſtopp'd up, the men and women rendezvous again before the tent of the deceas'd, where they repeat their howling, and frequently call upon the name of their departed friend: After which, two of the oldeſt men get up; and one of them, going into the circle of the men, and the other into the circle of the women, piſs upon every one of the company; and, where the Kraals are ſo very large, that two can't find water enough for this ceremony, they double or treble the number. Then the old men go into the tent of the deceas'd; and, having taken up ſome aſhes from the fire-place, they ſprinkle them upon the body of the people, bleſſing them as they go: And, if the deceas'd was a perſon of diſtinction, this is acted over again ſeveral days. But I ſhould have remember'd, that the ceremony always concludes with an entertainment. If the deceas'd had any cattle, a Sheep is killed on the occaſion; and the caul, being powder'd with Buchu, is tied about the heir's neck, who is forced to wear it while it rots off, which is no great penance, all ſtinks being perfumes to a Hottentot. All the relations alſo wear the cauls of Sheep about their necks; which, it ſeems, is their mourning, unleſs the children of the deceas'd are ſo poor, that they cannot kill a Sheep; and then they ſhave their heads in furrows of about an inch broad, leaving the hair on of the ſame breadth between every furrow.

As I have treated of the religious cuſtoms and ceremonies of the Hottentots, it may be proper now to ſay ſomething of thoſe officers amongſt them, which the Europeans generally denominate their

Their Prieſts.

Their Phyſicians.

Prieſts. Theſe perſons are call'd Surri or maſter, and are elected by every Kraal: They are the men, who perform the ceremony of piſſing at their weddings, and other feſtivals: The Surri alſo is the perſon who extracts the left teſticle from the young males at 8 years of age; for all which he has no ſtated revenue, but a preſent now and then of a Calf or a Lamb, and makes one at all their entertainments. But every Kraal alſo has its Phyſician, as well as its Prieſt, who are perſons that have ſome ſkill in phyſick and ſurgery, and particularly in the virtues of ſalutary herbs: Theſe alſo are choſen by a majority of voices, and make it their buſineſs to look after the people's health; but have no other reward neither for their pains, than voluntary preſents. And ſuch is the opinion of the Hottentots of theſe Phyſicians, that, if they cannot effect a cure, they conclude. they are certainly bewitch'd; as the Doctor himſelf alſo never fails to give out: Whereupon application is made to ſome pretended Conjurer for relief; and, if the patient happens to recover, it gives the Cunning-man, as we call him, a mighty reputation.

The Hottentot Phyſician and Surgeon, as has been hinted, is the ſame perſon; and tho' theſe gentlemen ſcarce ever ſaw a body diſſected, 'tis ſaid, they have pretty good notions of anatomy: They cup, bleed, make amputations, and reſtore diſlocated limbs, with great dexterity; colicks and pains in the ſtomach they relieve by cupping. Their cup is the horn of an Ox, the edges cut very ſmooth: the Doctor, having ſuck'd the part where the pain lies, claps on the cup; and, after it has remained ſome time, till he thinks the part is inſenſible, he pulls off the horn-cup, and makes two or three inciſions, half an inch in length, with a common knife, having no other inſtrument: After which, he claps on the cup again, which falls off when it is full of blood; but the patient, 'tis ſaid, ſuffers great pain in the operation. If the pain removes to another part, they rub it with hot fat; and, if that does not eaſe the pain, they uſe the cup again on the part laſt affected; and, if the ſecond cupping does not relieve the patient, they give him inward medicines, being infuſions or powders of certain dried roots and herbs.

They let blood in Plethories and indiſpoſitions of that kind, having no other inſtrument than a common knife; and, if bleeding will not effect the cure, they give the patient phyſick.

For head-achs, which they are pretty much ſubject to in calm weather, they ſhave their heads in furrows, as they do when they are in mourning; but a briſk gale of wind uſually carries off the head-ach, without any other application; and this they don't often want at the Cape.

They ſeldom make any other amputations, than of the fingers of ſuch women as marry a ſecond time, or oftner; and, in this caſe, they bind the joint below that which is to be cut off very tight, with a dried ſinew, and then cut off the joint at once with a knife, ſtopping the blood with the juice of Myrrh-leaves; after which, they wrap up the finger in ſome healing herbs, and never any part of the finger receives any hurt beyond the amputation.

They have little or no ſkill in ſetting fractur'd limbs; but are pretty dexterous at reſtoring of diſlocations.

The Hottentot Phyſician, in caſe he meets with a foul ſtomach, gives the juice of Aloe-leaves; and, if one doſe will not do, repeats it two or three days; and, for any inward ail, they give chiefly the powders or infuſions of wild Sage, wild Figs and Fig-leaves, Buchu, Garlick or Fennel: But, whatever the diſeaſe be, it ſeems the patient never fails to ſacrifice a Bullock, or a Sheep, upon his recovery.

The management of their cattle.

I proceed now to treat of the Hottentots care of their cattle, the only wealth or ſubſtance almoſt they are maſters of. They have no encloſures; nor has any ſingle man a property in any particular lands, but the whole country is one great common. Between ſix and ſeven every morning therefore, after the women have milked their Cows, four or five men of the Kraal (for they take the trouble of it alternately) drive the cattle to the beſt paſture they can find in the neighbourhood, and there guard them all day againſt the attacks of wild beaſts, bringing them home again between five and ſix in the evening: As their camp or Kraal is of a round figure, and their tents ſtand cloſe together, there is only one narrow paſſage, through which they let in their Sheep, and lodge them in the area of the Kraal all night. They have alſo a hut in the middle of the Kraal for their Calves and Lambs. As for their Oxen and their large cattle, theſe are faſtened to their tents on the outſide of the Kraal, and their Dogs are turned out to give notice of the approach of wild beaſts; and, indeed, the cattle themſelves, 'tis ſaid, are ſoon ſenſible if a wild beaſt approaches the Kraal, and long before he comes at them, will fall a lowing, and making a mighty noiſe and buſtle, and alarm their maſters frequently time enough to come out to their reſcue; for a Hottentot is ſo far from flying from theſe terrible animals, that be it Lion, Tyger or Leopard, they all immediately run to their arms, and plant themſelves between the cattle and the enemy; and if they happen to have any of their cattle carried away, they all purſue the wild beaſt, and generally make him pay for the robbery with his life, being ſo ſwift of foot, that few animals can eſcape them, eſpecially with their prey.

They breed up alſo a ſort of war-Oxen, as has been obſerv'd under another head; and theſe are of great ſervice to them, both in the managing and guarding their herds: Other Oxen they diſcipline for carriage, loading them with their tents and baggage, whenever they remove. Every Kraal has a Doctor or Farrier for their cattle, who makes it his buſineſs to look after them; tho' it ſeems, they are ſubject to few diſeaſes, but what are occaſioned by their heavy rains, which fall in winter three or four days together, without intermiſſion; and then, the cattle having no barns or ſhelter to fly to, ſuffer pretty much: However, my author obſerves, they never have the rot amongſt them. Whatever their cattle ail almoſt, they bleed them in the firſt place, and then give them an infuſion of Garlick: Inſtead of gelding their Bulls and Rams, as the Europeans do, they tie up the teſticles of the creature ſo tight with a thong, that they ſtop all manner of communication between them and the body, and ſo let them go till they rot off.

Tho' a Hottentot looks upon the loſs of his cattle as the greateſt misfortune that can befal him; yet he is not inconſolable upon the death of an Ox or Cow; for they eſteem cattle, that die of themſelves, to be as good meat, or rather more delicious eating, than if they had been kill'd by a Butcher, and all the Kraal partake of it: So that if the loſer grieves for his particular misfortune, the reſt rather rejoice at it.

They ſerve the Dutch.

When a Hottentot has no cattle, he uſually lets himſelf to one of his countrymen, or to a Dutchman, till he gets money enough to buy a Cow, or two or three Sheep; but they chuſe rather to ſerve Europeans than their own people, becauſe they can have a daily ſupply of Tobacco, and now and then a draught of Wine, or a dram from them; and beſides, their wages are rather better than what they can get at home: And, notwithſtanding their natural ſloth, 'tis ſaid, they make very diligent and faithful ſervants during the time they contract for. Tho' they are extremely fond of Wine and Tobacco, you may ſafely truſt it in their hands; they will not touch any thing committed to their care; nor do they, if we may credit the Dutch, want a capacity for almoſt any buſineſs. This alſo is ſufficiently evident from the handicraft trades amongſt them.

Their mechanicks.

Their Smiths do not only faſhion their iron, but melt it from the oar: They find plenty of iron-ſtones in ſeveral parts of their country; and, having got a heap of theſe, they put them into a hole in the ground, heated and prepared for their purpoſe: Then they make a fire over the ſtones, which they ſupply with fuel, and keep up till the iron melts; and then it runs into another hole, which they make for a receiver, a little lower than the firſt. As ſoon as the iron in the receiver is cold, they break it in other fires, beat them with ſtones, till they ſhape them into the heads of launces, darts, arrows and bows, and ſuch weapons as they uſe; for they ſcarce ever form any other utenſils, but arms of this metal: They get the hardeſt flat ſtone, according to Monſieur VOGEL, and laying the iron upon it, as upon an anvil, beat it with another round ſtone, which ſerves them for a hammer: Then they grind it upon the flat ſtone, and poliſh it as nicely as any European artificer could do with all his tools. They have ſome copper-oar too, which they melt in like manner; but they make only toys and ornaments for their dreſs of this metal: Nor indeed do they ever work in iron, but when they want weapons. They would never labour, if their neceſſities did not ſometimes compel them to it: But, when they do, no people work harder, or more indefatigably; for they never leave a piece of work, till they have finiſhed it. But ſurely, ſince they have found the way of working both iron and copper, they can't but be accuſed of very great indolence and ſtupidity, that they do not make themſelves ſuch tools, of iron and copper-veſſels, as they want: If they can form and poliſh arms, and braſs beads ſo exquiſitely as ſome travellers affirm, they might alſo make any thing elſe they have occaſion for; as axes, hammers, ſaws, braſs pots, and other veſſels, with a little more application. But to proceed:

Their Butchers alſo are ſaid to be great artiſts in their way, and to handle a knife as dexterouſly as an Anatomiſt: Having tied the hind and fore legs of a Sheep, they throw the creature on its back, and, with cords, two of them extend it to its full ſtretch, while a third rips it up; ſo that all the entrails appear: Then, with one hand, he tears the guts from the carcaſe, and, with the other, ſtirs the blood, avoiding as much as he can the breaking any of the blood-veſſels about the heart; ſo that the Sheep is a long time a dying: In the mean time, he gives the guts to another, who juſt rids them of the filth, and rinſes them in water, and part of them are broil'd and eaten amongſt them, before the Sheep is well dead: Having ſcooped the blood out of the body of the animal with their hands or ſea-ſhells, they cut the reſt of the guts in ſmall pieces, and ſtew them in the blood, which is the Hottentots favourite diſh. An Ox alſo is killed in the ſame manner; being thrown upon his back, and his legs extended with cords, he is ripped up, and his guts taken out firſt; in which cruel operation the beaſt is half an hour a dying: They ſeparate the parts with great exactneſs, dividing the fleſh, the bones, the membranes, muſcles, veins and arteries, and laying them in ſeveral parcels, every thing entire. The bones alſo are taken out of the fleſh, and laid together in ſuch order, that they might be eaſily formed into an exact ſkeleton: Theſe they boil by themſelves, and get the marrow out of them, with which they anoint their bodies. Of the Sheep-ſkin, as has been obſerved already, they make a mantle, if it be large; but, if it is ſmall, they cut it into thongs, to adorn their women's legs: And the hide of an Ox ſerves either to cover their tents, or to make girts and ſtraps of, with which they bind their baggage on the Carriage-oxen when they decamp; and if they have no other uſe for their Ox-hides, they lay them by, and eat them when they want other food.

They have another artificer, who is both Felmonger and Taylor; that is, he dreſſes ſkins after their way, and then makes them into mantles: He takes a Sheep-ſkin juſt flead off, and, rubbing it well with fat, the ſkin becomes tough and ſmooth; and, if it be for one of his countrymen, he rubs it over alſo with freſh Cow-dung, and lays it in the ſun till 'tis dry: Then he rubs it with fat and Cow-dung again; which he repeats ſeveral times, till it becomes perfectly black, and ſtinks ſo, that no European can bear it; and then, with a little ſhaping and ſewing, it is a compleat mantle for a Hottentot: But, if it be dreſs'd for a Dutchman, he only rubs the ſkin well with fat, which ſecures the wool from coming off. If he be to dreſs an Ox's-hide, he rubs the hairy ſide with wood-aſhes; then, ſprinkling it with water, rolls it up, and lays it a day or two in the ſun: If this does not looſen the hair, ſo as it may be eaſily pull'd off, he rubs it with aſhes again, and lets it lie ſome time longer; and then, ſtripping the hair clean off, rubs it well with fat, which is the full dreſſing. Theſe hides he uſually cuts out into ſtraps or girts of the breadth of two inches, which ſerve to pack up their tents and baggage on a march, as has been related already: And my author obſerves, he is very dextrous in cutting out mantles, and ſewing the ſkins together, eſpecially if they are made of Cat-ſkins. This operator has no cutting inſtrument, but a knife; his awl is the bone of a bird, and his thread the ſplit ſinews of ſome animal; and with theſe he performs his work as neatly as a European Taylor with all his inſtruments about him.

It is the employment of another mechanick to make their ivory rings or bracelets for their arms, which he cuts out of an Elephant's tooth, forms and poliſhes to admiration alſo, without any other tool than his knife.

The Potter or maker of earthen veſſels is another art; but this, it ſeems, they are all dexterous at, every family making the pots and pans they want. For theſe they uſe only the earth of Ant-hills, clearing them of all ſand and gravel; after which, they work it together with the bruiſed Ant-eggs, that are ſaid to conſtitute an extraordinary cement. When they have moulded theſe materials into a kind of paſte, they take as much of them as will make one of their pots, and faſhion it by hand upon a flat ſtone, making it of the form of a Roman urn; then they ſmooth it within and without very carefully, not leaving the leaſt roughneſs upon the ſurface; and having dry'd it in the ſun two or three days, they put the pot into a hole in the ground, and burn it, by making a fire over it; and when they take it out, it appears perfectly black: Every family alſo make their own mats, with which they cover their tents or huts; but this is chiefly the buſineſs of the women: They gather the flags and ruſhes by the river-ſide, or weave or plat them into mats ſo cloſely, 'tis ſaid, that neither the weather or light can penetrate them.

The laſt artificer I ſhall mention, is the Rope-maker, who has no better materials, than ſuch flags and ruſhes as the mats are made of; and yet they appear almoſt as ſtrong as thoſe made of hemp: The Dutch, at the Cape, buy and uſe them in ploughing, and in draught-carriages.

The traffick of the Hottentots.

After giving an account of their manufactures, it is natural to enquire into the trade of the natives; but this is very inconſiderable. As they have no money amongſt them, they truck and barter one thing for another. The poor Hottentots ſometimes employ themſelves in making arms, viz. bows and arrows, lances and darts, bartering them with the rich for cattle, to begin the world with: Others get Elephants teeth; and what they do not uſe in making rings and ornaments for themſelves, are generally diſpoſed of, it is thought, to the Portugueſe and other Europeans, who touch at Terra de Natal, and other parts of the eaſtern or weſtern coaſt. The Hottentots ſell very few teeth to the Dutch; tho', tis manifeſt, they kill abundance of Elephants: They ſupply the Hollanders however with cattle, and take Wine, Brandy, or Tobacco, in return; and Kolben relates, that an Ox may be purchaſed of them for a pound of Tobacco, and a large Sheep for half a one. As to coin, the reader will conclude they have none; nor do they ever ſee any, unleſs ſome ſmall pieces of money the Dutch ſometimes give them for their wages at the Cape; and it muſt not be forgot, that the Hottentots find abundanee of Oſtrich's-eggs in the ſand, which they barter with the ſea-faring men, that touch at the Cape, for Brandy and Tobacco; every Sailor almoſt being proud of bringing home one of theſe egg-ſhells to his friends, after he has fry'd and eaten the yolk, which makes a large pancake, and is pretty good food, but rather of the ſtrongeſt.

Their way of travelling.

As to the way of travelling here, the natives all travel on foot, unleſs the aged and infirm; and theſe are carried on their Baggage-oxen. As there are no inns or places for refreſhment, the travelling Hottentot calls at the Kraals in his way, where he meets with a hearty welcome from his countrymen, who endeavour to ſhew their hoſpitality to ſtrangers, whether of their own country or of Europe.

When the Hollanders travel either on foot or on horſeback, if they cannot reach a European ſettlement, they alſo call at the Kraals of the Hottentots, where they are complimented with a hut, and ſuch proviſion as they have; or they may lie in the area of the Kraal, in the open air, if they pleaſe, and the weather be good: And here they are ſecure both from robbers and wild beaſts; for there are, it ſeems, Outlaws and Banditti on the mountains, who give no quarter to any-body. A European alſo is in danger from their Bulls of war, which guard their herds, if he has not fire-arms about him; and therefore the Dutch conſtantly travel with arms. They alſo take a Hottentot in their company, which ſecures them from any miſunderſtanding with the natives, and procures them the better uſage; for there have been ſome inſtances where the Europeans have been inſulted, and in danger even from the Hottentot Kraals.

Language.

As to the language of this people, it has been obſerved already, that they have nothing like writing or hieroglyphicks to expreſs their thoughts by; and their ſpeech is in many inſtances ſo inarticulate, that no European can imitate the words, or rather ſounds they uſe, unleſs he has lived amongſt them from his infancy: Some obſerve, that it reſembles more the noiſe of an intaged Turky-cock, than the voice of a man. Kolben calls it a monſter of languages; and ſays, though he reſided many years among the Hottentots, and endeavoured to acquire it with the utmoſt diligence, he was ſtill very defective in it; nor could he meet with one in the ſettlement, that could ſpeak it tolerably, who was not born amongſt them: That the pronunciation depends on ſuch colliſions or claſhings of the tongue againſt the palate, and ſuch ſtrange vibrations and inflections of that member, as a ſtranger cannot eaſily imitate or deſcribe. The Hottentots alſo find it exceeding difficult to pronounce other languages: They eaſily underſtand either French or Dutch; but the motions of their tongues, to which their own language ſubjects them, renders them almoſt unintelligible, when they attempt to ſpeak a foreign language.

Many of their own words yielding to no pronunciation known in other countries, it is impoſſible almoſt to put them in writing; however, a liſt of many of their words has been attempted by Junckeras, in his comment on Ludolphus, in which Kolben obſerves there are a great many faults, and has given us a new ſpecimen of ſome of their words; of which I ſhall take the liberty to tranſcribe part, viz. Chauna, a Lamb; Kgou, a Gooſe; Kamma, Water, and other liquids; Quaiha, an Aſs; Knonm, to hear; Khoekara, a bird called Knorhan; Kirri, a ſtick or ſtaff; Kaa, to drink; Kouquequa, a Captain; T'kamma, a ſtag; Kgoyes, a Buck or Doe; Tikquoa, God; Cham-ouna, the Devil; Hacqua, a Horſe; Choaa, a Cat; Koukekerey, a Hen; 'Tkoume, Rice; Kchou, a Peacock; Kuanehou or Tkeuhouw, a Star; Camkamma, the Earth; Quaouw, Thunder; Tquaſſouw or Kqvuſſomo, a Tyger; Tkaâ, a Valley; Toya, the Wind.

Numbers.

Kolben adds, he has known ſeveral of the Hottentots, who have underſtood French, Dutch, and Portugueſe, to a degree of perfection; and, allowing for defects in pronunciation, ſpoke thoſe languages roundly; and that he knew another, who learnt both Engliſh and Portugueſe in a little time, and ſpoke them with great propriety. They never exceed ten in numbering: In reckoning their cattle, or any thing elſe, when they come to ten, they begin again with a unit, and count ten more; and when they have done this ten times, they ſay ten ten (by which they mean they have counted an hundred:) Then they begin again in like manner, and count another ten ten, and ſo on. Their words for their numbers as high as ten are Q'kui, one; K'kam, two; K'ouna, three; Hakka, four; Koo, five; Nanni, ſix; Honko, ſeven; Khyſſi, eight; K'heſſi, nine; Gyſſi, ten.

There remains little more to be obſerved of the Hottentots, unleſs it be their muſick, which KOLBEN ſeems to have ſome taſte for; tho' it ſcarcely excels the marrow-bone and cleaver, as the reader will believe, when he underſtands that they have but two poor inſtruments; the one called the Gom-Gom, which is no more than an iron bow, with a Cocoa nut-ſhell affixed to it, and a ſplit quill, which they play upon like a Jews-trump; and the other an earthen pot, covered with a Sheep-ſkin, which makes a very bad drum: Nor is their vocal muſick more agreeable to a European ear; tho' they ſeem to be exceedingly charmed with both themſelves, and continue their performances often to an unreaſonable length.

The Cape town.

I come now to give an account of the colonies and ſettlements of the Dutch at the Cape; the chief town whereof extends itſelf from the ſea-ſhore, along the Table-valley, to the Company's garden, containing between two and three-hundred handſome houſes, regularly laid out into ſpacious ſtreets, with courts before them, and large gardens behind them. The houſes are built of ſtone, but thatch'd, and ſeldom more than one ſtory high. The ſtormy weather they are ſubject to, obliging them to build low, and to thatch moſt of their houſes, inſtead of tiling them, that they be not knocked on the head with the tiles, as they go about the ſtreets; and as it is, when the winds ſet in eaſterly, they uſually receive ſome damage. The Dutch give all imaginable encouragement to their ſubjects to build here, allowing any perſon that deſires it, ground ſufficient to build upon, and for yards and gardens, either adjoining to the town or in the country: But, when ſuch houſes are ſold, the Government reſerves a ground-rent of a tenth or twentieth penny, according to the condition they are in; and of corn-fields, vineyards and paſture-ground, the Government reſerves a tenth part of the produce, or the value thereof in money.

At a little diſtance from the town, in the ſame valley, the Dutch have a noble fort or citadel, built in ſtone in form of a pentagon, which defends the landing-place. The Soldiers in garriſon are about 200 men; and here the Governor and the principal officers of the company have their reſpective apartments, and there are very large and commodious ſtore-houſes belonging to the Government. The Company have between five and ſix hundred officers and ſervants at the Cape, beſides ſlaves, which are near ſix hundred more: The laſt are lodged in a large building in the town, which is divided into two wards, one for the men, and the other for the women; and adjoining to it, is a priſon for the lewd and diſſolute, who are kept to hard labour, as in Holland.

Their church at the Cape is a handſome ſpacious edifice, but perfectly plain, without any manner of ornament on the inſide or outſide; and both church and ſteeple are thatch'd for the ſame reaſon, I preſume, as the houſes in the town are: They have no ſeats, as in our churches, only forms; and, when the ſacrament of the Lord's-ſupper is adminiſter'd, a large table is placed before the pulpit, and they ſit round it, and, in that poſture, receive the elements.

They have a fine hoſpital here, whither they ſend the ſick ſeamen that arrive in their fleets going to and from India; of whom there are not leſs than an hundred, or a hundred and fifty frequently in one fleet. This, and the ſupplying their ſhips with freſh proviſions, are the principal advantages the Dutch yet receive by the poſſeſſion of the Cape, here being no ſecure harbours, or ſcarce any thing that deſerves the name of merchandize beſides proviſions.

But what is the moſt admir'd of any thing at the Cape, are the Company's gardens, where they have introduced almoſt all the fruits and flowers that are to be found in Europe, Aſia or Africa, and moſt of them are improved, and flouriſh more than they did in the reſpective climates and countries from whence they were brought; and both gardens are watered by ſprings that fall down from the Table-mountain juſt above them. The Apples and Pears of Europe are planted here, with the Grapes of Aſia, as well as thoſe of Europe, all of a delicious flavour. Here are alſo Lemons, Oranges, Citrons, Figs, Japan apples, and an infinite variety of other fruits, all excellent in their kind; but I have reſerved a particular head for their vegetables, and therefore ſhall not enlarge on them here.

At a little diſtance from the town are ſeveral beautiful country-ſeats, vineyards and farms, extending far into the country; beſides which, there are two other great colonies or ſettlements, the one called the Stellenboſt colony, and the other the Drakenſtein and Waveren colony, taking up a vaſt tract of land, upwards of an 100 miles, perhaps near two, to the northward and eaſtward of the Cape, but intermix'd with the Hottentot nations, who ſtill graze their cattle upon ſuch lands as are not encloſed and cultivated by the Dutch.

The Dutch Government at the Cape.

The Government of the Cape is adminiſter'd by eight courts or councils.

1. The Grand-Council, or College of Policy, which conſiſts of the Governor, and eight of the Company's principal officers. Theſe have the direction of trade and navigation, make peace or war with the Hottentots, and have the ſupreme management of every thing conducing to the ſecurity and intereſt of the ſettlement. This Council holds a conſtant correſpondence with the Directors of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company in Holland, and with the Dutch Governments of Batavia and Ceylon.

2. The ſecond Court is ſtyl'd, The College of Juſtice, and is compoſed of moſt of the ſame members; and determines all civil and criminal cauſes of any importance: But appeals lie from it to the ſupreme Court of Juſtice at Batavia, or the ſupreme Court of Juſtice in Holland.

3. An inferior Court of Juſtice, for determining treſpaſſes, aſſaults, breaches of the peace, and actions of debt, under an hundred crowns: This Court conſiſts of one of the Grand-Council, who is Preſident, three Burghers or Townſmen, and four of the Company's immediate ſervants.

4. A Court of Marriages, which examines into the legality of every marriage-contract before it is celebrated, whether the Parties have the conſent of their parents and guardians, and whether there be no pre-contract. The members of this Court are the ſame as the laſt; and, when they have received ſatisfaction in theſe matters, grant their warrant to the Miniſters of the churches where the parties live, to publiſh the bans the three following Sundays from the pulpit, and then to ſolemnize the marriage, if no-body forbids it; and, if they do, they muſt aſſign ſome good cauſe, or elſe the marriage proceeds. Men of figure uſually invite the Court to their houſes when theſe enquiries are to be made, and give them a handſome entertainment, and a preſent of five or ten crowns. But before this Court can enter upon the examination, the bride and bridegroom muſt always attend the Governor, and aſk his Conſent.

5. The Court of Orphans, conſiſting of the Vice-Preſident of the Grand-Council, three of the Company's officers, and three burghers or ſubſtantial inhabitants. Without the conſent of this Court, no orphan can marry under five and twenty years of age; but upon a certificate of the Court of Orphans, teſtifying their conſent, an orphan is at liberty to marry, on taking the ſame ſteps as other people do.

6. An Eccleſiaſtical Council, for the government of the reformed churches at the Cape (for here is a colony of French Proteſtants, which the Dutch tranſported to the Cape, to aſſiſt them in cultivating their vines, and making wine, which is now brought to great perfection): This Council conſiſts of three Paſtors, ſix Elders, and twelve Overſeers of the poor (there being three pariſhes, of the extent of three colonies) and two Elders and four Overſeers in every pariſh. This council determines finally all temporal matters, and many ſpiritual concerns, relating to the church: particularly, they order what ceremonies ſhall be obſerved in divine worſhip, and alter them from time to time, as they ſee fit. They diſtribute ſuch collections alſo as are made for the poor; which, 'tis ſaid, they manage ſo well, that no Beggar is ſeen in the ſettlement: The ſurpluſage of theſe charities is applied to the repairs of churches, or the maintenance of ſchools. There is alſo a veſtry in every pariſh, conſiſting of a Preſident (ſome wealthy Merchant), the Paſtor, the two Elders, and four Overſeers, who manage the particular affairs of the reſpective pariſhes.

7. The Common-Council (of which there is one in every colony) is choſen every year by the Grand-Council. That of the Cape colony has very little buſineſs, unleſs it be to propoſe matters to the Grand-Council, and collect the taxes: But the Common-Council of the other colonies have great authority; the Lieutenant of each colony preſiding in it, who with his brethren take cognizance of all treſpaſſes and actions of debt under an hundred and fifty florins, and try all criminal matters that happen within their reſpective limits.

8. There are alſo two Councils or Boards of Militia; one for the Cape-Town, and the other for the diſtricts of Hellenbogiſt and Drakenſtein. In the Council for the Cape-Town preſides a member of the Grand-Council, having nine other officers of the Militia join'd with him, and once a year their Militia, both Horſe and Foot, is muſtered and review'd by ſome of the members of the Grand-Council: For they have now Horſes in abundance, which were firſt brought from Perſia, and have multiplied prodigiouſly. The Company have a free ſtable of Horſes, for the uſe of the Governor and the reſt of their officers: Some of their Horſes are fit for the coach; but the moſt are Saddle-Horſes.

The Dutch Eaſt-India Company, 'tis ſaid, are ſtill at the expence of forty thouſand pounds annually, in maintaining this ſettlement at the Cape; and all they receive from thence yet, does but barely pay them their charges; tho' it is obſervable, that they do not allow their Governor above four or five hundred pounds a year, and the reſt of their officers proportionably.

The revenues of the Cape.

The revenues which repay the Company's expences, ariſe either from the tenths they reſerve on all the lands they grant, or from the duties the Company lay on the produce of the Cape, and ſuch merchandize as is carried thither, particularly on Wine, Brandy, Tobacco, Beer, Mum, &c. or by the merchandize they themſelves annually ſend to the Cape, which yields them a profit of 75 per Cent. and this very near enables them to ballance their accounts: But, as the colonies are continually encreaſing, and improving their lands, it will probably yield them a conſiderable profit in a few years more.

The Companies ſlaves there.

The Company uſually fetch the ſlaves they employ at the Cape, from the iſland of Madagaſcar, which lies a little to the eaſtward of the continent of Africa. The Dutch repreſent them as a perverſe, ſtubborn generation, that are not to be dealt with but by the ſevereſt diſcipline and puniſhments: Certain it is, their maſters uſe them as if they were the worſt of the human ſpecies. KOLBEN relates, that ſome of theſe ſlaves, running away when he was there, the ringleaders were taken and broken alive upon the wheel, and yet they ſhew'd no manner of concern, or uttered a ſingle groan at their execution: That after their bones were ſhattered to pieces by the blows of the executioner, they were taken alive from that wheel, and ſtretched upon another, where they continued alive a conſiderable time, and yet never cry'd out or murmur'd in this exquiſite torture to the laſt.

Another of theſe Madagaſcar ſlaves was condemn'd to be roaſted alive, for attempting to burn his maſter's houſe; which was executed upon him in this manner: He was chain'd to a poſt; after which a great fire was made round about him, and he run round the poſt, till being almoaſt roaſted by the ſcorching heat of the flames, he dropp'd down, crying out in the Portugueſe, Dior mio Pay! O God my Father! and ſoon after died, without making any other complaint.

From theſe two inſtances, every one muſt admire the ſpirit and courage of the natives of Madagaſcar, who can meet death in the moſt terrible ſhapes, with ſo much reſignation and compoſure: But that they muſt at the ſame time deteſt and abhor the tyranny and cruelty of the Hollanders, that can thus inhumanly torture their own ſpecies. Theſe people, probably, were born free, ſtolen from their friends, and ſold to the Hollanders, who make them ſerve with rigour. The firſt offence, it appears, was only an endeavour to eſcape from their barbarous taſk-maſters, for which they were broke alive, and kept in the moſt exquiſite pain, till the extremity of it put an end to their wretched lives; not being indulged, like other malefactors, with the Coup de Grace, the favourable blow, to put an end to their pain. The laſt was roaſted alive, for an attempt to fire a houſe; and who knows the provocation his maſter had given? Surely, every one may thank God he does not live under the tyranny of the Dutch republick, who will not be ſatisfied with the bare forfeiture of life, for ſcarce any offence, but require the party ſhould feel the moſt exquiſite miſery that human nature can ſuſtain; and with whom the bare ſuſpicion only of a perſon's conſpiracy againſt their ſtate, is look'd upon as a ſufficient evidence for putting him to the torture, and depriving him of life, eſtate, and all that he has in the world: Witneſs the uſage the Engliſh themſelves met with from the Dutch at Amboyna. This is the happy government, that our Whigs ſo much admire, and what they have made ſuch ſtrenuous efforts to introduce in Great-Britain!

The huſbandry of the Dutch at the Cape.

I proceed in the next place to treat of the huſbandry of the Dutch in their ſettlements at the Cape; the three principal branches whereof are, 1. Grazing: The management of their Arable lands; and 3. The cultivation of their Vineyards.

Their cattle.

The Government uſually contract with four ſubſtantial men, to furniſh the Company's officers and ſervants at the Cape, and the company's ſhipping that touches at the Cape, with beef and mutton; and theſe Graziers are obliged to keep great numbers of cattle, both Sheep and Oxen, always fat, to anſwer the ſudden demand there is often for them, upon the arrival of a fleet. The Cape Oxen are pretty large, weighing commonly five or ſix hundred pound, and ſometimes a great deal more: Their Cows furniſh the Grazier and Farmer with milk and butter for their houſes, and ſome for ſale. The mutton of the Cape is good; but what is moſt remarkable in the Sheep, is, that they have rather hair than wool on their backs, and their tails are of ſuch a length and thickneſs, that they weigh from fifteen to twenty pound; and they have ſome Perſian Sheep, the tails whereof weigh thirty pound and upwards. There are prodigious herds both of great and ſmall cattle, in all the Dutch ſettlements, beſides thoſe that belong to the Hottentots; among which the wild beaſts frequently make terrible havock. The Tyger kills great numbers at a time, for the ſake of ſucking of their blood, not much regarding the fleſh; and there are packs of wild Dogs that will worry the Sheep of a whole flock, when they get in amongſt them. But it is obſerved of the Lion, that he contents himſelf with carrying off a ſingle carcaſe, and ſcarce ever does any miſchief to the reſt. The cattle ſmell a wild beaſt at a great diſtance, and immediately run for it, when they diſcover him; but the ſmall cattle uſually ſuffer moſt, as the larger have the heels of them.

The ſoil.

The ſoil at the Cape is exceeding fruitful, and gives great encouragement to the Huſbandman. Whether a piece of ground is deſign'd for a garden, a vineyard, or corn-field, they always plough it up in the firſt place, and clear it of weeds. Their ploughs have two unequal wheels; that which goes next the furrow being much larger than the other; and their ploughs are drawn only by Oxen, tho' they have great numbers of Perſian horſes. Theſe are rather too ſmall for drawing, and never uſed either in plough or cart. They put ſometimes five pair of Oxen to a plough, the ſoil is ſo very heavy at ſome times, and ſo hard at others; and they have frequently almoſt as many drivers as Oxen.

Their ſeaſons for ploughing, ſowing, &c.

The Farmer, here, dungs his land, if it wants it (tho' a great deal of it wants no manure) in April and in May, and, after ſome rain has fallen, begins to plough. Their ſeed-time begins in June, in the lowlands, and in July, when more rain has fallen on the hills; and he has ſeldom done ſowing till Auguſt; the latter end of which month, and part of September, is ſpent in pruning his Vines, and dunging them: In October, the Vineyards are weeded, and, after that, the corn-fields: In December, all their grain is ripe; and our Chriſtmas is the height of their harveſt. In January they tread out their corn in the fields, and in February they carry it to the Company's magazines, where they receive ready money for all they don't uſe themſelves. They ſow almoſt all manner of grain, but Oats and Lentils; but theſe are ſo apt to be ſhatter'd before harveſt, by the tempeſtuous weather, that they ſcarce receive their ſeed again.

The crop of grain ſometimes ſuffers by the mildew as with us; and the Elephants do them a great deal of miſchief when they get into a corn-field, devouring ſome, and treading down more: The Elk, Deer and Wild-goats alſo do them ſome damage, as well as birds and inſects, which ſwarm pretty much at the Cape: However, with all their loſſes they have generally enough for their uſe, and a great deal to ſell, which is laid up in the Company's granaries, and ſome of it ſent as far as Batavia.

They tread out their corn.

One buſhel of Wheat at the Cape, 'tis ſaid, yields an encreaſe of thirty or forty buſhels; a buſhel of Barley, fifty or ſixty, and ſometimes ſeventy buſhels; a buſhel of Peas from thirty to ſixty; and a buſhel of Beans, from twenty to twenty-five: Tho' ſometimes their Peas and Beans ſuffer ſo much by the Locuſts, that they yield ſcarce any thing. They never threſh their corn, but tread it out in the field with Oxen or Horſes on a hard round floor prepar'd for the purpoſe, about ten yards diameter, at the extremity whereof the corn is laid, and the cattle drove round over it, the ſheaves being turned from time to time till it is all trodden out. As the Oxen and Horſes frequently dung amongſt the corn when they tread it, the huſbandmen ſeparate this filth from it after it is dry'd in the ſun: Thus they get all their corn trodden out by their cattle within the ſpace of a month, which would take them up a whole winter to threſh; and when the corn is trodden out, they fan or winnow the chaff from it, and afterwards uſe a ſieve or ſkreen, as the Europeans do, to clear it of ſand and dirt.

The cultivation of their Vines.

From their Corn, I proceed to give ſome account of the Cape Wine, of late ſo much admired in Europe: It was a great while, it ſeems, before they rais'd any conſiderable Vineyards: They carried thither at firſt, indeed, Vine-ſtocks from the banks of the Rhine, and from Perſia, in ſmall parcels, which grew pretty well, and furniſh'd them with Grapes for eating; but they did not pretend to make any quantities of Wine, till a certain German taught them to take the prunings of their Vines, and cut them in ſmall pieces of half a foot in length, and ſow them in fields plough'd up for that purpoſe. They follow'd his directions; the prunings of the Vines grew, ſending out ſhoots at every knot; by which means they were ſoon furniſh'd with as many ſtocks or plants as they had occaſion for; and, removing them from theſe nurſeries, they planted them in other grounds in rows, the Vines at the diſtance of two foot and a half from each other, and the rows at the diſtance of three foot and a half, the land being firſt prepared by ploughing it: And now there is ſcarce a cottage in the Cape ſettlements but has its vineyards, which produces Wine enough for the family, and ſome for ſale; tho' ſometimes their Vines receive damage from the mildew, and at others from Locuſts. And there is ſtill a little black worm, that is a greater enemy to them than either of the former: This inſect eats a hole in the knot of the Vine, whereby the bud periſhes; but they employ their ſlaves in taking theſe worms every morning, whereby they prevent a great deal of miſchief. Their Vines alſo receive conſiderable damage ſometimes by the ſouth-eaſt winds, which break off the branches loaden with the fineſt cluſters of Grapes; for which reaſon they do not let them run up on poles, or the walls of houſes, as in Europe, but endeavour to prevent their riſing above three foot from the ground. Their vintage begins the latter end of February, and continues all the month of March; tho' they have ſome Grapes ripe in January; but theſe they dry and eat, obſerving that the Wine made of them will not keep.

The management of their Wines.

Their Wines are put into veſſels when they are taken out of the Wine-preſs; and, when they have ſtood ſome time, are rack'd off from the lees; then letting them ſtand three or four months longer, they are fin'd with iſing-glaſs, and ſometimes hot ſand is thrown in afterwards; and, when the Wines are fine, they ſtop them up cloſe, only giving them vent when the Vines are in bloſſom, or they will foment and endanger breaking the caſk. They put their Wine alſo every year into freſh caſks, and fill them up to the bung, keeping them ſometimes till they are three or four years old; but are generally forc'd to diſpoſe of them every year for want of caſks to keep them in, which are very ſcarce at the Cape, there being no pipe-ſtaves but what are brought from Holland. They have both red and white Wines; but the greateſt plenty of white, which, if kept two years, has much the flavour of Canary.

Their kitchen gardens.

Beſides a vineyard, every houſe almoſt has its kitchen-garden, in which there are all the roots and herbs that grow in the kitchen-gardens of Europe; and indeed they are ſupply'd from time to time with their ſeeds from thence; for it is obſerv'd, their plants degenerate the third year, ſo as to be good for little: However, while they do laſt, their plants are larger and ſweeter than thoſe of Europe; the head of a Cabbage, at its full growth, weighing thirty or forty pound, and the head of a Colliflower as much, the ſeeds whereof are brought from Cyprus and Savoy: Their Melons alſo are of an exceeding fine flavour, and larger and wholeſomer than thoſe of Europe: Cucumbers are likewiſe very plentiful, and are reckon'd wholeſome here; and all theſe things are rais'd without glaſſes or hot-beds, their ſummers being exceeding hot, and winters moderate: Their Potatoes are very large, weighing from ſix to ten pound; theſe they brought from India, and they are exceeding good.

Fruit-trees.

They have ſcarce any fruit-tree the natural product of the country, at leaſt ſuch as the Europeans care to taſte of; tho' the Hottentots eat ſome of them: However, thoſe that are remov'd thither from Europe or Aſia come to great perfection, the fruit being reckon'd much better than in the countries from whence they were brought. Here is the Apricot, the Peach, the Quince, the Fig and many more, which are produc'd in the Cape ſoil; only by ſetting a twig of any of theſe trees in the ground, they immediately take root, and grow up into trees in a very ſhort ſpace: Others are inoculated and grafted on old ſtocks, and thrive apace; the fruit of four years growth being moſt eſteem'd. And here I ſhall take an opportunity of adding ſomething to the deſcription already given of the Company's fine garden at the Cape town, which takes up nineteen acres of ground. Here are to be found the moſt delicious fruits of Aſia and Europe growing within ſquares of Bay-hedges, ſo high and thick, that the ſtorms coming off the ocean can prejudice them but little; and theſe hedges afford a moſt refreſhing ſhade in the hot ſeaſon. In this garden alſo is a fine grove of Cheſnut-trees that the ſun can't penetrate, and ſecur'd againſt the bluſtering winds that infeſt this ſhore. Here alſo we meet with Peaches, Pomegranates, Citrons, Lemons, Oranges, with the apples and pears of Europe intermix'd, all excellent in their kind; and here we ſee the crimſon Japan Apples, which, intermix'd with the green leaves, appear exceeding beautiful. They have great variety of Figs in this garden; but thoſe moſt admir'd are the Piſang Figs, that grow upon a plant which dies as ſoon as the fruit comes to maturity, and next year a new plant ariſes from the ſame root: It has no ſtock; but the leaves, which are ſeven ells long, and about half as broad, twine round each other, and form a kind of barrel inſtead of a ſtock; the Figs are blue and large. Here alſo grows the Indian Guavos, perfectly round, and of the bigneſs of a Crab-apple: It is a moſt delicious wholeſome fruit, cover'd with a tender green ſkin, and within full of ſeeds, which alone are a remedy againſt the Flux (the reigning diſeaſe of hot countries.)

Company's garden.

Plants that grow in the Hottentot country.

I ſhall juſt mention ſome other vegetables, which are the natural product of the Hottentot countries; and firſt the Aloe, of which there are various kinds that grow upon the rocks, ſome of them in bloſſom all the year round; the flowers whereof are white, red or ſpeckled.

The African dwarf Almond, with narrow leaves and double fleſh-colour'd flowers, the Almonds whereof are exceeding bitter; however, the Hottentots eat them, after they are boil'd in ſeveral waters.

The Arum Ethiopicum is alſo found here, having a large round root, which bites and enflames the tongue to a very great degree; and yet the Hottentots eat it inſtead of bread, after they have boil'd it in ſeveral waters, dried it in the ſun, and broiled it.

The prickly wild African Aſparagus abounds in the low grounds; the ſtalks whereof are of a graſs-green, and very tender, and taſte like European Aſparagus; and theſe the Hottentots ſupply the Dutch with in great plenty, not caring for Aſparagus themſelves.

The African Night ſweet-ſcented Crane's-bill alſo is met with here; a twig of which, with two or three flowers upon it, will perfume a whole room; it is commonly call'd Night-flower at the Cape: There are ſeveral ſorts of them, moſt of which keep cloſe ſhut from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet. Here alſo is the African Jaſmine, with ſingle leaves and flowers like the common Jaſmine.

The African Shrub, with Laurel leaves; the branches being numerous, and very cloſe together, they ſerve like Box for borders in the Company's gardens.

The Honey-flowers, ſo call'd from the ſweet juice that diſtils from them, are eaten both by Europeans and Hottentots. And here is the African Ironwood, ſo call'd, becauſe it is as hard as iron, and will ſink, if thrown into water.

The leſſer African Siſyrinchium, with a large variegated flower, is found here. It has a root that eats like a Cheſnut, and is as large as a Potatoe; ſome of them white, others red, and a third ſort black, all of them of a delicious taſte, and very plentiful at the Cape in September, and the three following months.

Here alſo is the African ſweet-ſcented Spiræa, with hairy leaves, call'd by the Hottentots, Buchu. Towards the end of the ſummer, when theſe leaves begin to wither, the Hottentots gather and dry them in the ſun; and, having pulveriz'd them, powder their hair and ſkins on all feſtivals and rejoicing times with the duſt, which is of the colour of gold. They look upon this powder alſo as a remedy for the head-ach.

There is a dwarf-tree at the Cape, call'd by the Dutch Cripplewood, with crooked knotty branches; the leaves broad, thick and tough, and ſhaped like thoſe of the Apple-tree; the fruit ſomething like the Pine-apple; the bark is thick and wrinkled, and uſed by the Tanners at the Cape; and the Phyſicians pulverize it, and give it their patients in Dyſenteries.

There is a root alſo in this country, which the Hottentots call Kanna, and will give almoſt any thing to purchaſe it, a little of it raiſing the ſpirits to a very high degree, and is compared to the Ginſeng of the Chineſe, which the reader will meet with an account of in the firſt volume of the *Modern Hiſtory*.

There grows a tree in this country alſo, called by the Europeans Stinkwood, from the nauſeous ſcent it gives at the firſt cutting and hewing of it; but this ſmell goes off after it has lain and dried ſome time. It is beautifully clouded, and uſed by the Dutch Joiners for tables and cabinets; and the wood is alſo uſed as a medicine in ſome diſtempers.

Exotick plants.

The Dutch have alſo introduced ſeveral exotick or foreign trees and plants from Aſia, Europe and America; and particularly the Fir-tree, which was firſt brought to the Cape about the year 1690, and planted in the Company's garden, being then about three foot high, and now they are forty feet in height.

Three or four ſorts of Almond-trees alſo have been brought hither, which bear fruit once in three years; and, as they have large plantations of them, yield the Dutch a conſiderable profit.

The Ananas or Pine-apple, a moſt delicious fruit alſo, is planted in their gardens, being of American extraction. If a woman eats of this fruit before it is ripe, it will make her miſcarry, 'tis ſaid: What the fruit was, that tempted the firſt woman to tranſgreſs in Paradiſe, is uncertain; but a more tempting fruit than this is hardly to be met with in the world.

We ſee in their kitchen-gardens alſo, red and white Beets, red and white Cabbages and Colliflowers: And here we meet with four ſorts of Camphire-trees, the beſt whereof were tranſplanted from Borneo, the other three came from Sumatra, China, and Japan, and ſoon grow to the bigneſs of a Walnut-tree; the leaves of a graſs-green, and being rubbed between the fingers, ſmell ſtrong of Camphire.

A great deal of Hemp alſo is raiſed here; the ſtalk whereof is almoſt as ſtrong as wood. The Hottentots ſmoak the ſeeds and leaves of it as they do Tobacco, and ſometimes mix it with their Tobacco: And here the Carduus Benedictus, or bleſſed Thiſtle, thrives, and the Clove-gilliflowers, which were brought from Holland: But the plant of the greateſt Importance is the Cinnamon-tree they have tranſplanted from Ceylon. This, it ſeems, the Dutch can raiſe in almoſt any ſoil or climate; and yet the reſt of the European nations ſcarce attempt to tranſplant it, at leaſt to any purpoſe: The Engliſh African company have one of them indeed, in a garden belonging to one of their forts, on the coaſt of Guinea; and the Portugueſe have planted a walk of them in the ſame country; but, 'tis ſaid, they durſt not proceed any farther, leſt the Dutch ſhould come and take away their country and plantations from them. But I hope this is not the caſe of the Engliſh; we are not yet ſo much under the dominion of the Dutch, that we dare not cultivate the fine ſpices in our own plantations: And yet one would think we were afraid of them, or we ſhould never purchaſe Cinnamon of the Hollander, at what price he is pleaſed to ſet upon it, and never attempt to raiſe this plant ourſelves. Out Eaſt-India Merchants poſſibly are ſtill frighted at the tortures their predeceſſors ſuffered under the Dutch at Amboyna; and therefore are determined to ſit down contented under the loſs of that valuable branch of their commerce, which the Hollander, by the moſt barbarous violence, deprived the Engliſh of. But to give ſome deſcription of the Cinnamon-tree: The outward bark is rough, and good for nothing; but this being taken away, there is a tender inward bark of a dark green colour, which being cut off, and dried in the ſun, turns brown, as we ſee it here: Within three years the tree recovers itſelf again, ſo as to yield another crop; and the oftner it is peeled, the better the Cinnamon is, till the tree grows very old.

It is needleſs to ſpecify every plant the Dutch have brought to the Cape, having already obſerved, that there is ſcarce any fruit-tree, flower-root, or herb, that is of any great value, in Europe or Aſia, but the Dutch have tranſplanted, and which flouriſh in great abundance in their colonies here, unleſs it be Cloves and Nutmegs, and ſuch plants as require a warmer ſun; and therefore I ſhall proceed, in the next place, to treat of the animals that are found in this part of Africa, and firſt of their quadrupeds.

Quadrupeds.

The Lion.

The Lion is frequently ſeen here, whoſe ſtrength and ſtately gait have obtained him the title of the king of beaſts: His ſhin-bones, 'tis ſaid, after they are dried, are as hard and ſolid as a flint, and uſed in the ſame manner to ſtrike fire with: When he falls upon man or beaſt, he firſt knocks them down with his paw, and deprives his prey of all ſenſation, before ever he touches it with his teeth, roaring moſt terribly at the time he gives the mortal blow. KOLBEN relates, that when he reſided at the Cape, a Soldier, who ſtood centinel before his Officer's tent, was thus knocked down by a Lion, and carried off: And that he knew another Lion knock down a middle-ſized Ox, and jump over a brick wall with him of a conſiderable height. When a Lion is enraged or hungry, he erects and ſhakes his dreadful mane, and laſhes his back and ſides with his tail, threatning deſtruction to all that come in his way; but this the traveller ſeldom diſcovers, till 'tis too late to avoid him; for the noble brute frequently lies lurking in thickets and buſhes, till his prey approaches pretty near him; but if he does not ſhake his mane, or move his tail, 'tis ſaid, a traveller may eaſily paſs by him. A Horſe will run full ſpeed, if ever he ſees a Lion; and, if he has a rider upon his back, will endeavour to throw him, to get away the faſter: And, indeed the beſt thing a traveller can do in ſuch a caſe, is to quit his horſe; for the Lion will follow the Horſe, and paſs by his maſter. I am almoſt afraid to relate another ſtory after Mr. KOLBEN, though he be a traveller of as good credit, as moſt I have met with; for, as he did not ſee the adventure, perhaps he was impoſed upon. The paſſage is this: He ſays, two briſk young fellows, walking in the fields near the Cape, a Lion ruſhed on them from his covert, aiming at one of them the mortal blow; but the fellow, jumping nimbly on one ſide, the Lion miſſed him: Whereupon the man catched hold of his main with one hand, and running the other into his mouth, held the beaſt faſt by the tongue, till his comrade ſhot him: But, as I obſerved before, I muſt leave the ſtory on this reverend gentleman's credit, who relates it as tho' he believed it himſelf; however he might be impoſed upon. He adds, that he has eaten of the fleſh of a Lion ſeveral times; that it taſtes ſomething like veniſon, and is very innocent food. It is needleſs to give a particular deſcription of this noble animal, ſince we never are without ſome of the ſpecies here in England.

The Tyger.

The Tyger and Leopard alſo are among the wild beaſts at the Cape: They are very much alike, only the Tyger is larger, and diſtinguiſhed by rings of black hair, encloſing yellow ſpots; whereas the black ſtreaks of a Leopard are of the form of a creſcent, with an opening: The heads of both are much like that of a Cat, and they have terrible whiſkers: They ſeldom run fairly at their prey, but lie concealed in covert, and jump upon it as a Cat does upon a Mouſe: The fleſh of both is very white and tender, and, according to ſome, preferable to veal. Sir Edward Winter, Governor of Fort St. George in the Eaſt-Indies, was ſurprized by a Tyger as he was hunting; but, as the beaſt flew up at him, he graſped the creature ſo cloſe in his arms that it could not breathe; and, falling with the Tyger into a pond, he drowned the brute, without receiving any manner of harm; for which King Charles II. knighted him, at his return to England; and the family have ever ſince carried a Tyger in their arms. Mr. Kolben alſo relates, that one Bowman, a Burgher at the Cape, walking alone in the fields, a Tyger leaped up at his throat; but the Dutchman ſeizing the brute and ſtruggling with him upon the ground, and drawing a knife out of his pocket, cut the Tyger's throat; but was himſelf ſo grievouſly torn and wounded, that it was a great while before he recovered. He tells us alſo, that when he was at the Cape in 1708, an he and ſhe-Leopard, with three young ones, entered a Sheep-fold; and having killed and ſucked the blood of near a hundred Sheep, tore a carcaſe in three pieces, and gave each of their young ones a piece: After which, each of the old Leopards took a carcaſe, and were marching off; but being way-laid by the owners and their ſervants with arms, the female and the three young ones were killed; but the male broke through, and made his eſcape.

The Elephant.

The Elephants of this part of Africa, Kolben ſays are larger than thoſe of any other country (but I believe he is miſtaken, thoſe of Pegu and Siam are ſaid to be larger:) Their teeth weigh from ſixty to one hundred and twenty pound; and their ſtrength is ſcarce to be conceived. Kolben ſays, one of them being yoked to a ſhip at the Cape, that was careening there, fairly drew it along the Strand: They are from twelve to fifteen foot in height, and ſome ſay a great deal more; the female is much leſs than the male, and has its breaſts or dugs between its fore-legs: Their uſual food is graſs, herbs, and roots, and the tender twigs of trees and ſhrubs; and, if they meet with a corn-field, they will devour a great deal of the grain, as has been related already: They pull up every thing with their trunk, which ſerves as a hand to feed themſelves; and with this they ſuck up water, and empty it into their mouths: But, having deſcribed theſe animals already, in treating of India, in the firſt Volume of *Modern Hiſtory*, it is unneceſſary to ſay more of them here.

The Rhinoceros.

The Rhinoceros alſo is to be met with at the Cape. This animal is ſomething leſs than the Elephant, but of equal, if not greater ſtrength; at leaſt, the Elephant runs away and avoids him, whenever he diſcovers him: His ſkin reſembles that of the Elephant, being without hair; of a dark aſh-colour, inclining to black, and ſo hard that ſcarce any weapon will pierce it; but he is not armed with ſcales, as our Painters frequently repreſent him; tho' the ſcars and ſcratches he gets by forcing his way thro' the thick woods, look ſomething like ſcales at a diſtance: He has a ſnout like a Hog; upon which there grows a ſolid horn, of a dark-grey colour, that turns upwards a little, being from a foot to two foot in length; with this, when he is enraged, he rends up the earth, and toſſes it over his head, as he does the ſtones that lie in his way, throwing them to a great diſtance behind him: On his fore-head he has another convex-horn, almoſt of the ſhape and ſize of a hat-crown: He has the ſenſe of ſmelling very quick; and when he has the ſcent of his prey in the wind, forces his way to it, in a direct line, thro' the thickeſt woods, tearing up every thing that obſtructs his paſſage, grunting as he goes like a Hog; but is diſcovered the ſooneſt by his throwing about the ſtones, and breaking his way through the thickets: He ſeldom falls upon a man, unleſs he has a red coat on; and then he attacks him with all his fury, flinging him over his head with ſuch force, that he is killed, or rendered inſenſible, by the fall; and then, according to Kolben, with his rough prickly tongue licks the fleſh off his bones: His eyes are very ſmall, and he looks only right forward, not eaſily turning his neck; and though he is pretty ſwift of foot, a traveller, by a ſudden turn, may avoid him; for then he loſes ſight of the man. Our reverend author aſſures us, he has experienced this himſelf, having met a Rhinoceros more than once in all his fury: But this does not ſeem to agree with the obſervation Mr. Kolben makes juſt before, that a Rhinoceros would not attack a man unleſs he was in a red coat; for, I preſume, this reverend writer wore black. The Rhinoceros does not feed much on graſs; but delights more in Broom, Shrubs, or Thiſtles. The fleſh of this beaſt is frequently eaten; and his horn, his ſkin, and his blood are uſed in medicine: The horn, Kolben aſſures us, from his own experience, will not endure the touch of poiſon: They make cups of it at the Cape, tipped with gold and ſilver; and if wine be poured into one of them, it will immediately riſe and bubble up, as if it boiled; and if there be poiſon in it, the cup will ſplit: If poiſon be put into one of theſe cups alone, it immediately flies in pieces. They carefully preſerve the very chippings of the horn, being eſteemed a great remedy in Convulſions, Fainting-fits, and other diſeaſes. The blood alſo is dried and preſerved by their Phyſicians, being of great ſervice in obſtructions.

Wild Dogs.

There are wild Dogs, not unlike Engliſh Hounds, that hunt in packs near the Cape, without a Huntſman, or any thing to direct them but their appetites; chaſing almoſt every thing that falls in their way; even Lions and Tygers are ſometimes attacked by them, and overpowered by their numbers: They will hurt no man, and travellers are very glad to ſee them, being aſſured there are no wild beaſts near the place where they are. Both the Dutch and the Hottentots follow theſe Dogs, when they ſee them chacing their prey; which, when, they have run down, they will ſuffer any man to take it from them, without ſnarling: The fleſh the Hottentots get by this means they eat, and the Dutch ſalt it up, and give it to their ſlaves. But as much friends as theſe Dogs are to Men, they worry and kill greater numbers of their Sheep than any other wild animals, if the Shepherds happen to be out of the way. Kolben relates, he has known them worry above fourſcore at a time in one flock; tho' they don't eat up more than five or ſix perhaps.

Wolves.

There are two ſorts of Wolves at the Cape; the one like the European Wolf, and the other called the Tyger-wolf, ſuppoſed to be begot between a Tyger and a Wolf: His head is broad like a Bull-dog's; his noſe and eyes large; his hair ſhagged, and ſpotted like a Tyger's: He has large claws, which he draws in like a Cat, and a ſhort tail; keeps all day in his den, and preys only in the night; when he keeps ſuch a diſmal howling, that he frequently alarms the Hottentot Dogs, who drive him away; but if he gets into a flock of Sheep he uſually kills two or three of them; and, having eaten as much as he cares for, carries off a carcaſe. The Lion, as well as the Leopard and Tyger, frequently hunt theſe Wolves, and tear them to pieces if they catch them.

Buffaloes. There are great numbers of Buffaloes in the Hottentot countries, larger than the Buffaloes of Europe; being of a browniſh red, and having ſhort horns that turn inwards, and almoſt meet: Their hides are ſo hard and tough, that a muſket-ball will ſcarce enter them; if a gun be let off at a Buffaloe, he will run with the utmoſt rage at the man that fires it; neither fire nor water will ſtop him. KOLBEN relates, that one of theſe creatures jump'd into the ſea after a man that had attack'd him; and he had no way to eſcape but by diving, till the enraged beaſt loſt ſight of him. The fleſh of a Buffaloe is not ſo tender as that of an Ox.

The Elk. The Elk is alſo found in the Hottentot countries: He is about five foot in height; has a fine ſlender neck, and a beautiful head, not much unlike that of a Deer: His horns are about a foot long, rough and twiſted towards the lower part; but ſmooth and pointed at the ends: The hair of his body ſmooth and ſoft, and of an aſh-colour; his legs long and ſlender, and his tail about a foot long: His fleſh is good either roaſted or boil'd, and much like tender beef: He frequents the mountains, and will climb the ſteepeſt rocks with great celerity; but ſometimes comes down into the vallyes, and does conſiderable miſchief to the gardens of the Europeans, who thereupon ſet traps for the beaſt, or ſhoot him.

A fine wild Aſs. The European Aſſes are common at the Cape; but there is another wild animal, which goes by the name of an Aſs, which has nothing like that creature but his long ears; for he is a well-made, beautiful, lively beaſt; of the ſize of an ordinary ſaddle-Horſe; his hair ſoft and ſleek; and there runs on the ridge of his back a black ſtreak, from his mane to his tail; and, from the ridge of his back down to his belly, fall ſeveral ſtreaks of various colours, forming ſo many circles: His head, ears, mane and tail alſo have ſtreaks of white and brown; and he is thought to exceed a Horſe in ſwiftneſs: Such of them as are taken alive, are ſold at an extravagant price; but there is no inſtance of their being broke for the ſaddle, or for any other uſe: It is their beauty, and the difficulty of taking them alive, that makes them ſo much valued. KOLBEN ſays, he has ſeen great numbers of them running wild in the Hottentot countries.

Goats. The common Roe-buck and the European Goat alſo are found here; but they have another Goat, of a fine blue colour, and as large as a Red Deer; his beard is long and graceful; his legs long; his horns not ſo long as thoſe of the common Goat, but finely turn'd in rings till near the point: Their fleſh is ſaid to be pretty good, but lean; and they are oftner killed for their ſkins, than for food.

There are another ſort of Goats, not much differing in ſize or ſhape from the former; ſpotted red, white and brown: Their beards alſo very long, and of a brown red.

There is ſtill a third ſort of the ſame ſize, with a ſtreak of white from head to tail on their backs, and other white ſtreaks croſſing this, and running down on each ſide; the hair on all other parts of the bodies grey, with little touches of red, and long grey beards. The fleſh of theſe is ſaid to exceed that of veniſon.

Hogs. The Dutch have repleniſh'd their ſettlements with European Hogs, as well as thoſe of the Indian black breed without briſtles, whoſe bellies almoſt touch the ground: They have very few wild Hogs like thoſe in Europe; but there is another ſort called an Earth-hog, from his digging himſelf a den, and lying commonly under ground; of a red colour, and toothleſs; for which reaſon, 'tis ſaid, he feeds chiefly upon Ants, which he catches in this manner: He lays himſelf down among their little hills, and putting out his tongue, which is of an unreaſonable length, the Ants get upon it; and, being ſo clammy that they can't get off again, he lies ſtill till he has got a good number, and then draws it in and ſwallows them: After which he lays the ſame bait for more. Both Europeans and Hottentots frequently hunt him; he is a poor defenceleſs creature, having neither teeth or claws, and is eaſily knock'd down with an ordinary club.

Porcupines. The Porcupine is another animal very common at the Cape; the body of it about three foot long, and two foot high: His head and feet reſemble a hare's, and his ears are not unlike thoſe of a Man; when he is bowel'd, he weighs about twenty pound. But what is moſt remarkable in this animal, is a wood of quills, with which his back and every part of him, except his belly, is cover'd: They are about the length of a Gooſe-quill; but ſtreight, hard and without feathers, and, growing leſs and leſs from the middle to the end, terminate in a ſharp point, the longeſt being towards his rump: Theſe quills lie cloſe to his body, unleſs when he is attack'd by man or beaſt; and then he ſets them up and appears of a round form, not much unlike a Hedge-hog, encloſed with his briſtles, and, like the Parthian, fights retiring from the foe, at whom he ſhoots his pointed quills, till he is almoſt naked; but can give no dangerous wounds, unleſs he happens to hit his purſuers in the eyes: His quills might poſſibly ſtick in the fleſh of a naked man; but not go deep enough to do him any conſiderable miſchief. The Europeans frequently ſet him down in an encloſed yard or garden, and run after him in ſport, till the creature has ſhot away all his quills at them: The fleſh of a Porcupine is well taſted, and eſteem'd wholeſome food.

Monkeys. They have large Monkeys or Baboons in the Hottentot countries; but theſe are animals ſo well known every where, that they need not a particular deſcription. They frequently rob the Dutch gardens at the Cape in troops; which, 'tis ſaid, they manage with a great deal of artifice, ſetting their centinels at every avenue, to prevent ſurprize, and planting a line of their comrades, from the orchard, or garden, to the hills: That they toſs the fruit from one to the other, and thereby make a ſurprizing diſpatch in pilfering a garden. When their centinels diſcover any perſon approaching, they ſet up a great cry, and alarm the reſt, who immediately take to their heels; and, if there be any young ones amongſt 'em, they jump upon the backs of the old ones, and are carried off: But, 'tis ſaid, they ſometimes get ſo drunk in robbing a vineyard, that they are eaſily taken. The Dutch frequently tame theſe animals, which ſerve them in the place of Houſe-dogs, and are extremely watchful in the night-time.

Horſes. There are ſome wild Horſes in the Hottentot countries; but I don't find any of them have been tam'd or broke by the Dutch. They had indeed brought over Perſian Horſes, before they diſcover'd them; which are multiplied to that degree, that ſome European planters have two or three hundred of the Perſian breed, and many of them thirty or forty. Theſe Perſian Horſes are generally ſmall, and of a cheſnut colour.

There

Sea Cow.

There is a creature at the Cape alſo, call'd by the Dutch a Sea-cow; but it always feeds on graſs aſhore (according to KOLBEN) and only runs into the ſea for its ſecurity. The head of this animal reſembles rather that of a Horſe, than a Cow, and is called by ſeveral writers a Sea-horſe. KOLBEN aſſures us, it is as large as a Rhinoceros, and of the ſame colour; but the legs ſomething ſhorter. The noſtrils of the creature are very large, out of which it ſpouts water when it riſes out of the ſea, or from the bottom of a river: The legs are ſhort, and all of a thickneſs, and the hoof is not cloven: The tail is like that of an Elephant, with very little hair on it; and it has no hair at all on the body: The female ſuckles its young ones, as another Cow does. KOLBEN relates, that he has frequently ſeen them ſuckle their Calves, which were about the ſize of ordinary Sheep. The ſkin of a Sea-cow is tough, and near an inch thick, ſo that a muſket-ball will ſcarce penetrate it; and therefore they uſually aim at the head, which may be fractured by a bullet.

On each under-jaw this animal has two large teeth, or tuſhes, the one ſtreight, and the other crooked, about the thickneſs of a Cow's-horn, and running a foot and a half out of its mouth; theſe teeth weigh, each of them about ten pound, and are exceeding white, and never change yellow, as the ivory of Elephants teeth does, and therefore are more valuable.

The Sea-cow, raiſing her head above the water, ſmells a Man at a conſiderable diſtance; and, if ſhe perceives any one near the ſhore, drives down again, ſpouting up the water from her noſtrils like a Whale: After which, ſhe goes to the bottom, and does not come up again a great while: Therefore, if a man diſcovers the head of the beaſt above water, he muſt fire that inſtant; ſhe certainly dives out of his reach, if ſhe turns her head towards him. When ſhe is wounded in a river, or near the ſea-ſhore, they follow her in boats by the blood; and, with hooks and grapling-irons, fiſh up the carcaſe, which is ſaid to be a good load for a waggon: the fleſh of this creature is ſo much admired by the Dutch at the Cape, that they will give twelve or fifteen pence a pound for it: The leaf and other fat is valued as much as the lean, being melted and uſed like butter in cookery, and ſome eat it with bread. It is reckoned alſo an excellent remedy in caſe of a ſurfeit, or a redundancy of humours. This animal has been conjectured by ſome of the learned, to be the Behemoth in JOB; while others take the Whale, the Elephant, or the Rhinoceros, for the Behemoth; the ancients called it the Hippopotamus.

The Stinkbingſem.

The Stinkbingſem, as the Dutch call it, ſeems to be an animal peculiar to the Hottentot country, and to have obtained its name from the ſtinking ſcents it emits from its poſteriors; which are ſuch, that neither man or beaſt can bear them. This is the creature's beſt defence when it is purſued: The very Dogs will deſert the chaſe, rub their noſes, and howl when the beaſt lets fly; and a man is perfectly ſtifled with the nauſeous ſtench. The Dutch ſometimes ſhoot it, but no-body dares take it up; for it has been found, that, if a perſon but touch the carcaſe, all the waſhing in the world will not ſweeten him again for ſome time; and no man living can bear him in his company.

Fowls and birds.

From the four-footed animals, I proceed to deſcribe ſome of the moſt remarkable of the feather'd race, in the Hottentot countries; and firſt their Eagles. There is one ſort of them, which the Dutch call the Dung-bird, from his tearing out the guts and entrails of animals. If theſe Eagles find an Ox or Cow laid down, they fall upon the beaſt in great numbers, make a hole in the belly of it with their bills and talons, and perfectly ſcoop out the inſide of it, leaving nothing but a bare ſkeleton covered with the hide. The feathers of theſe Eagles are moſt of them black; but ſome of a light grey: The body of one of them is ſomething larger than a wild Gooſe, and the bills large, and bent like a Hawk's. When theſe birds are looking for their prey, they mount up almoſt out of ſight; and, when they have diſcovered it, they fall down upon the animal in an inſtant, and, by their numbers, overpower the largeſt cattle.

Eagles.

They have another Eagle in the Hottentot countries, called by the Europeans Aquila Anatoria, or the Duck-eagle, becauſe he preys upon the Ducks: And there is ſtill a third ſort, called the Bone or ſhell-breaker, that delights in the fleſh of the Land-tortoiſe. When this Eagle has ſeized one of theſe animals, he carries the unfortunate captive up a great height; and, letting his prey fall upon a rock, breaks the ſhell in pieces, and has no more trouble in getting at the meat.

Flamingos.

There is an excellent beautiful fowl at the Cape, called by the Dutch Flamingos, and by Mr. RAY, Phænicopterus, larger than a Swan, and its head and neck as white as ſnow. The upper part of the wings are of a flame colour, and the lower black: The legs longer than thoſe of a Hern, and web-footed like a Gooſe: They fiſh in ponds and rivers in the day-time, and at night retire to the hills: They are frequently killed by the Europeans at the Cape, their fleſh being eſteemed very good. Here are alſo abundance of wild Geeſe, that are very eaſily taken; and their fleſh ſo good, that tame Geeſe are in no eſteem at the Cape.

Wild Geeſe.

Oſtriches.

There is no country that abounds more in Oſtriches than that near the Cape: This is the largeſt fowl we are acquainted with; the neck is very long, the bill ſhort and pointed, the legs thick and ſtrong; the feet cloven, with which they will ſtrike a very ſmart blow; their feathers are ſometimes black and ſometimes white, and of a very great value in Europe, being exceeding ornamental: The eggs are as big as a child's head; the hen lays her eggs in the ſand; but they are not hatch'd by the ſand alone, as ſome have given out: 'Tis true, that the Oſtrich covers up her eggs with the ſand on the ſhore, till ſhe ſits; but then the cock and hen take it by turns to ſit on the eggs, and very ſeldom leave them both at a time: Neither do they leave their young ones to ſhift for themſelves when they are hatch'd; for their chickens cannot walk till ſome time after they are out of the ſhell: In this feeble ſtate the old ones feed them, and, when they can run, if any perſon attacks their young ones with arms, the old ones have courage enough to retaliate the injury, and will put a man hard to it to defend himſelf. The Oſtrich cannot fly, but, with the aſſiſtance of its wings, makes ſuch ſpeed when it is purſued, that a man muſt be well mounted to overtake it. It has been ſaid, that an Oſtrich will digeſt pieces of iron or pebble-ſtones; and it is true that an Oſtrich will ſwallow them, but they always come out as they went in, without any alteration of the ſhape or ſize.

Hawks.

There are a great variety of Hawks in the Hottentot countries; but this being a ſport the Dutch don't ſeem to delight in, or the natives know any thing of, they are never tamed or taught to fly at game.

Pheaſants.

Pheaſants are common at the Cape; and the way of taking them, according to KOLBEN, very particular: He ſays, that when they ſee them feeding, they advance behind a piece of canvas, on which a Pheaſant is painted, and by this ſtratagem come ſo near the bird, that they can throw a net over it.

Other Fowls.

They have alſo, in this part of Africa, Turkeys, Peacocks, Ducks, Snipes, Larks, Blackbirds, Thruſhes, Finches, Canary-birds, Pigeons, wild and tame Swallows, Sparrows, and almoſt every fowl and bird we meet with in Europe; but, as theſe are all well known, they need no particular deſcription.

Reptiles and inſects.

Serpents.

Of the reptiles and inſects about the Cape of Good Hope their ſerpents are the largeſt, of which they have great variety; particularly the Aſp, a ſerpent of an aſh colour, ſpeckled with red and yellow ſpots; the head and neck broad, and, near the eyes, a fleſhy protuberance of the bigneſs of a Hazel-nut, ſome of them ſeveral yards in length.

The Eye-ſerpent, ſo called from light ſpecks that appear like eyes on his black ſkin. This is alſo called ſometimes the Dart-ſerpent, from its darting or ſhooting himſelf forward with great ſwiftneſs. There is alſo a Tree-ſerpent, which has obtained its name from winding itſelf round the branches of trees, which it ſo reſembles in colour, that men are frequently bitten and ſurpriz'd by it, taking the creature for part of the tree.

The Diſpaſs, ſo call'd from the violent thirſt it occaſions in thoſe that are bitten by it, alſo is found here; as is the Cobree Capelle or Hairy-ſerpent, according to KOLBEN, which the reader will find deſcribed in the firſt volume of *Modern Hiſtory*.

From the head of this ſerpent, it has been ſaid, that the Bramines of India extract a ſtone, which will draw out the poiſon from a wound, if any perſon is bitten by a ſerpent; but others affirm, there is no ſuch ſtone in this ſerpent's head, but what goes under the name of a Serpent-ſtone, is a compoſition; however it has certainly very ſtrange effects. KOLBEN ſays, he ſaw it tried upon a child that was bitten by ſome poiſonous animal, which ſwelled up the arm prodigiouſly; and the ſtone, being applied to the wound, ſtuck faſt, drinking in the poiſon till it could receive no more, and then dropped off; and, after the ſtone was purged in milk, it was applied again, and this was repeated till all the poiſon was drawn out; after which, the arm ſoon healed.

But the moſt troubleſome ſerpents here, are the Houſe-ſerpents, ſo called from their delighting in houſes; and, if they can, they will get into bed to a man, but will not attempt to bite, unleſs he happens to hurt them; and, if they do, their bite is not mortal: This Serpent is an inch and a half thick, and from an ell to a yard and a half in length.

There is alſo a very ſmall Serpent, that harbours and lays its eggs in the thatch of houſes. Theſe are about a finger's length, and the thickneſs of a Gooſe-quill: The Water-Snake is of the ſame thickneſs, but about ſix inches long.

KOLBEN, ſpeaking of their ſea and river inſects, mentions a Sea-flea, of the ſize and ſhape of a Shrimp, which fixes itſelf on fiſh, and ſtings them intolerably: And of the Sea-louſe, that reſembles a Horſe-fly, and will ſting and ſuck a fiſh to death, if it can't rub them off. He ſpeaks alſo of a great variety of Sea-worms, ſome a yard and a half in length; but does not acquaint us, whether they have any of thoſe worms, which are ſo prejudicial to ſhips, which we meet with in the Straits, and in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies.

Among the land inſects, according to Mr. KOLBEN, there are ſome Ants, that have wings, and fly; but, in nothing elſe, differ from the common creeping Ant. Their Bees are exactly like thoſe in Europe; but the Dutch ſeldom hive them, having plenty of honey, on very eaſy terms, from the Hottentots, who take it in the woods, or on the tops of rocks, which is ſaid to have a better flavour than that in hives: However, as the Hottentots put it into a half-dry'd ſkin, with the hair inwards; when the Dutch bring it to the Cape, the Dutchmen muſt have pretty good ſtomachs to eat it.

They ſwarm alſo with Flies in this part of Africa; many of which ſting intolerably: And here are green Flies, which have exactly the ſame effect as Spaniſh Flies, and are uſed by their phyſicians in raiſing bliſters.

The Gnats are exceeding troubleſome at the Cape, and the Fleas are no leſs ſo, eſpecially to the Hottentots, whoſe naſtineſs makes them multiply to that degree, that they are forced to remove their camp, and go to a new ground, to avoid them: It is, in a manner, part of the Dutch litany, it ſeems, "From Flies, Fleas and the "winds, good Lord deliver us." But, as KOLBEN obſerves, when the winds begin to riſe, it redeems them from the Plague of Flies, as well as the head-ach, and many other diſtempers they are afflicted with in calm weather.

The Graſs-hoppers at the Cape, it ſeems, do a great deal of damage to their corn-fields, orchards and gardens; and to get rid of them, the Dutch ſprinkle the grounds where they come, with water in which tobacco has been ſteeped; and this, KOLBEN aſſures us, will oblige them to quit the place.

As to Lice, the ſame writer relates, that, tho' the Hottentots ſwarm with them, they will not live with a European here, any more than in the Eaſt-Indies, or in any hot latitude; and, as for Head-lice, he obſerves, the Hottentots ſo load their hair with greaſe and Cow-dung, that they have none of that ſpecies: But I have obſerved in the Eaſt-Indies, that the heads of the natives there were very louſy, tho' neither they nor the Europeans had any on their bodies; and, according to Don QUIXOT's obſervation to his man SANCHO, no body louſy ever paſſed the line alive: Tho' our Sailors ſwarm with them in cold voyages to the Baltick and the North, they never are troubled with theſe vermin in hot climates. Bugs, however, are a great torment to the Dutch at the Cape: The beſt remedy they have yet met with againſt them, is the painting their wainſcots and bed-poſts with oil colours, in which mercury is mixed; but this will not always do.

There are abundance of Scorpions at the Cape: They are between two and three inches long, of the thickneſs of a ſmall finger, green and yellow, and carry their tails with a ſting, open to view, upon their backs. This creature creeps very ſlowly, and may poſſibly have no inclination to miſchief, never attempting to ſting any one, unleſs it is in danger of being cruſhed; but, if it does ſting a man, the pain is equal to that he would receive from a hot iron clapt to the part for twelve hours, and makes him run out of his houſe like a mad Dog; but, about twelve hours after, the pain begins to abate, eſpecially if ſome oil of Scorpion be applied to the wound. This I ſpeak of the houſe Scorpion, that is found among dirt and rubbiſh; for the ſting of the black Scorpion, that is found in woods, is ſaid to be mortal.

There is alſo a little black Spider, of the bigneſs of a pea, at the Cape, whoſe bite is mortal. Kolben relates, that he knew a Negroe-ſlave killed by one of theſe inſects; and that a European boy was put to a great deal of pain, and in danger of his life, by the bite of one of them; but was cured by the applying the Snake-ſtone to the wound, which ſucked out all the poiſon.

Waſps are another plague in this country; but a briſk gale of wind, which they ſeldom want, drives theſe away, as well as the Flies. The Centapedes, or Hundred-legs, is another troubleſome inſect, his bite being as prejudicial as the ſting of a Scorpion: It is about a finger's length, hairy, and a little thicker than a Gooſe-quill. The Snake-ſtone is a remedy againſt this poiſon alſo; and ſome ſay, a roaſted onion will draw out the poiſon.

Weevils or Whules, as the country farmers call them, abound here, and deſtroy abundance of corn in the granaries; inſomuch that they are forced to let them remain empty ſometimes for ſeveral years. Theſe inſects alſo are found on ſhip-board, and ſoon ſpoil the biſcuit when they get into it.

The Terra de Natal in Caffraria.

The Caffries on the weſtern coaſt.

Monomotopa and Monomuegi.

As to that part of Caffraria, which lies on the eaſtern ſide of Africa, and between the Hottentots nations on the ſouth, and the Portugueſe ſettlements of Zanguebar on the north, and uſually called the Terra de Natal: The natives of this country are blacker than the Hottentots, and have been taught to cloath themſelves more decently. They have alſo ſome buildings that may deſerve the name of houſes, and traffick with the Portugueſe, and other European nations that touch on this coaſt, bringing gold and Elephants teeth from the inland countries, and bartering it for cloathing, ſtrong liquors, utenſils and toys. As to the Caffries upon the weſtern coaſt, which lie between the Hottentots on the ſouth, and the Portugueſe colonies in Congo on the north; including the country of Mataman or Matapan, and extending to the 16th degree of ſouth latitude: This is all a deſart uninhabited coaſt, where no European nation has yet found it worth their while to ſettle colonies, or even factories, producing no article fit for commerce, or even neceſſary proviſions; and conſequently we can know no more of this coaſt, than its defects already mention'd, And, as for the inland countries of Monomotopa and Monomuegi, &c. which lie between the eaſtern and weſtern coaſt, and have the Hottentots on the ſouth, and the upper Ethiopia on the north; all that we know of them is, that the natives are Pagan Negroes, and ſometimes bring their gold and Elephants teeth to thoſe countries that border upon the ſea; and that the natives of the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of Africa purchaſe theſe goods of inland people, and barter them again with the Europeans for cloathing, arms, utenſils, toys, &c. I proceed therefore to the deſcription of Congo, the greateſt part whereof is at this day ſubject to the Portugueſe.

CHAP. V.

The preſent ſtate of CONGO.

Containing the preſent ſtate of the kingdoms of Congo, *for the moſt part ſubject to the* Portugueſe; *under which are included the countries of* Angola, Congo Proper, *and* Loango.

Situation and extent.

CONGO is ſituated on the weſt-coaſt of Africa, between four degrees and half north, and ſixteen degrees ſouth latitude; taking up near twenty degrees of latitude, and conſequently is above twelve hundred miles in length, from north to ſouth; but is not of a proportionable breadth, ſcarce extending two hundred miles from the ſea into the land, in any part: It is bounded by the kingdom of Benin and Nigritia, on the north; by the inland unknown countries of Africa, on the eaſt; by Matapan in Caffraria, on the ſouth; and by the Atlantick ocean, on the weſt.

Angola the ſouthern part of Congo.

The kingdom of Angola, the firſt diviſion of it, commences at Cape Negro, latitude 16 degrees ſouth, and extends northward to 8 degrees ſouth latitude, including ſeveral ſmall kingdoms, which our mariners have given various names to, ſcarce ever agreeing in the ſame name for any one country; and therefore I thought proper to include them all under the general name of Angola.

The chief town St. Paul de Loanda.

The chief town of Angola, and indeed of all the Portugueſe ſettlements, on this ſide of Africa, is St. Paul de Loanda, ſituated upon a ſmall iſland near the continent, in 12 degrees of ſouth latitude, a little to the northward of the great river Coanza. This is the ſeat of the Portugueſe Viceroy: However they do not ſeem to be ſo much maſters of the coaſt of Angola, as of the reſt of Congo; for both the Engliſh and Dutch trade thither, and the Engliſh tranſport abundance of ſlaves from Angola to America every year.

Congo Proper, the ſecond diviſion. Chief town St. Salvador.

Congo Proper is ſituated to the northward of Angola: The chief town St. Salvador, ſituated in the latitude of ſix degrees, upon the great river Congo, or Zara, about 150 miles from the ſea, ſaid to be 17 miles in compaſs, and, according to ſome, a great deal more; but then fields and gardens are included, I find, and the houſes are not contiguous. The Negroe King has a magnificent Palace in the middle of the town, if we may credit the Portugueſe, whoſe tributary this Prince is; and the diſtrict belonging to the palace, is ſo large, they inform us, that there are three Chriſtian churches in it, beſides a Cathedral, and twelve churches more in the outward city. The cathedral is built of brick, without ornament on the outſide, but exceeding rich within, the Portugueſe relate. There are alſo ſeveral religious houſes and convents in the place; and the number of ſouls, Portugueſe and Negroes, in St. Salvador, 'tis ſaid, amount to 100000. Both the cities laſt-mentioned are Epiſcopal Sees.

Loango, the third and moſt northerly diviſion of Congo.

In the ſubdiviſion of Loango, the chief towns are Loango, on the ſea-coaſt, in 2 degrees ſouth latitude, and Cape Lopas, half a degree to the ſouthward of the Equator: Here the Negroe King lives in the caſtle with the Portugueſe Governor, and is treated as their good ally; but the Portugueſe are in reality maſters of this town and kingdom, as well as of the reſt of Congo, except part of Angola.

Other towns and ſettlements of the Portugueſe in Congo.

Negroe towns.

Their principal towns and ſettlements on the coaſt of Congo, beſides thoſe already nam'd, are Great Caſcais, that ſtands at the mouth of a navigable river, which I find no name to: Goango, ſituated at the mouth of the great river Zara or Congo; and further ſouthward on the coaſt, Cape Pulmerino, Cape Lehdo, Libolo, Benguelas, or Fort St. Philip (near which the Dutch have a factory) Tortuga, and Angra de Negros. As to the towns belonging to the Negroes, moſt of them conſiſt of a few huts, built with clay and reeds, in an irregular manner; and as every tribe or clan has its particular King or Soveraign, his palace is uſually diſtinguiſhed by a ſpreading tree before his door, under which he ſits and converſes, or adminiſters juſtice to his ſubjects. But I perceive moſt of their towns are in or near a grove of trees; for our Sailors always conclude, there is a Negro town, wherever they obſerve a tuft of trees upon the coaſt: And, as theſe conſiſt of Palms, Cocoa-nut-trees, Oranges, Lemons, and other fruit-trees, that retain their leaves and verdure all the year; ſuch dwelling-houſes, how mean ſoever the materials of their houſes are, cannot be unpleaſant. The Negroe towns, in fruitful countries, ſtand very thick, and are exceeding populous, the whole country appearing almoſt one continued village. As to their perſons, they are as black as any of the Negroes, but much more civiliz'd. The Portugueſe fathers have not only converted moſt of the people upon this extenſive coaſt to chriſtianity, but taught them to cloath themſelves like Chriſtians, and they now take off great quantities of European manufactures.

There are a multitude of Kings or petty Soveraigns in this country, moſt of them in ſome kind of ſubjection to the Portugueſe, who permit them, however, to govern their own people, according to their ancient cuſtoms. Notwithſtanding this country is ſituated under, and on both ſides the equator, 'tis not ſo exceſſive hot as in ſome higher latitudes; for which ſeveral reaſons are aſſigned; as, 1. Becauſe their day is never above twelve hours long: 2. Their rainy ſeaſon continues four months; viz. from June to September incluſive, when their rivers, like the Nile, overflow the level country; and this renders Congo no leſs fruitful than Egypt. The Portugueſe have taught the natives alſo to make the beſt of their lands, and introduced European corn, fruits, and plants; and, as the country is very populous, there is now ſcarce a ſpot of ground uncultivated.

The Portugueſe maſters of the country.

The Portugueſe have the ſole foreign trade in this country, except in ſome part of Angola, whither the Engliſh and Dutch reſort for ſlaves. They bring from thence chiefly ſlaves, Elephants teeth, wax and peltry, conſiſting of the ſkins of Buffaloes and other beaſts, for which they give the natives in return all manner of cloathing, made of cotton, linnen, or ſlight ſtuffs, tools, utenſils, tobacco, brandy, and other ſpirituous liquors; and 'tis ſaid, the Portugueſe frequently purchaſe ſlaves and teeth here, with the gold they bring from Brazil (for there is no gold found in Congo;) and that, from this coaſt and ſome other ſettlements they have in Africa, they do not ſend leſs than 100000 ſlaves to Brazil.

Negroes purchaſed cheap at Angola.

The Engliſh and Dutch at Angola alſo barter linnen, calicoes, ſlight ſtuffs, beads, toys, tobacco and brandy, for ſlaves, which are tranſported from thence to America. Negroes, 'tis ſaid, are purchas'd cheaper at Angola than in Guinea. Young Blacks at full growth and in their prime, under three pounds a head, and boys and women in porportion; and theſe poor creatures are pack'd as cloſe as Herrings, 7 or 800 of them in a ſhip, where they are forced to lie double, almoſt the whole voyage, and kept with no better food than horſe-beans; tho' their profit, one would think, ſhould induce the Merchants to uſe them well; for a ſlave, that is purchaſed for three or four pounds at Angola, is worth twenty or five and twenty in America.

Product of Congo.

Moſt of the cattle that are found in Caffraria, may be ſeen in Congo, ſuch as Cows, Oxen, Buffaloes, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, Deer, Elephants, Lions, and Tygers. The country alſo produces rice in great plenty; and here grows the Palm and Cocoa-nut-tree, which are not to be met with in Caffraria; and, among the many exotick plants the Portugueſe have brought hither, is the Cinnamon-tree, of which they have a flouriſhing long walk, in a ſmall iſland near the coaſt; but dare not propagate them any further, leſt the Dutch ſhould come and take their country from them, as has been obſerv'd already.

And now, travelling weſtward, according to my uſual method, I proceed to give a deſcription of the celebrated coaſt of Guinea, the gold whereof attracts ſo many European nations thither.

CHAP. VI.

The preſent ſtate of GUINEA:

Comprehending the countries of Benin *and the* Slave Coaſt, *the* Gold Coaſt, *the* Ivory Coaſt, *and the* Grain Coaſt.

CHAP. V.

Its ſituation, extent and ſubdiviſions.

GUINEA, in its largeſt extent, comprehending, 1. Benin and the Slave Coaſt; 2. The Gold Coaſt; 3. The Ivory Coaſt; and, 4. The Grain Coaſt; lies between 4 degrees and a half and 10 degrees and a half north-latitude; and between the great river Camarone, on the eaſt, and the mouth of the river Sierra de Leon, on the weſt, taking up 30 degrees of longitude, viz. from 15 eaſt, to 15 weſt, of London; which, at 60 miles to a degree, makes it 1800 miles long. This country is bounded by Nigritia, or Negroland, on the north; by the undiſcover'd inland countries of Africa, on the eaſt; by Congo, and the Atlantick ocean, on the ſouth; and by the ſame ocean on the weſt.

This country, according to ſome, obtained the name of Guinea, becauſe it is hot and dry, the word ſignifying as much in the language of the natives; but thoſe, who derive it from hence, ſurely never conſider'd, that no country is better water'd, either with rain from heaven, or with more numerous rivers. I am therefore inclined to think, that it took its name from a town call'd Guinhy, which the Portugueſe touched at when they firſt viſited this coaſt.

Benin and the Slave Coaſt the firſt ſubdiviſion.

The firſt ſubdiviſion of this country Benin, in which I include the Slave Coaſt, is bounded by Nigritia, or Negroland, on the north; by the unknown inland parts of Africa, on the eaſt; by Congo, and that part of the Atlantick ocean, call'd the gulph or bite of Guinea, on the ſouth; and by the Gold Coaſt, on the weſt; lying along the ſea-coaſt, from the river Camarone, on the eaſt, to the Daniſh fort of Chriſtianburgh, near the river Volta, on the weſt: The principal rivers in this diviſion, beſides the great river Camarone, the ſouth-eaſt boundary of it, are the river Del-Rey, or the King's River, to the weſtward of it; and the rivers Forcades, Formoſa and Lagos, further weſtward; and laſtly, the river Volta, near the weſtern bounds of this diviſion.

The

Chief town Benin.
Awerri.
Arebo.
Ardra.
Fida or Whidah.
Popo.
Alampo.
Engliſh ſettlements.
Other European ſettlements.

The chief towns, which give names to ſo many kingdoms or diſtricts are, 1. Benin, ſituated on the river Benin or Formoſa, in 7 degrees and a half north latitude, ſaid to be 11 miles in circumference, and to contain 100000 inhabitants, all Negroes, with a magnificent palace of their King's; but, notwithſtanding all the fine things ſaid of this town, both palaces and houſes have clay-walls, and thatched roofs. 2. Awerri, ſituated alſo in Benin, at the mouth of the river Forcades, not ſubject to the King of Benin, but to the Portugueſe, who have a caſtle, with a ſtrong garriſon, that commands it. The Portugueſe alſo have ſettlements for 150 miles up the river Formoſa, and moſt of the petty Sovereigns of this country are either their allies, or ſubject to them. 3. Arebo, on the eaſt-ſide of the mouth of the river Formoſa: This was formerly a place that the Europeans viſited pretty much for ſlaves; but now the Portugueſe have almoſt the ſole trade of this part of the country. 4. Great Ardra; and, 5. Little Ardra, ſituated near the river Lagos, on the Slave Coaſt: The greater ſaid to be extremely large and populous, and both of them inhabited by Negroes. 6. Fida or Whidah, ſituated on the Slave Coaſt, between the rivers Lagos and Volta: The town and country about it extremely populous; but conſiſting of ſuch poor huts as the Negroes uſually live in. 7. Great Popo; and, 8. Little Popo; both which towns lie upon the ſame coaſt to the weſtward of Fida. 9. Lampo or Alampo, a little to the eaſtward of the mouth of the river Volta: This, and the other towns, conſiſting only of Negroe-huts, require no particular deſcription. I ſhall only add, that the Engliſh have two factories or ſettlements on the Slave Coaſt; one at Alampo, and the other at Whidah: And that the Portugueſe, French, and Dutch, have each of them one ſettlement at Whidah on the ſame coaſt. But, as to the country of Benin Proper, no European nation has any ſettlement there, but the Portugueſe, who are in a manner, maſters of it: And, if we may believe their Miſſionaries, have made proſelytes of moſt of the natives. But travellers tell us, that thoſe, near the ſea-coaſt, are a very ſad ſort of Chriſtians, a profligate and abandoned race, addicted to all manner of vice.

The Gold Coaſt.

The Gold Coaſt, ſo named from the abundance of gold that is found there, is bounded by Nigritia, on the north; by the Slave Coaſt, on the eaſt; by the ocean on the ſouth; and by the tooth or Ivory Coaſt, on the weſt.

The principal river in this diviſion is that of the Rio Cobra, or Ancober, by ſome called the Gold-River, which falls into the ſea, near the Dutch fort of St. Authony, a little to the weſtward of Cape Three-Points.

Chief towns.

The chief towns, which give names to ſo many petty kingdoms or ſtates dependent on them, are Aquamboe, Agonna, Acron, Fantyn, Sabo, Fetu, Commani, Jabi, Adom, Ante and Axim.

European ſettlements.

On this coaſt are ſeveral European forts and ſettlements: The moſt eaſterly, called Chriſtianburgh[a], belongs to the Danes: The ſecond, called fort Crevecœur[b], ſtands a little to the weſtward of the former, and belongs to the Dutch, and further weſtward Acra, which belongs to the Engliſh: In Agonna ſtands fort Simpas, which belongs to the Engliſh: In Acra[c] fort Patience[d], to the Dutch: In Fantim Anamboa[e], to the Engliſh, and Amſterdam[f] to the Dutch: In Saboe fort Naſſau[g] to the Dutch: In Fetu Conradſburgh[h], to the Dutch; and Cape Coaſt-Caſtle[i], or Carolus-Burgh to the Engliſh: In Covani Vredenburgh[k] and Las Minas, or Delmina[l], to the Dutch: In Ante or Hante, fort Infuma[m], to the Engliſh; Batenſtern[n], Orange[o], and St. Sebaſtian[p], to the Dutch: In Axim[q], the forts of Axim and St. Anthony[r], to the Dutch; and fort Fredericksburgh[s], and Dorothea[t], to the Pruſſians, which is the moſt weſterly of all the European ſettlements on the Gold Coaſt. There are alſo ſeveral other ſmall forts and factories belonging to the Engliſh and Dutch on this coaſt; but thoſe already mentioned are the chief: The two ſtrongeſt forts are thoſe of Cape Coaſt, which belong to the Engliſh; and that of Las Minas or Delmina, which the Dutch are in poſſeſſion of. The Hollanders took this, and ſeveral others, from the Portugueſe; and alſo treacherouſly diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of the fort, to which they have ſince given the name of Amſterdam, and ſeveral others, in the year 1665, during full peace; and which was one occaſion of the firſt Dutch war: Nor have our good allies reſtored them to this day.

[a] Chriſtianburgh.
[b] Crevecœur.
[c] Acra.
[d] Patience.
[e] Anamboa.
[f] Amſterdam.
[g] Fort Naſſau.
[h] Conradſburgh.
[i] Cape Coaſt.
[k] Vredenburgh.
[l] Delmina.
[m] Infuma.
[n] Batenſtern.
[o] Orange.
[p] St. Sebaſtian.
[q] Axim.
[r] St. Anthony.
[s] Fredericksburgh
[t] Dorothea.

The Dutch ſurprized the Engliſh forts in time of peace, and ſtill keep them.

The Ivory Coaſt.

The next diviſion of Guinea, is that of the Ivory or Tooth Coaſt, which takes its name from the Elephants teeth found here, and is bounded by Nigritia, on the north; by the Gold Coaſt, on the eaſt; by the ocean on the ſouth; and by the Grain or Pepper Coaſt, on the weſt.

Chief towns.

The moſt remarkable places and towns on the Ivory Coaſt are, Jaque, Cape Lahoe, Drumyn, Cape, Palmas, Seſtre, Sino and Bottowa; and the chief rivers thoſe of Rio de Suerio, and Rio Eſcravos.

Grain Coaſt.

The laſt and moſt weſterly diviſion of Guinea, is that of the Grain or Pepper Coaſt, bounded by Nigritia, on the north; the Ivory Coaſt, on the eaſt; and the ocean, on the ſouth and weſt: The principal rivers whereof are, the Rio de Seſtro, the Rio de St. Paul, and the river de Sierra Leon.

Chief towns. Engliſh ſettlements.

The chief towns are, Baſſoe, Sanguin, Seſtro, Gorea, Buga and Tomba: And here are alſo two Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſt, viz. thoſe of St. Anne, at the mouth of the river Sierra, Leon, and Sherbro fort, to the eaſtward of it. I proceed now to give a more particular account of the coaſt of Guinea.

Air and ſeaſons on the Guinea Coaſt.
A great ſurf upon the Coaſt.

Travellers uſually make but two ſeaſons in this country; namely, winter and ſummer: From April to September incluſive, in their winter, or rainy ſeaſon; and from October to March incluſive, is their ſummer, and their hotteſt, as well as faireſt weather; though then the Sun is fartheſt from them on the ſouth-ſide of the equator; whereas the coaſt of Guinea lies 5 degrees north. But their wet ſeaſon does not always begin juſt at the ſame time; nor is it the ſame at all places on this coaſt. At ſome time, and in ſome places, it begins a month or two ſooner than in others, and is ſometimes of a longer, and at others of a ſhorter duration; however, between the vernal and the autumnal equinox, they generally have exceſſive rains, attended with violent ſtorms of wind, as well as thunder and lightning; and as the winds at this time blow from the ſouthward, and there is not one harbour upon the coaſt, if any ſhipping happens to be there in theſe ſtorms, they are infallibly run on ſhore, unleſs they can ſtand out to ſea, or get into the mouth of the river Sierra de Leon, when they find them coming on: And, it ſeems, there always ſits ſuch a ſurf or ſwelling-ſea on this coaſt, that it is very difficult going on ſhore at any time, even during the fair ſeaſon, eſpecially at Whidah.

Winds.

The moſt violent ſtorms, or travadoes, are in July and Auguſt, and come from the ſouthward: It is obſerved alſo, that, during the hot ſeaſon, the winds are periodical on this coaſt, blowing from midnight till one or two in the afternoon, from the land; and then, ſhifting to the ſouthward, blow from the ſea: And that the ſea rages to that degree on this ſhore ſome months in the year, that it looks like fire, which makes the Sailors ſtile it, The Burnings, at which times it is almoſt impoſſible to go on ſhore.

Rivers.

Bad air upon the coaſt.

The rivers in this country, falling from high mountains not very far from the coaſt, form ſo many rapid torrents, and in the wet ſeaſon overflow the valleys, from whence aſcend thick ſtinking fogs, that make the country very unhealthful to foreigners; but what I take to be ſtill more pernicious is, that the European factories always lie near the ſea, and the mouths of the rivers, and, from the Ouze and ſalt-marſhes underneath them, till more unhealthful vapours ariſe: And, 'tis ſaid, the fiſh, which the Negroes lay upon the ſhore till they putrify, do not a little contribute to corrupt the air. But from what cauſe ſoever it proceeds, few Europeans viſit theſe ſhores, but have a dangerous fit of ſickneſs ſoon after their arrival, and many of them are carried off by it.

Their rivers, running but a ſhort courſe from north to ſouth, and being made chiefly by the rains, are not any of them navigable for ſhips, from the river of Sierra de Leon, in the weſt, to the river of Benin in Formoſa, in the eaſt; but abound however with variety of very good fiſh, as well as their ſeas.

It may be obſerved farther, that, during the rainy ſeaſon, though the ſun be then directly over their heads, the weather is moderately cool, eſpecially in the evening. Some relate, that in September, about the end of the rains, it is really cold; and though the middle of the day is exceſſive hot in ſummer, viz. from October to March, yet even then the evenings are cool; and they have this further relief, that there are no long days: It muſt be nine in the morning before the intenſe heat begins, and at three or four in the afternoon it is pretty much abated, the ſun not being then above two or three hours high.

The face of the country.

As to the face of the country, it is agreeably diverſified with mountains and valleys, woods and open fields: The hills adorned with trees of an extraordinary height, and the valleys between them rich, large, and extenſive, proper for the cultivation of all manner of corn and fruits, with villages every where agreeably interſperſed, the country being exceeding populous: But the moſt pleaſant and fruitful part of the country, is that about Fida or Whidah, which, from the deſcription of ſome travellers, one would imagine a perfect paradiſe, if it was not for the unhealthfulneſs of the place, with regard to European conſtitutions.

It muſt be ſuppoſed, however, in ſo extenſive a coaſt, as from the river of Sierra de Leon, to the river Camarone, there is a great deal of barren deſart ground: We find much of this upon the Gold Coaſt; and other parts of it are ſo overflowed in the rainy ſeaſon, that the ſoil will produce ſcarce any thing but rice; all other corn and plants almoſt are deſtroyed by the annual floods: But then Whidah and other places makes amends for this, by their abundant fertility.

The perſons of the Negroes.

The perſons of the Negroes are ſo well known among us, that it is almoſt unneceſſary to deſcribe them: They are generally of a good ſtature, well proportioned, robuſt, able-bodied men; their complexion a ſhining jet black; their noſes flat; their lips thick; they have large rolling eyes, of which great part of the white appears, and exceeding even white ſets of teeth; their hair black, ſhort, and curled, appearing more like black wool than hair.

Their habits.

Ornaments.

The habit of a Negroe is a Paan, or cloth, about his waiſt, about two foot broad; and thoſe of the better ſort have another cloth of a good length wrapped about them, and thrown over their ſhoulders; but yet ſo as their arms, legs, and a good part of their bodies appear naked both of the men and women. Their ornaments conſiſt of a multitude of rings or bracelets, of gold, ivory, or copper, according to their circumſtances, worn on their arms and legs, with necklaces and girdles of coral, one upon another; but the plaiting and adorning their hair takes up the greateſt part of their time, eſpecially of the womens: The hair of ſome of the Negroes is longer than that of others; and they have a way of pulling it out of the natural curl, and making it ſtrait, by hanging weights to it; after which, they form it into various faſhions, dreſſing it up with little thin plates of gold, copper, tinſel, beads, coral and ſhells, that make a glittering ſhew: Some of the women throw a veil over all, to keep off the ſcorching ſun, and ſome of the men have caps; their fiſhermen particularly have them made of ſkins or ruſhes, and are very happy if they can get a European hat: But many of the Negroes go perfectly bare-headed; and their ſcalps, 'tis ſaid, are ſo hardened by it, that they are not ſenſible of the ſun's intenſe heat.

Salutations.

Genius and temper.

Debauched by the Chriſtians.

Their ſalutations in the inland country are performed by ſtretching out their hands, bending the knee, or embracing each other; and where a ſubject or inferior perſon addreſſes himſelf to his Prince or ſuperior Lord, he proſtrates himſelf on his face before him, till he is bid to riſe: As for the people of the coaſt, who have furniſhed themſelves with caps and hats, they have learnt of the Europeans to ſalute their friends by pulling them off. Our Factors obſerve, this people do not want ſenſe, but employ it to the vileſt purpoſes; namely, in defrauding all the Europeans they deal with, as well as one another. But our people are ſo ingenuous to confeſs, that the Chriſtians have, in a great meaſure, contributed to make them thoſe exquiſite cheats. The Europeans firſt taught them to adulterate their gold, and mix copper and other paltry ingredients with it; and therefore have no great reaſon to complain of them on this ſcore: They have been made much worſe by their traffick with us, both in this reſpect, and many others. Our Merchants have ſent over large quantities of brandy and ſpirits; and our Factors and Sailors frequently ſhew them, that Chriſtians get drunk with them, and commit as many extravagancies, as thoſe who never heard of chriſtianity: And tho' our people reflect upon their women for their lewdneſs, they ſee the Europeans, who viſit their coaſts, as lewd as they can be: They cannot but obſerve, that the profeſſors of that religion which requires the ſtricteſt juſtice, chaſtity, and temperance, are as abandoned libertines as the Pagans themſelves, and by that means are confirmed in the vicious habits we cenſure them for. All the difference is, that Chriſtians do this in defiance of the principles of their religion; and the Negroes, in conformity with theirs, at leaſt as to wine and women; from which their ſuperſtitions do not reſtrain them, but rather encourage them in the practice of thoſe vices: And this

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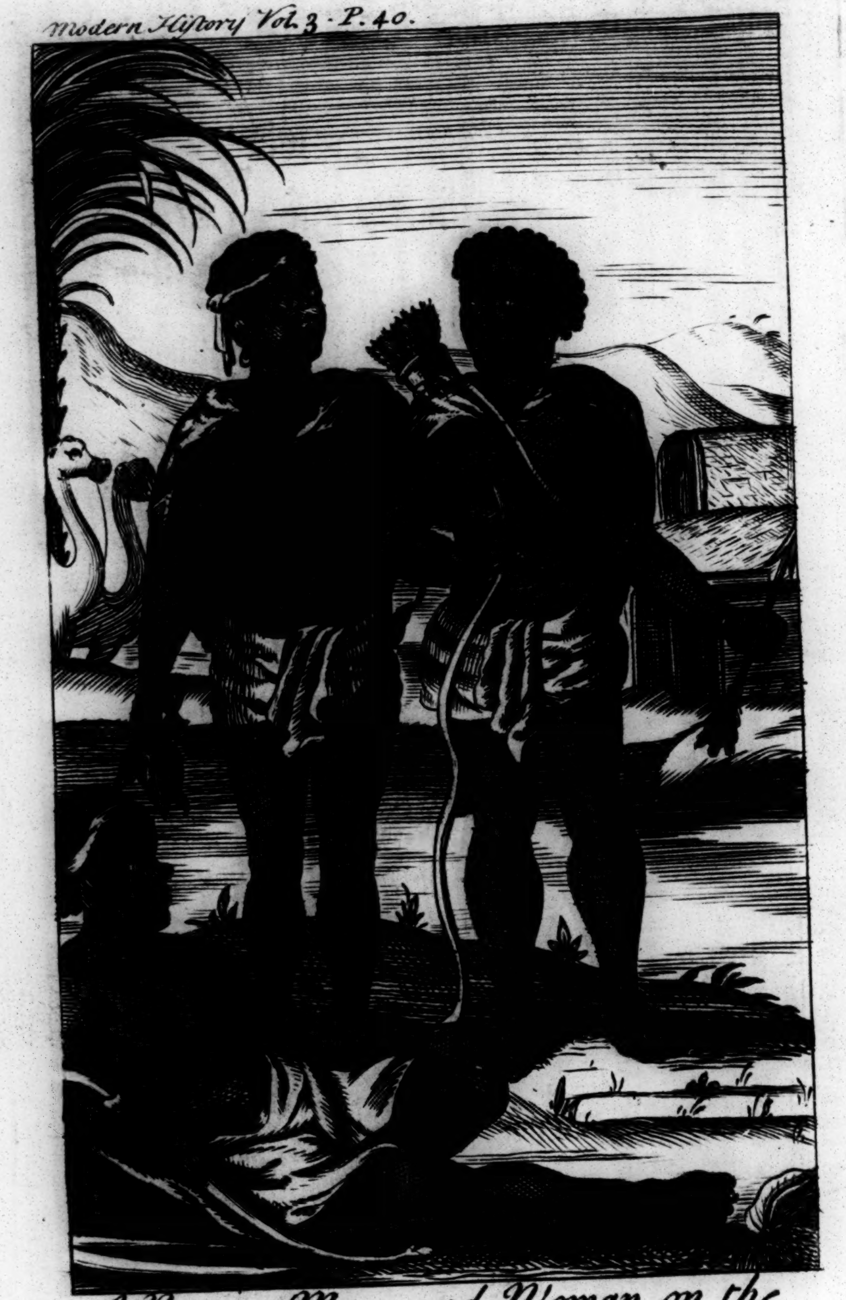

A Negroe Man and Woman on the Guinea Coaſt

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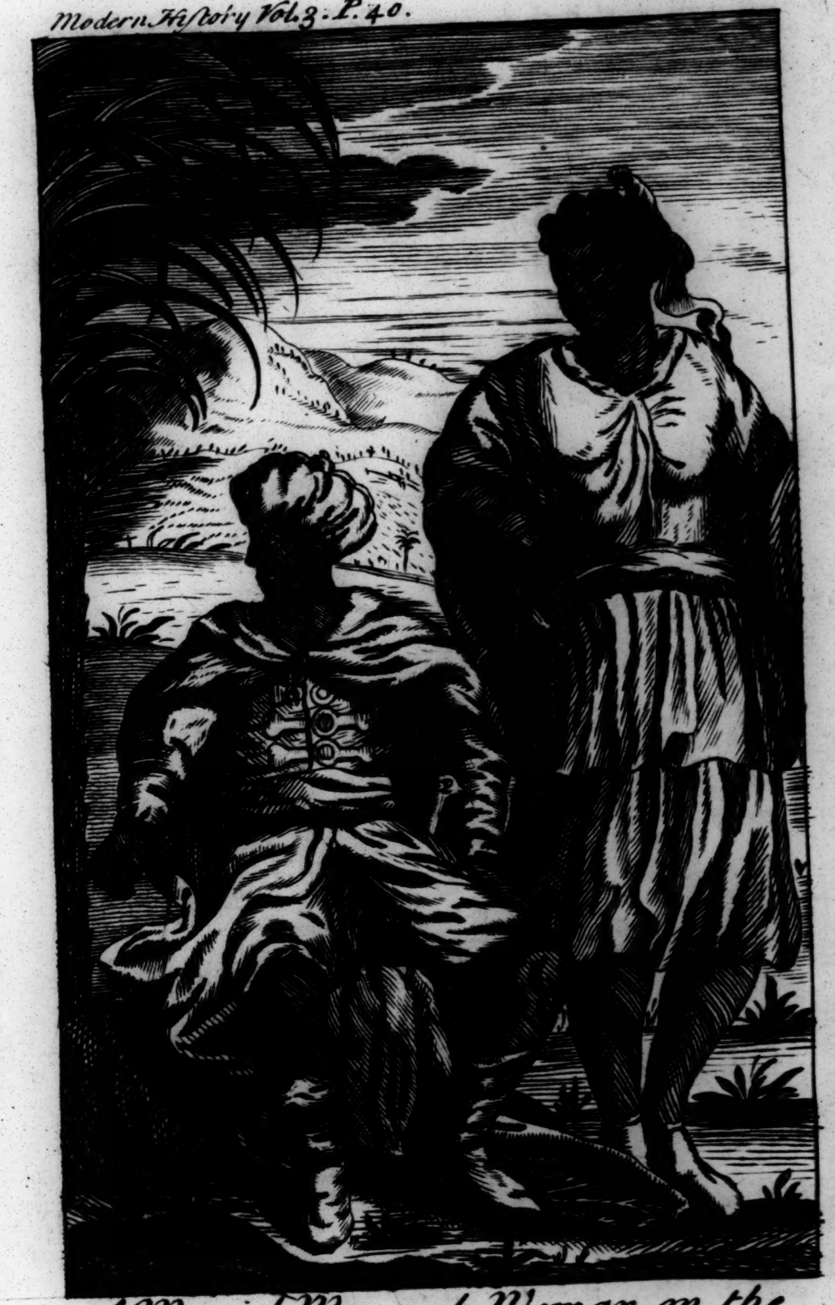

A Mooriſh Man and Woman on the Coaſt of Barbary

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this is, and ever will be, the great obſtruction to the propagation of Chriſtianity in Pagan countries, That the profeſſion and practice of our people are ſo widely different, that the heathen nations can never think our miſſionaries in earneſt, when they preach up virtue, and endeavour to make proſelytes of them. It is obſerved alſo, that the Negroes in the inland countries are not near ſo vicious and corrupt in their morals, as thoſe that converſe with us upon the coaſt.

Melatto's.

There is ſtill a more abandoned race here than the Negroes, according to the accounts our Factors and Seamen give of them: Theſe are the Melatto's, or mixed breed, proceeding from Negroes and Europeans. The Portugueſe, when they firſt diſcovered the ſouth-weſt coaſt of Africa, propagated both their religion and their ſpecies in many parts of it. Theſe are of a tawny complexion, profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, but retain many of the ſuperſtitions of the Pagan Negroes. They dreſs, 'tis ſaid, like the Portugueſe, but exceed both Negroes and Portugueſe in their vices. The men are drunken, lewd, thieviſh, and treacherous to the laſt degree; and the women proſtitutes to both Negroes and Europeans; to the firſt, privately, and to the laſt publickly, without any manner of ſhame or reſtraint. This vice they ſee countenanced by the practice both of Negroes and Chriſtians, and therefore make no ſcruple of indulging themſelves in it, whenever pleaſure or profit tempts them to it. Such are the Chriſtians we find upon the eaſtern and weſtern coaſt of Africa, whoſe anceſtors were proſelyted by the Portugueſe Miſſionaries: Not that I would aſcribe their vicious habits to the doctrines the Miſſionaries taught, that might be agreeable to the Chriſtian purity; but I am afraid our Factors and Sea-faring men, both Papiſts and Proteſtants, have for the moſt part been ſuch lewd, drunken, vicious wretches, that theſe unhappy Melatto's have either thought thoſe crimes none at all, or venial at leaſt: To the diſſolute lives therefore of the European Chriſtians chiefly is to be aſcribed the vices of the Melatto's we cenſure ſo ſeverely. But, to conclude the character both of Negroes and Melatto's, it is agreed, they are both of them very deficient in point of courage, and both of them extremely lazy and indolent; and ſome have charged them with the moſt barbarous cruelty.

They are obſerved alſo to be very covetous, and yet ſuch maſters of their temper, or ſo eaſy in all conditions of life, that no ſudden changes or alterations in their fortunes can diſturb them. If they loſe a battle, 'tis ſaid, they ſing and dance, as if they had gain'd one; and if a man is deprived of all his effects and treaſure at one ſtroke, he appears contented; it is not to be perceived by his countenance: Which ſhews a great deal of philoſophy, or an unuſual degree of ſtupidity. But I am apt to think, the one is frequently taken for the other in every nation; and therefore, whether this calm, undiſturbed manner of theirs in every change of fortune is to be admir'd or condemn'd, is not eaſy to determine: But thus much we may venture to aſſert, that the man that is leaſt mov'd at ſuch ſhocks, is happieſt in himſelf, and leaſt troubleſome to his friends; and that men of the fineſt ſenſe are generally ſooneſt moved, and more ſubject to paſſion than thoſe of a heavier make: The firſt are apt to have too quick a ſenſe of the conſequence of misfortunes, and to aggravate and multiply them, before reaſon comes to their relief: But then, ſuch a man, perhaps, will obviate a difficulty, and behave himſelf better under a calamity, when he has duly conſider'd it, than the dull unthinking mortal.

Their quadrupedes.

Having given a deſcription of the people, I proceed to enquire into the animals that are found here, and firſt their quadrupedes: Of which the firſt in magnitude is the Elephant. There are found ſuch numbers of theſe monſtrous creatures, in that part of this country call'd the Tooth-coaſt, that there is more Ivory brought from thence than from any other part of the world: But we are not to underſtand, that there are no Elephants in the reſt of the country, comprehended under the name of Guinea; for there are Elephants in Benin, on the Slave-coaſt, in Proper Guinea, and the Malaguette or Pepper-coaſt, tho' not in ſo great numbers as are met with on the Tooth-coaſt. Thoſe creatures have been already deſcribed, in treating of the Eaſt-Indies, Ceylon, and the country of the Hottentots; and therefore I need ſay little of them here. BOSMAN tells us, that they ſometimes come down to the European forts and factories, in the day-time: That they are not afraid of fire, or even of guns; and that their hides cannot be penetrated by a muſket-bullet: That one of them that came down to their fort Elmina, received above 300 ſhot before he fell: That moſt of the bullets fired at him, were flatted by his impenetrable hide, and dropp'd off, as if they had been ſhot againſt a wall: However, ſome of them hitting him on the head, he was brought down at laſt, and the Negroes feaſted on his carcaſe.

They have Bulls and Cows, but no Oxen in this country, the Negroes applying themſelves very little to grazing. The fleſh of theſe animals is dry and hard in moſt places, and their ſheep, which are cloathed with hair inſtead of wool, make very indifferent food, and yet both the one and the other are very dear: Their Cows alſo give wretched milk, and very little of it. They have Goats, Hogs, and Deer, which are much better food than the former. The Horſes are exceeding ſmall, and uſed ſometimes for the ſaddle, as well as Aſſes; but they neither uſe them or any other cattle for the draught of carriages, or to lay burthens on; all their goods are carried on porters backs, if it be 100 miles, unleſs they have the conveniency of water-carriage, which they have but very little of, their rivers falling from ſteep rocks and mountains, and conſequently can be navigated but a very little way.

Here are alſo found Lions, Tygers, Leopards, wild Hogs, Jackalls, wild Dogs, Foxes, and Crocodiles; but I meet with no travellers that mention Camels in this part of Africa, tho' they are ſo numerous to the northward of the river Niger; the reaſon whereof may be, that neither hilly nor dirty countries (as the valleys of Guinea are) are proper for theſe animals; whereas they are extremely uſeful in carrying burdens over ſandy plains and deſarts, and there we meet with great numbers of them, both in the north of Africa and in Aſia.

There are ſeveral ſorts of wild Cats in Guinea, and among the reſt a Civet-Cat. They have alſo a Mouſe that yields a kind of Muſk, but no animals are more numerous here than Monkeys, of which one ſpecies, BOSMAN aſſures us, are not much leſs than Men. He himſelf ſaw one, he ſays, 5 foot high; and theſe are ſo bold and impudent, that they will ſometimes attack men: But they have another ſort of Monkey, coal-black, with white beards, not above two foot high, and very pretty; they are all very thieviſh here, as well as in other places, plundering gardens and corn-fields, but pretty nice in their diet, chuſing the beſt of every kind of grain and fruit. The Camelion alſo is found in this part of Africa; of which Animal it is reported, and not without grounds, that he frequently changes colour. I have ſtood and look'd on him a great while, under a garden-hedge, and, I muſt own, he ſeemed to me to vary his colour frequently: It is obſerved, that the colour he uſually puts on when he is ſurpriz'd, is a fine green, ſpotted brown, or yellow; for, his ordinary colour is grey, and the ſkin almoſt tranſparent: But Bosman obſerves, that they never change to a red, nor to ſome other colours; though ſome have affirmed they always appear to be of the colour of the thing that is next them. It is a very ſmall animal, leſs than a Rat, but bigger conſiderably than a Mouſe, and will live ſeveral months (ſome ſay years) without food; though others are of opinion it catches Flies, as ſome other creatures do, by putting out its tongue, which is almoſt as long as the body: But the Flies muſt light on the Camelion's tongue, if he does catch them; for he is ſo exceeding ſlow that he can overtake nothing by running after it.

Reptiles.

There are, beſides theſe, innumerable quadrupedes in this part of Africa; for which our travellers wanting names, and having given but odd deſcriptions of them, I proceed to their reptiles; and firſt their Serpents, which are of various kinds, ſome of them of a monſtrous ſize: And tho' it be very certain that venomous reptiles do grow to a great bigneſs, in all countries that are hot and moiſt, I muſt beg Mr. Bosman's pardon, if I do not believe there are Serpents that have ſwallowed Deer and Men: For it is not only incredible, that their bodies ſhould grow to ſuch a ſize as to encloſe the body of a man; but the throat of this animal is ſo remarkably narrow, that tho' a Serpent be of very large dimenſions, yet it is with a great deal of difficulty that he gets down a ſmall Chicken, or even a Rat: And this Bosman himſelf obſerves, though he tells the ſtory of a Serpent's ſwallowing men and beaſts; adding, that when he was there, Serpents of 22 foot long were taken, and, he believed, in the inland country there might be much bigger; however, he admits that the moſt venomous Serpents are not a yard long; and obſerves, that they are ſpotted black, white, and yellow: Nor are Serpents only found in the fields and woods here, but get into their very houſes and bed-chambers; which is not much to be wonder'd at, ſince one ſpecies of them is worſhipped by the Negroes, cheriſhed, and uſed with more tenderneſs, than they ſhew to their own children; and if any one ſhould ſtrike or wound one of theſe Serpents, the whole country would riſe upon him, and pull him to pieces. The crime is look'd upon to be unpardonable; but I ſhall have occaſion to treat of this ſort more particularly under the head of religion, and only obſerve here, that the bite of one of theſe Serpents is not mortal.

There are alſo Scorpions in this country, which have been deſcribed in treating of the Hottentots: But the Toads, mentioned by Bosman, are as extraordinary in their dimenſions as his Serpents. He relates, that he has ſeen them as broad as a plate we eat on, and that he took them for Land-Tortoiſes, when he firſt ſaw them. I remember another writer, who ſays, that their Toads at Bombay in the Eaſt-Indies are as big as Ducks; but I muſt confeſs I never ſaw any ſuch, and am apt to believe, that author ſtretch'd a little; but my friend Bosman, who compares them to Tortoiſes, has certainly overdone it.

Centapedes, or Hundred-legs, are alſo very numerous here, and creep into houſes and bed-chambers. It is a little, long, flat inſect, with abundance of feet, from whence it obtain'd its name, and its bite is very painful and venemous, but not mortal. They have a ſpecies of Ants in Guinea that do incredible miſchief: They will not only get into beds, and force a man to get up; but, if we may believe Bosman, there are ſuch numerous hoſts of them, that they will ſeize upon a Sheep or Fowl, and devour it alive: That they will eat their way through a thick wooden cheſt, in a night's time; and the Factors find it very difficult to ſecure their goods from them, and Gnats, and Flies, which are the plague of this and other hot countries.

Fowls.

They have plenty of tame fowl, but wretched lean, dry ſtuff: Here are alſo ſome Turkeys and Ducks, firſt brought hither by the Portugueſe; but plenty of Pheaſant, Partridges, wild Ducks, Snipes, and other wild fowl, natives of the country: They have alſo a very beautiful bird, of the ſhape of a Parrot; the upper part whereof is red, grey, ſky-colour, and deep blue; the breaſt and lower part green, as are the head, neck, and tail; but only admired for its beauty. Here are alſo Eagles, Herons, Parrots, Parokeets, Hawks, and other birds of prey, and a vaſt variety of feather'd kind, never ſeen in Europe; which with other uncommon animals, would take up a volume alone to deſcribe.

Fiſh.

I proceed therefore, in the next place, to their fiſh, which are exceeding good and plentiful, both in their ſeas and rivers: The ſea particularly affords a fiſh very like our Cod, with Plaice, Flounders, and other flat fiſh. They have alſo Mackerel, Soles, and Dabs; Lobſters, Crabs, Shrimps, and Prawns: In their rivers are fine Jacks, a fiſh like a Trout, Mullets, and abundance more, that are very delicious eating. Theſe are the principal ſupport of the Europeans, as well as of the natives, on the coaſt; for fleſh is neither ſo cheap, ſo good, or ſo wholeſome, as their fiſh: In their ſeas alſo are the Grampus, or ſmall Whale, the Sword-fiſh, and the Dog-fiſh, which are of no other uſe but to make oil of it.

Corn and plants.

From the animals in Guinea, I proceed to give ſome account of their vegetables: They have, in ſome places, Rice, Millet, Maize or Indian Corn, in great abundance; though there are other parts of the country ſo ſubject to floods, that the ſoil bears little except Rice: They have alſo Yams and Potatoes, which ſerve the natives often inſtead of bread: And Sugar-canes grow to great perfection, but not much cultivated by the natives; and the Europeans, having no more land than what lies about their forts and factories, don't think it worth their while to plant them.

The Palm-tree is of infinite uſe to the natives, as they draw wine from the tree, and preſs oil from its nuts: Theſe abound more in Guinea, than in any other country. Here alſo is the Cocoa-nut-tree; but they do not put it to the many uſes they do in the Eaſt-Indies, contenting themſelves with drinking the milk of the Cocoa when it is young, or eating the nuts when they are ripe: Of theſe I have given a particular deſcription in the firſt volume of *Modern Hiſtory*, that treats of India, to which I refer the reader; it being the moſt generally uſeful of any plant that grows.

The Palm-tree deſcribed.

But to be a little more particular as to the Palm-tree: The body of it, at full growth, is about as thick as a man's body, and ſix foot in height; but, from the trunk, its branches ſhoot upwards 20 foot, and more: The leaves are an ell long, and about two inches broad, and terminate in a ſharp point, much like the ſedge that grows by the ſides of the ponds; and theſe branches the natives frequently cover their huts with. There are great variety of Palm-trees, ſome of which are not of half the thickneſs of this, and the liquor, drawn from them, differs in flavour and ſtrength.

When they find a tree old enough to yield a quantity of wine, they cut off all its branches; and, having let it ſtand a few days thus ſtripp'd of its ornaments, they bore a hole in the thickeſt part of the trunk, in which having placed a hollow reed or pipe, the wine ouzes through it into a pot ſet to receive the liquor, but ſo ſlowly, that they don't get above two quarts in 24 hours; but this it will do for 20 or 30 days ſucceſſively, according to the goodneſs of the plant; and, when it has almoſt done dropping, they make a fire at the bottom of it, which forces out ſomething more: After which, the tree dies, and is good for little but the fire; though, in other countries, where they content themſelves with drawing ſmall quantities, 'tis ſaid, a tree will laſt ſeveral years after it is tapp'd. The Palm is reckon'd to be in its prime at 10 or 12 years growth; and then may yield 10, 15, or perhaps near 20 gallons of wine; of which an anchor, or 5 gallons, is uſually ſold at about half a crown Engliſh on the coaſt, a great deal of it being brought down from the inland countries, the cheapneſs whereof ſhews, that there muſt be a vaſt number of Palm-trees in the country. This Wine, when firſt drawn, is extremely pleaſant, and yet ſtrong; but the Negroes, who bring it to the coaſt, frequently mix and adulterate it: However, it goes down with the Fiſhermen and inferiour people, who drink it more to raiſe their ſpirits and intoxicate them, than for its fine flavour; and perhaps the older and ſourer it is, the ſtronger it may be.

They have alſo both ſweet and ſour Orange-trees upon the coaſt, but not many; I'm apt to think they were firſt planted here by the Portugueſe: But there are vaſt numbers of Lemon-trees, and great quantities of Lemon, or Lime-juice; and ſmall pickled Lemons are annually exported to Europe from Guinea. The Papay-tree alſo is to be met with all over the coaſt; the trunk whereof is, from 1 foot to 3 foot, in thickneſs; and, from 10 to 30 foot, in height, being a tender ſpungy wood, very eaſily cut, the fruit growing at firſt at the top of the trunk, without either branches or leaves; but, as it grows older, branches ſhoot out from the top, and from them other ſmall twigs, with fine broad leaves, not unlike thoſe of the Grape-vine; the fruit is about as big as a large Pear, of an oval figure, green without, and white within; but, with lying, turns red, and has within it abundance of little white ſeeds: It ſerves the natives for food, but is ſcarce ſo good as a Pompion. There is alſo ſome Ginger grows in this country, and the Piſan or Bananas-tree is found here, which yields a ſweet luſcious pulp; the fruit is of the ſize of a Cucumber, cover'd with a thin yellow rind; but theſe have been deſcrib'd more than once in treating of India and the Hottentot countries: There are ſeveral other fruits, which reſemble our Plumbs, both blue and white, on the Guinea coaſt, but ill-taſted, and ſcarce ever eaten, either by natives or foreigners, any more than many other fruits that grow naturally on this coaſt. Here are alſo ſome Pomegranates, Tamarinds, the delicious Ananas or Pine-apple, and the fineſt Melons. The Portugueſe endeavour'd to introduce Grapes; but there are ſcarce any of the Vines that thrive: However, 'tis obſerv'd, that almoſt all manner of European roots, herbs and garden-ſtuff, come to great perfection here, as the Europeans experience in their gardens; and there are ſeveral ſorts of Beans, the natural product of the country, that are pretty good food.

Guinea Pepper.

But the plant Guinea is moſt famous for, is the Malaguette or Guinea Pepper, which grows chiefly in that part of it, which has obtained the name of the Grain or Pepper-coaſt.

The Guinea Pepper grows on a ſhrub, in long, ſlender, red ſhells or pods, ſeparated into four or five diviſions or cells, and cover'd by a white film: It grows alſo in ſome places like rank graſs; and there is a ſort of Pepper here, called Piemento, by us Spaniſh Pepper, which grows likewiſe on ſhrubs, of the height of a Gooſberry-buſh, in great abundance: It is of two ſorts, great and ſmall, both of them at firſt green, but afterwards red, and the larger inclines to black: This fruit is hotter than common Pepper, eſpecially the ſmall ſort. There is alſo a very ſtrong ſort of ſtinking Tobacco grows on this coaſt, which the Negroes ſmoak; but ſo offenſive, that an European can ſcarce bear the ſmell of it.

Foreſt-trees.

Amongſt that variety of foreſt-trees, that are found on the Guinea coaſt, their timber-trees, 'tis ſaid, grow to a prodigious magnitude, and others are admired for their beauty and the fine ſhade they afford in this hot climate: Of the bodies of ſome of theſe trees hollow'd, their Canoes are made. There are others, that have a very beautiful grain, ſtreak'd red and yellow, and clouded fit for tables and cabinets; and others, 'tis ſaid, fit for maſts and yards. There is alſo the Capot-tree, that bears a ſort of Cotton, which **Boſman** ſpeaking of by way of figure, I preſume (as he does in deſcribing the Guinea Toads and Serpents) ſays, that a muſket-ſhot will ſcarce reach the top of it; but ſure 'tis needleſs to caution the reader, that this cannot be literally true: It were to be wiſh'd, however, that travellers and voyage-writers would not ſpeak in poetical ſtrains, and enlarge at this rate; it being difficult ſometimes to diſtinguiſh what is to be taken literally, and what figuratively. I believe the reader may depend upon it, that **Boſman** meant no more, in the deſcription of his monſtrous Toads and Serpents, and of this high tree, than that they were exceeding large in their kind; for, if he did intend more, it is enough to deſtroy the credit of his whole book, which however, at this day, is look'd upon as one of the beſt deſcriptions we have of Guinea. But what he intimates of another tree ſo large, that ſeveral thouſand men may be drawn up under the branches of it, if he means one of the ſame kind with the Banian-tree, which is common in India, this may be true; for the boughs of the Banian-tree, reaching down to the ground, take root again, and grow up into additional bodies; ſo that one of theſe trees frequently form a grove alone: And under theſe it is, that the Banians worſhip their God, and perform their penances in India; which leads me to obſerve, that the Negroes alſo conſecrate trees and groves to divine worſhip, or rather worſhip ſome particular trees as gods. But on this I ſhall enlarge further under the head of religion.

Minerals.

Having ſeen what the ſurface of the earth produces, I proceed to their minerals; of which, 'tis ſaid, they have ſeveral, namely, Iron, Copper, Silver and Gold; but none of their mines are wrought; and ſome have queſtioned, whether there be any Silver in the country; but, as to Gold, Guinea is ſuppoſed to contain more than any other part of the world, there being ſuch vaſt treaſures waſhed down from their mountains, and found in their rivers, while the mines yet remain unopened: And this it is, that has drawn ſo many European nations hither, though it be with the extremeſt hazard of their lives.

Gold, where found.

It has been already obſerved, that, during the rainy ſeaſon, the water falls in torrents from the hills, waſhing away the earth, and ſometimes great pieces of rocks are undermined, and come rolling down the ſtream; which, being thus removed, the cavities, where the Gold before lay concealed, are ſometimes diſcovered, and large pieces of this mineral picked out of the holes and clefts of rocks or mountains; but much more is waſhed down in little particles, no bigger than ſand, into the rivers; the former being called Rock-gold, and the other Gold-duſt: When the rains abate therefore, and the dry ſeaſon comes on, both men and women reſort to all the little ſtreams, and, gathering up the ſand in heaps, put it into trays and tubs, where they waſh it, till all the earth and ſand is waſhed clean away; and if there be any Gold, its weight fixes it at the bottom of the tub: This they continue to do every day from morning till noon; ſome of them perhaps finding the value of ſix or ſeven ſhillings, others the value of ſix-pence, and a great many find nothing at all. But the ſtreams, where the Gold is found, are generally at a diſtance from the ſea; ſcarce any of it is to be met with on the ſhore, or near the mouths of rivers: Great part of it comes two or three hundred miles, and upwards, out of the country, being brought down by the Negroes at the ſeaſon for trading, when they expect ſhipping upon the coaſt. The Mountain or Rock-gold, it is obſerved, touches better than the duſt; but then there are abundance of ſmall ſtones that adhere to it, and occaſion a great loſs in the melting; and therefore the Factors chuſe rather to purchaſe the Gold-duſt. As to the reſt of their minerals, I meet with no account of them; but I muſt not forget their Salt, which is made by letting the ſea-water into ſhallow pans in the dry ſeaſon, till the ſun exhales the water, and then the Salt is left at the bottom: They alſo make a great deal of Salt by boiling the ſea-water, and furniſh the inland countries with it.

Salt.

Trade of the Guinea coaſt.

And now, having ſhewn the produce of the country, and thereby diſcovered the principles of commerce, it ſeems extremely proper, in the next place, to enter upon a deſcription of their traffick with other nations; the four great articles whereof are, 1. Gold; 2. Slaves; 3. Elephants teeth; and, 4. Drugs; under which laſt I comprehend Guinea Grains or Pepper, Civet, Cardamums, Indigo, and Gums of ſeveral kinds, particularly Gumtragant, Wax, and Red-wood.

Gold.

1. Gold is had chiefly on that part of the coaſt called Guinea Proper; though there is Gold to be met with in other places: The ſame may be ſaid of the Tooth coaſt and Slave coaſt: There are more of each to be had in the diſtricts that go under thoſe names; though ſome of every ſpecies may be met with from one end of the Guinea coaſt to the other, taken in its largeſt extent.

The European Merchants, or Factors, never go up into the country to purchaſe Gold: But the trading Negroes come down to the forts and factories, and on board the European ſhips, with it, and are, by Chriſtian inſtruction, tis ſaid, become very ſharp, or rather roguiſh traders: It ſeems, we have taught them to mix Copper, and other ingredients of leſs value, both with their Rock-gold, and Gold-duſt; and they are ſuch exquiſite proficients, that they frequently cheat their maſters who inſtructed them in the myſtery. Some pieces they caſt ſo artfully, that quite round, of the thickneſs of a ſhilling, the piece ſhall be pure Gold, and perhaps filled up with Copper or Iron; but the common falſe Mountain gold is a mixture of Silver, Copper, and a proportion of Gold very high colour'd, which makes the cheat not eaſily diſcernible; for, being obliged to receive an infinite number of little pieces in a pound, it is almoſt impoſſible to touch every one, and the metal, looking ſo well, is ſcarce ſuſpected. They alſo tinge powder of Coral ſo artificially, that it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh it any other way, than by the weight: Of this alſo they make a powder, reſembling Gold-duſt; but chiefly of the filings of Copper, to which they give a very good tincture; but all this falſe-tinged metal, in a month or two loſes its luſtre.

The way the factors take to diſtinguiſh true Gold from falſe, if it be in large pieces, is to cut it thro', which eaſily diſcovers what it is; and, if the pieces be ſmall Mountain-gold, they lay them upon a ſtone, and beat them with a hammer; and, as this is not practicable in Gold-duſt, they put the duſt into a Copper-baſon, winnowing and blowing it, by which the falſe Gold flies away, leaving the pure Gold behind. The value of Gold, brought from the Guinea coaſt one year with another, by all the European nations that trade thither, is ſuppoſed to amount to the value of three hundred thouſand pounds, and upwards; of which the Engliſh may import one third, the Dutch another, and the French, Portugueſe, Danes and Pruſſians, another third.

Slave trade.

The Slave trade is carried on in much the ſame manner the Gold trade is: The Negroe Factors and Merchants come down to the coaſt with their ſlaves, agree with the Europeans for the price of them, and the price of the goods they are to take in exchange; and a ſhip is ſoon diſpatched, if they act fairly. But, if a Merchant delivers any part of his goods before he has his ſlaves, they will make him wait a great while for them, and ſometimes not bring them at all, unleſs the European Factor finds ſome way to make repriſals: And yet it is found neceſſary to truſt theſe people; for, as they trade with other nations beyond them, and have not always effects to purchaſe ſlaves, they have no way of getting them ſometimes, unleſs they can be credited wirh goods to go to market with, and exchange for ſlaves in the inland country. As Guinea has a multitude of petty Soveraigns, who are frequently at wars with each other, the ſlaves are generally ſuch as are taken in theſe wars, not only men, but women and children; for, where they invade a country with any ſucceſs, they carry all the inhabitants into captivity. There are alſo a great many others, who are made ſlaves for debt, or for ſome miſdemeanour; and not only the debtor or criminal himſelf loſes his liberty, but oftentimes the whole family, and all that are related to him: And, 'tis ſaid, people ſell even their wives and children where they have offended them, while others leſſen their families, under an apprehenſion that they ſhall not be able to maintain them; and if a famine, or great ſcarcity happens, they will ſell themſelves to one another for bread. It is reported, that one of the petty princes upon this coaſt, on ſome ſmall diſguſt, ſold a ſcore of his wives to a Captain of a ſhip at once, parting from them with as little reluctance as a Grazier does with a ſcore of Sheep; and, in times of full peace, nothing is more common, than for the Negroes of one nation to ſteal thoſe of another, and ſell them to the Europeans: There have been inſtances alſo, of children ſelling their fathers and mothers when they have been weary of them, and wanted to enjoy what they had. Theſe are the various ways by which the unhappy Negroes are frequently reduced from flouriſhing Circumſtances to a ſtate of ſlavery, and brought down to the coaſt to be ſold to the Merchants of Europe.

The firſt buſineſs, after a ſhip arrives upon the coaſt to trade for ſlaves, is to pay the duties, and make a preſent to the King or Governor of that part of the country, for leave to trade: Then the King's ſlaves are to be taken off at almoſt what price he pleaſes to ſet upon them, before the Merchant is permitted to deal with his ſubject. When the price is agreed on, the European Surgeon views all the ſlaves naked, men, women, and children; and the grown men, that are ſuppoſed to be above 35 years of age, are uſually excepted to, as are all that have any lameneſs, or other defects, thoſe whoſe ſight fails them, and ſuch as have the venereal diſeaſe, or any other diſtemper that is not eaſily cured; and even the loſs of a tooth is ſometimes made an objection. The infirm being ſet aſide, the reſt are branded with a hot iron by the Merchant, to diſtinguiſh them, and locked up in ſome priſon, till they can be ſent on board; for the Europeans have no forts or factories in many places, where they meet with the greateſt number of ſlaves. The price of an able-bodied man may be about five pounds, the woman a fifth part leſs, and the children in proportion to their reſpective ages. When they are ſent on ſhip-board, their former maſters ſtrip them of every rag, ſo that the Merchant receives them all perfectly naked; and thus they generally remain till they come to America; tho', as they are packed cloſe together, ſix or ſeven hundred in a ſhip, cold is the leaſt of their hardſhips. The decks are divided ſo, that they are forced to lie, or ſit double, on the hard boards, the whole voyage; and all the men are loaded with irons, many attempts having been made, by the ſlaves on board, to kill the ſhip's crew, and run the ſhip a-ground; in which ſome of them have ſucceeded: Others have jumped overboard, rather truſting to the mercy of the ſea, than their white maſters, from an apprehenſion, as our Sailors ſuggeſt, that they are to be fatted for ſlaughter, and devoured by white men. But there ſeems to be reaſon enough for their attempting to eſcape, without any ſuch apprehenſion: To be carried away from their country, laid in irons, and crouded together in diſmal dark holes, where they have not room to ſtand or ſit upright, may very well put them upon attempting to eſcape, if they had no other views, than the reſcuing themſelves from theſe barbarous maſters, in whoſe ſervice they cannot but expect to live very miſerably, when they find themſelves ſo hardly uſed at firſt. No wonder therefore, that many of them chuſe to hazard their lives, by endeavouring to eſcape, when life, in ſuch circumſtances, is more to be dreaded than death itſelf; and this is ſurely ſuch a traffick as can never be juſtified or defended. Were theſe miſerable wretches brought to Europe, and uſed with humanity; or were they diſpoſed of to Planters in America, that would treat them as their own ſpecies ought to be treated, they might be no great ſufferers by exchanging black for white maſters: But to ſell them again to the cruel Spaniard to work in his mines, and be uſed worſe than brutes, muſt be condemned by every man that reflects on the practice: And, as I'm informed, many of our Engliſh Planters don't uſe their ſlaves much better, generally agreeing not to make Chriſtians of them, leſt they ſhould underſtand, that our religion teaches us to do as we would be done by; and thereupon they ſhould expect to be dealt with like men, who have the ſame God, the ſame great Lord and Maſter. But to return: One would think, that the exporting ſlaves thus continually from Africa to America, ſhould diſpeople the former; for, it is computed, that the Portugueſe alone export above a hundred thouſand, and the reſt of the European nations about the ſame number: I queſtion whether the Engliſh do not tranſport fifty thouſand; for they are obliged to deliver thirty thouſand to the Spaniards annually, by the curſed Aſſiento contract; a bargain that ſurely can never proſper, and, poſſibly, inſtead of encreaſing our wealth and trade, may engage the nation in perpetual broils with the Spaniards.

The Ivory trade.

The next great article of trade to that of Slaves, is Ivory: This may be had in ſmall quantities from one end of the Guinea coaſt to the other; but is met with chiefly in that part of the country, that has obtained the name of the Tooth coaſt; and probably abundance of teeth are brought ſome hundreds of miles out of the country: There are large plains, 'tis ſaid, where teeth are found in abundance, which either belonged to Elephants that died naturally; or were killed by people that did not know the uſe of their teeth; though ſome have conjectured, they ſhed their teeth, and receive them again; which, if they do, it muſt be at a very advanced age: For a full-grown tooth or tuſh (of which they have but two that grow out of their jaws, and turn up like a horn) weighs ſometimes upwards of an hundred weight, and ordinarily fifty or ſixty pounds: But whether they ſhed theſe teeth or not, and to what age theſe monſtrous animals live, is very uncertain; all that we know of their age is, that in India, where they tame Elephants, and uſe them for travelling, and in their wars, they live to a very great age; having continued in ſome families for ſeveral generations, and the proprietors only know, that their fathers and grandfathers were poſſeſſed of them.

Guinea Pepper and Drugs.

The laſt article of trade is the Guinea Pepper, Wax, and Drugs, which are had chiefly upon the Grain coaſt: But what quantities of theſe, or of teeth, are brought from Guinea, is uncertain: Only a late writer computes, that the Engliſh, Dutch, French, Danes, and Brandenburghers, export from Europe to Africa, in the whole, about the value of two hundred thouſand pounds in goods; and that they bring from thence annually in Gold, Slaves, Ivory, Pepper, and Drugs, the value of three millions; and that the Portugueſe are poſſeſſed of ſuch vaſt territories and tracts of land upon the eaſtern, as well as the weſtern coaſt of Africa, that they trade for as much as all the reſt of the European nations put together, in ſlaves and teeth.

A calculation of the value of the Guinea trade.

Goods exported to Guinea.

The goods, which the Europeans carry to Africa, and barter for Gold, Slaves, and the reſt of the commodities above-mention'd, are chiefly theſe, (viz.) Callicoes, Cottons, Linen and Woollen-Stuffs, Serges, Perpetuana's, wrought iron, Pewter and Braſs; ſuch as Swords, Knives, Hatchets, Nails, Hammers, Pewter-diſhes, Plates, Pots and Cups, Braſs-pots, Kettles, and other houſhold utenſils; Fire-arms, Powder, Shot, Braſs and Glaſs-toys, Beads, Beugles and Cowries, or Blackamoor's-teeth, with Brandy, Spirits and Tobacco. The braſs ware, 'tis ſaid, the Negroes are infinitely fond of, and will purchaſe almoſt at any rate; and wrought Pewter, Iron and Lead, are good articles. There are great quantities of Powder, Shot, Arms, Cloathing, Liquor and Furniture, alſo ſent from Europe annually, for the uſe of the European forts and factories there.

Artificers in Guinea.

Having treated of the trade of the Europeans, with the Guinea coaſt, I proceed to enquire into the manufactures, traffick and employment of the natives; and, I perceive, every tribe or family almoſt make their own tools, inſtruments and utenſils: They are all Smiths, Carpenters and Maſons, building their own houſes, or huts, with wood and clay, and thatching them with reeds, or Palmeto branches: They alſo make their own arms; ſuch as darts, arrows, launces and broad-ſwords; but their fire-arms, gun-powder and bullet, they purchaſe of the Europeans: They alſo make their inſtruments of huſbandry, and ſeveral houſhold utenſils. It is with a ſurprizing dexterity they form and poliſh their ſwords, and heads of darts and ſpears, conſidering the few poor tools they work with: Their anvil is only a flat ſtone; and, till the Europeans taught them the uſe of hammers, another ſtone ſupply'd the place of them: But their Smiths bellows, it ſeems, have three pipes or ſnouts, which blow up a fire very ſuddenly, and are ſaid to be an invention of the natives.

Fiſhermen.

Their Watermen and Fiſhermen are but one tribe, and are very numerous upon the coaſt; eight hundred, or perhaps a thouſand of them, go out a fiſhing at once: They have hooks, harping-irons and nets, and all the implements that European Fiſhermen uſe; and every Canoo, or Boat, is but one piece, made out of the body of ſome large tree; the largeſt 30 foot long, and 6 broad: Theſe the Europeans hire to carry their merchandize to and from their ſhips, and along the coaſt from one factory to another; but they have a leſſer ſort they uſe in fiſhing. Their Canoos, according to their ſize, are rowed by two, three, ſeven, nine, eleven, and ſometimes fifteen Watermen; for, where there are more than two, you have always an odd number, becauſe one of them ſteers the boat. Inſtead of oars, they row with an inſtrument, faſhion'd like one of our ſhovels, with which they puſh themſelves along, looking the ſame way they row, and move exceeding ſwiftly; and, as theſe boats are only a large piece of timber ſcoop'd hollow, there is no ſinking of them; for, if they are overſet, and turned bottom upwards, as they frequently are, by the great ſurf and ſwelling ſeas, upon this coaſt, ſtill the veſſel floats upon the waves; and the Watermen ſwimming like ſo many ſpaniels, turn their canoos, and get into them again, arriving ſafe aſhore, frequently when the Europeans they carry, and all their goods, are loſt.

Their huſbandry.

Manag'd by the women.

As the Negroes have two harveſts in the year, great part of their time is taken up in digging, planting Rice, and ſowing Millet and Maize, or Indian corn, and planting Yams and Potatoes; but the huſbandry is left almoſt entirely to the women: And, except, in their fiſheries, their Carpenters and Smiths work, the women go through the drudgery of every thing: Their wives dig up the ground, ſow, plant, make their cloaths and mats, brew the beer, and dreſs their food; while the huſband loiters away his time, and does ſcarce any one thing towards the ſupport of the family; ſo that the more wives a man has, the richer he is in Guinea, and the eaſier his circumſtances are. And ſome of the Negroes on the coaſt, 'tis ſaid, make money of their wives, by letting them out to others that can pay for their favours. They make but little diſtinction between their wives and their ſlaves; but ſeem alike indifferent to both: However, it is held highly criminal to meddle with a Negroe's wife of any quality. But to return to their huſbandry: They have two harveſts, as has been obſerv'd, of Millet and Maize, every year; one in Auguſt, and the other in December; but the laſt is inconſiderable, it being a dry time; and, as that ſort of corn, call'd Millet, will not grow without ſome moiſture, the Rice will not grow at all without water; and therefore they can have but one harveſt of the latter in any place where they cannot flow their grounds. And, as it has been hinted, ſome parts of the country produce only Rice, and others only Millet: But the ſoil yields them ſuch plentiful crops, that they need never have a ſcarcity, if they were not the moſt improvident people in the world; but they never lay up any ſtores. When they have a plentiful crop of Rice, the European ſhipping ſometimes takes it off their hands; and, before the next harveſt, they are ſtarving: They ſeldom conſider what they ſhall want themſelves, when they meet with a good market for their grain; inſomuch, that they have been obliged to ſell their wives, children and ſlaves, to the Europeans for food, or they would have been ſtarved; and this, in years, when they have had plentiful crops.

Home trade of the Negroes.

As to the traffick of the Negroes among themſelves; it conſiſts either in carrying the corn, and other produce of the reſpective maritime countries, from one place to another along the coaſt, in their large canoos, as there happens to be a demand for it; or in bartering and exchanging goods with one another on ſhore. Thoſe near the coaſt exchange the merchandize they get of the Europeans, with thoſe of the more diſtant countries, for Gold, Slaves and Elephants teeth, which foreigners take off their hands, furniſhing them with new ſupplies of European goods; and, with theſe, they go to market in the inland countries again.

The beginning of the Guinea trade.

Before I quit this article of trade, it may be proper to ſay ſomething of the riſe and progreſs of this traffick between the Europeans and the Guinea coaſt. The Portugueſe were the firſt that diſcover'd the ſouth-weſt ſhores of Africa in the 15th century; and, as the Pope was then thought to have a right to diſpoſe of all Pagan countries, they obtained a grant from his Holineſs, Anno 1442, of all countries diſcover'd to the ſouth and eaſt of Cape Bajadore, which lies on the weſtern ſide of Africa, latitude 27 north. The Pope however afterwards, on the diſcovery of America by COLUMBUS, publiſhed another Bull in favour of the Spaniard, dated the 3d of May 1493; whereby he aſſign'd and transferr'd, to the King of Spain and his ſucceſſors, all the countries diſcover'd, and to be diſcover'd, 100 leagues to the weſtward and ſouthward of the Azores and Cape Verd iſlands; which the Portugueſe looked upon as an infringement of the former grant to them; and this bred a miſunderſtanding between thoſe two nations: However, they came to an agreement in the year 1493, that the line, mentioned in the grant to Spain, to be drawn from north to ſouth through the Azores, and the Cape Verd iſlands, ſhould be extended 270 leagues farther weſt-ward; and that all new diſcover'd lands to the weſtward of that line ſhould belong to the Spaniards; and thoſe to the eaſtward of it to the Portugueſe: And accordingly the latter built forts, and ſettled colonies on the eaſtern and weſtern coaſts of Africa, and in the Eaſt-Indies, and remained in the quiet poſſeſſion of them, enjoying the ſole trade of Africa and the Eaſt-Indies about 100 years without a competitor: No other European nations attempted to interrupt them in it; but acquieſced in the Pope's determination in aſſigning America to the Spaniard; and the diſcoveries in Africa, and the Eaſt-Indies, to the Portugueſe.

The Reformation, however, happening in the 16th century, the Engliſh and Dutch, and other Proteſtant nations, began to call in queſtion the Pope's power of diſpoſing of Pagan countries; and, being ambitious of ſharing the Gold of Africa with the Portugueſe, both the Engliſh and Dutch, in the 16th century, ſent ſeveral ſhips to the coaſt of Guinea, where, in imitation of the Portugueſe, they exchanged toys and trifles with the Negroes for Gold, and made very advantageous returns: But the Portugueſe building forts upon the coaſt, and keeping the natives in a ſort of ſubjection, that they could not trade with freedom with any other people, the Negroes invited the Engliſh to ſettle among them; and, for ſome ſmall conſideration, aſſign'd them places to erect forts and factories upon, that they might be able to protect their own trade, as well as that of the natives, from the inſults and encroachments of the Portugueſe; and the Dutch, falling upon the Portugueſe ſettlemeets about the ſame time, deprived them of their capital fort of Elmina, and, at length, drove them from all their ſettlements on the Gold-coaſt: Whereupon the Portugueſe removed farther eaſtward, and gained a vaſt extent of country, in which they are not diſturbed by the Dutch, or any other nation; there being little or none of the ſame tempting metal there, tho' they meet with ſlaves in great abundance: But theſe the Dutch have little occaſion for, having ſcarce any plantations in America.

The Dutch endeavour to drive the Engliſh from the Gold-coaſt, and take ſome of their forts in time of peace.

The Hollander had no ſooner driven the Portugueſe from the Gold coaſt, but he began to contrive how he might beat the Engliſh, and all other nations, out of that trade, as he had from the fine ſpices in the Eaſt-Indies, and engroſs this noble mineral to himſelf: Accordingly, by various artifices, the Dutch ſpirited up the natives to fall upon the Engliſh factories and diſtreſs them, ſupporting the Negroes under-hand in their hoſtile attempts; and at length, in the year 1664, were guilty of ſuch a piece of treachery towards the Engliſh, who had protected their infant ſtate, as is ſcarce to be credited. They had, by treaty, it ſeems, agreed to join an Engliſh ſquadron, to ſuppreſs the Pirates upon the Barbary coaſt; and De Ruyter, the Dutch Admiral, actually ſailed to the Streights with the Engliſh, under pretence of putting that project in execution: But then making an excuſe to the Engliſh Admiral, that he was ordered another way, he ſailed to the coaſt of Guinea; and there, with the aſſiſtance of the Negroes his countrymen had already ſpirited up againſt the Engliſh, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral Engliſh forts, and particularly of that ſtill in their poſſeſſion, which goes by the name of Amſterdam Fort: And, not contented with this, the Dutch afterwards ſailed to the iſlands belonging to the Engliſh in the Weſt-Indies, plunder'd and ravag'd them in a moſt barbarous manner; and all this, in a time of full peace, without any manner of provocation. But the Court of England, having ſome way or other got intelligence of the matter, was ſo fortunate as to make repriſals on a fleet of Hollanders in the Channel; which however Burnet, and our Whig-hiſtorians, clamour wonderfully againſt, becauſe war was not declared: The Dutch had before driven us from the Spice iſlands in the Eaſt-Indies; they were now endeavouring to monopolize the Gold-coaſt, they plundered our plantations in the Weſt-Indies; and yet theſe pacifick gentlemen would have us ſit ſtill with our arms a-croſs, and never attempt to do ourſelves juſtice; and, when we do, cry out upon it as a breach of the law of nations; when the ungrateful Dutch, who are ſo much indebted to this nation, were the aggreſſors: Which is an undeniable inſtance of the partiality of our admired Whig-writers, or of their ignorance, if they were not appriz'd of the true ſtate of the caſe.

Remarks on the trade to Guinea by a Company.

The Dutch had the ſame views here, as they had in the Eaſt-Indies: They intended to have brought ſuch a force to Guinea, as ſhould have ſubdued the natives, and excluded all other European nations from the Gold-coaſt; after which, no doubt, they propoſed to have opened the mines where this glorious metal was lodg'd, and become the ſole maſters of them, as the Spaniards are of the Silver mines in Potoſi: But they were forced to relinquiſh part of what they had plunder'd the African company of, the Court of England eſpouſing their intereſt heartily at that time; and thereupon this project of the Hollanders proved abortive. However, the African, or Guinea company, received very great loſſes, from time to time, by the treacherous practices and depredations of the Dutch, and have ſuffered perhaps yet more by our own Interlopers, or Separate traders; which brings me to conſider what has been ſo long, and ſo warmly controverted; namely, whether this branch of our commerce ought to be laid open, or reſtrained to a particular Company? It is ſaid in behalf of the Company, that, if it had not been for the forts they erected there, the Dutch would infallibly have monopoliz'd the Gold-trade, as they have the Spices of India: And that it ſeems hard upon them, that, when they have been at ſuch an expence to erect and maintain forts there, to protect this valuable part of our trade, Interlopers, who are not at theſe expences, ſhould be ſuffered to come and underſell them, and run away with the profit. On the other hand, the Separate traders alledge, that all companies are the ruin of trade: That their Directors and Managers mind nothing but enriching themſelves, and making the fortunes of their relations and dependants, whom they prefer to the Governors, Factors, or Captains; and that the trade always ſuffers in ſuch hands: Private Merchants manage with greater frugality, making the beſt of every thing; and that, ſince the trade has been laid open to ſuch traders as pay Ten per Cent. towards the Company's charges in maintaining their forts, the trade has been much improved.

Upon the whole, forts ſeem abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve this trade: If we had no ſettlements there, the Dutch would ſoon ſubdue the natives, and drive all other nations from that rich coaſt; and therefore it is but highly reaſonable the Separate-traders ſhould contribute ſufficiently towards maintaining ſuch forts: If Ten per Cent. is not enough, they ought to allow more. On the other hand, if this be done, I know no reaſon why any ſubject of England ſhould be excluded from the trade: To ſay, that Private traders are better huſbands, can afford their goods cheaper, and will always underſell the Company, is a very weak obſervation: For why don't the Company manage as frugally? They have always their Governors, Factors and Warehouſes, upon the ſpot; and can take all advantages in trade, by laying in commodities, when things are cheapeſt, at the beſt hand, and providing freight for their ſhips againſt they arrive; and conſequently may tranſact their affairs to greater advantage than the Separate trader can, if they obſerve as good œconomy: And the cheaper we afford our goods, and the leſs profit we are contented with, the greater market we ſhall have. It is no matter how much we underſell other nations, ſo as we are not loſers in the main. I doubt, if the Separate traders did not get away the trade from the Company, the Dutch would: And ſurely, it is better our own people ſhould have it, than foreigners. It is very well known, ſince the African trade has been laid open, it has vaſtly increaſed. If the Engliſh traded for five or ſix thouſand ſlaves upon this coaſt, when the Separate traders were excluded, they now trade (according to GEE) for thirty or forty thouſand; and ſo in proportion in other articles perhaps. But there are ſome gentlemen, I find, not only for ſupporting our preſent ſettlements on the Gold coaſt, but for ſending ſuch a force thither, as might make us maſters of the country; by which means we might, they imagine, poſſeſs our ſelves of the Gold mines, and gain an immenſe treaſure by working them. They obſerve alſo, that this being about the ſame latitude as the iſlands, where the Cloves, Nutmegs, and Cinnamon grow, in the Eaſt-Indies, all thoſe ſpices might be propagated here.

On the project of poſſeſſing the Gold mines.

On planting the fine ſpices here.

But, as to the poſſeſſing ourſelves of the Gold mines, I doubt this would require a greater force than ever it will be thought proper to ſend thither: For not only the natives, who look upon thoſe mountains as ſacred, and therefore never pretend to break into them, would unanimouſly oppoſe ſuch an attempt; but they would be join'd by the Dutch, and the reſt of the European nations, who have forts there; it being their mutual intereſt to prevent ſuch a monopoly. Beſides, thoſe mines are ſuppoſed to lie at a good diſtance from the coaſt; and the country agrees ſo ill with Engliſh conſtitutions, that we ſhould loſe ſome thouſands by the diſtempers of the country, before it could be effected, if we had no other enemy to contend with: And I make no doubt, if the thing were feaſible, the Dutch would have made ſuch a conqueſt long before this. We ſee they were about to attempt it in the reign of King CHARLES II; but the reſiſtance they found they ſhould meet with both from the European nations, and the natives, obliged them to deſiſt, and lay aſide the project. As to planting the fine ſpices here, I very much queſtion whether Cloves or Nutmegs could be tranſplanted: We have no inſtance of their growing any where, but in the Eaſt-Indies, where they were firſt found: The Cinnamon indeed has been tranſplanted from Ceylon, and will thrive here. But, as it will probably grow in other parts of Africa, as well as on the Gold coaſt, it would be better to make the experiment in ſome other part of Africa, where ſuch a plantation would be leſs liable to be diſputed: And after all, I am afraid the Cinnamon would degenerate on being tranſplanted: The tree might appear as well to the eye; but the ſpice poſſibly would not be ſo good: For there are a great many Cinnamon-trees upon the coaſt of Malabar, very near Ceylon, where the beſt Cinnamon grows, and the trees ſeem to flouriſh as well as in that iſland; and yet it is but a baſtard Cinnamon they produce, and never uſed where that of Ceylon can be had: And as for tranſplanting Tea and Coffee thither, which the ſame gentlemen propoſe, there is yet no inſtance of Tea growing any where, but in China and Japan: Coffee indeed the Dutch have raiſed in Batavia; but, I am informed, it is not comparable to that of Arabia. All which being duly weigh'd, I believe the Britiſh Court will never ſacrifice the lives of ſo many men, as ſuch an acquiſition muſt coſt, upon ſuch romantic views. I ſhall conclude this head of trade, with ſome account of the Negroe Weights: They have Copper, Gold, ſcales of the form of half an Orange ſcoop'd; and their weights are either of Copper, Lead, or Tin; and, tho' divided in a different manner from thoſe of the Europeans, upon reduction agree exactly with them. The Gold weights made uſe of on the Guinea coaſt are, 1. The Peſo; 2. The Angel; 3. The Bendo; 4. The Ounce; 5. The Mark; and 6. The Pound: The Peſo is four Angles; the Bendo two Ounces; four Bendo's one Mark; one Mark eight Ounces; and two Marks one Pound weight averdupois. Three Marks of pure Gold, are in England 24 ounces, or two pound troy weight; which, at four pounds ſterling the ounce, is 96 pounds: But, as the fineſt Gold yields ſome advance, it is generally reckon'd, that three marks of fine gold are worth one hundred pounds ſterling.

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The Negroes, like the Hottentots, never exceeded ten in numbering, till the Europeans taught them to proceed farther: They now lay down a finger for every ten; and, when they have lain down all their fingers, and made one hundred, they begin again, and ſo on.

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In Guinea, there are ſome ſovereign Princes, whoſe dominions are very extenſive, rich, powerful and arbitrary; Monarchs limited by no laws, or any other reſtraints: And there are a multitude of others, to whom the Dutch and other Europeans have given the name of Kings, whoſe dominions do not exceed the bounds of an ordinary pariſh, and whoſe power and revenues are proportionably mean. But the latter ſeem to me, to be no more than particular Clans or Tribes, whoſe Chiefs are permitted to bear ſome reſemblance to Princes; to adminiſter juſtice in their reſpective diſtricts, and make war upon one another, when they apprehend themſelves injur'd by any neighbour. But theſe are, in reality, all ſubject to ſome of the ſuperior Monarchs firſt mention'd, and no better than their vaſſals; obliged to attend them in their wars, to quarter their Soldiers, and to ſubmit to ſuch duties and impoſitions as are impoſed upon them. We find, indeed, the Dutch Factors on this coaſt boaſting, that they are ſometimes ſerved by the ſons of Kings, and retain them in their pay, in the quality of Footmen: But they might as well be proud of being ſerved by the ſon of a petty Conſtable. The vanity of the Dutch may eaſily be perceived, when they give themſelves theſe airs, as well as the hatred and contempt they have for all Kings. One reaſon of their denominating every little officer a King, is to ſhew, that the high and mighty brutes have Kings ſubject to them. They formerly brought ſome ſuch petty Princes from the Eaſt-Indies, and confined them in a barren iſland near the Cape, where they were forc'd to work, and make lime for the Dutch-India company, who, in deriſion of Kings, gave this wretched place the name of King-Iſland; and I don't doubt, but they would ſerve all the Monarchs upon earth in the ſame manner, if they had them in their power; tho' if it be true, that the ſame word in the Negroe language ſignifies a King, and the Governor of a village of twenty huts, they have the more colour for giving the title of King to both: But the Dutch relate farther, that there are ſome republicks on the Guinea coaſt like theirs in Holland, and particularly two near their capital fort of Las Minas, or D'Elmina: But of theſe I ſhall treat, after I have ſhewn in what ſtate the great Monarchs on this coaſt live; and particularly the King of Fidah or Whidah. This Prince, in the words of one of the Dutch Factors, is feared and reverenced by his ſubjects as a demi-god, who always appear in his preſence, either kneeling, or proſtrate on the ground: When they attend him in the morning, they proſtrate themſelves before the gate of his palace, kiſs the earth three times, and, clapping their hands together, uſe ſome expreſſions that look more like the adoration of ſome deity, than complements paid to an earthly Prince; and they even tremble at the ſight of him: He has his Viceroys, Governors, Generals, and other Officers, as European Princes have, of whom he conſtantly maintains four or five thouſand with meat and drink; ſome of whom frequently are permitted to eat in his preſence; but no perſon whatever is permitted to ſee his Majeſty eat, or to know in what part of the palace he ſleeps, unleſs his wives, of whom the King ſeldom has leſs than a thouſand. Theſe continually ſurround him: Theſe are his life-guards, and frequently ſent on embaſſies, and employed in executing ſuch commands and ſentences as ſeem much more proper for men; as to puniſh criminals, pull down their houſes, and the like. Bosman relates, that, a little before his arrival at Whidah, a Negroe officer of his acquaintance having been unjuſtly accuſed to the King, orders were iſſued to demoliſh his houſe, and deſtroy all that he had: Of which the man having received ſome notice, when a detachment of two or three hundred of the king's wives came to execute the ſentence, they found him placed near a heap of Gunpowder, with a lighted match in his hand, profeſſing his innocence; but threatening to blow both them, and himſelf up, if they did not give him time to repreſent his caſe to the King; which being agreed to, he had the good fortune to convince his Fidaian majeſty of his innocence, and to get the ſentence revers'd.

When the King goes abroad alſo, five or ſix hundred of his wives run before him, or attend him: He has not, 'tis ſaid, a ſingle man in his train; but he ſpends the greateſt part of his time at home in his palace, adminiſtring juſtice to his ſubjects, and tranſacting affairs of ſtate; or converſing with the European Factors and Merchants, who find him uſually in a ſtately hall of audience, richly habited in Gold and ſilver ſtuffs: His wives alſo, when they attend him, are richly cloathed and adorned with Gold, Coral and glittering trifles, eſpecially their hair; and tho' the King never eats before company, 'tis ſaid, he will drink very plentifully both with the Europeans and his own ſubjects.

Their Nobility.

The chief Magiſtrates under the King are: The Cabicero's, whom he conſults in ſtate affairs, and concerning peace and war; and, by theſe, he uſually adminiſters juſtice to the people. Travellers make two claſſes of Nobility in every government in Guinea: 1. The Cabicero's laſt mention'd, who are the Grandees of every kingdom or ſtate. 2. Their inferior nobility, an order of Knights; who, being poſſeſs'd of conſiderable fortunes, either by deſcent or purchaſe, and, having obtained ſome reputation in their reſpective countries, are allowed to have ſeven trumpets, or hollow Elephants teeth, ſounded before them when they go abroad. Every one, who is initiated into this order, gives a grand entertainment, and makes preſents to the principal men of the country, in order to obtain this honour: After which, he purchaſes a ſhield and arms, and performs the ceremony of lying in arms all night, with his family, in the open field; intimating, I preſume, his readineſs to defend his country: After which, ſeveral days are ſpent in feaſting and martial exerciſes; and the new Knight is afterwards allowed to carry two ſhields both in peace and war. But to return to the King:

The deſcent of the crown.

I don't find he wears a crown, or that there is any other ceremony at his acceſſion, than the ſhewing him publickly to the people, and ſacrificing ſome animals to his gods. The eldeſt ſon is always entitled to his father's throne; the females never ſucceed, unleſs in one kingdom upon this coaſt: And there have been inſtances of a younger brother's uſurping the throne, when the eldeſt has been at a diſtance from court, by the favour of the people, and taking poſſeſſion of the palace, and the King's wives; for this, it ſeems, goes a great way in fixing a Prince upon the throne, where the ſucceſſion is conteſted: And the ſucceſſor makes no ſcruple of enjoying the ſame wives his father did, unleſs his own mother be amongſt them; and then ſhe has a ſeparate houſe and revenue ſettled on her: And, to his father's wives, the ſon, ſoon after his acceſſion, adds many more, being uſually preſents made him by his Viceroys and Governors, of the moſt beautiful black virgins in his dominions. On the death of a King, the government ſeems to be diſſolved till the ſucceſſor is proclaim'd; for the populace are ſuffered to plunder their wealthy neighbours, and commit all manner of extravagancies with impunity, till the new King aſſumes his authority; and therefore the Great men uſe all imaginable diligence to inveſt him with the regal power.

Revenues.

This country of Fida is ſo rich, and of ſo large an extent, that the King's revenues are very conſiderable. Bosman ſays, there are not leſs than 1000 officers employed in collecting the ſeveral duties and taxes, who are diſpers'd through every part of his dominions, there being ſcarce any thing that is not taxed. There are three Receivers-General purely upon the account of the Slave trade, the King having a Rixdollar (about a Crown) for every ſlave that is ſold: And of the ſhipping, which comes upon the coaſt to trade, he receives, one with another, not leſs than four hundred pounds ſterling each; and there ſometimes does not come leſs than fifty in a ſeaſon. But, as it is in other kingdoms, his officers find means, 'tis ſaid, to defraud their Prince of the beſt part of his revenues.

Laws.

Tho' there be no written laws in Guinea, they have particular puniſhments appropriated to certain crimes by cuſtom. Murder is uſually puniſhed with death, if the perſon killed was a free-man; but, for the murder of a ſlave, a fine only is exacted. Adultery alſo is puniſhed with death, where it is committed with any of the King's wives, or the wife of a Great man. Bosman relates, that two Negroes having been guilty of murder at Whidah, they were, in purſuance of their ſentence, ripped open alive, their bowels taken out and burnt, and afterwards their bodies ſtuff'd with ſalt, and fixed upon contribute ſufficiently towards maintaining ſuch forts: If Ten per Cent. is not enough, they ought to allow more. On the other hand, if this be done, I know no reaſon why any ſubject of England ſhould be excluded from the trade: To ſay, that Private traders are better huſbands, can afford their goods cheaper, and will always underſell the Company, is a very weak obſervation: For why don't the Company manage as frugally? They have always their Governors, Factors and Warehouſes, upon the ſpot; and can take all advantages in trade, by laying in commodities, when things are cheapeſt, at the beſt hand, and providing freight for their ſhips againſt they arrive; and conſequently may tranſact their affairs to greater advantage than the Separate trader can, if they obſerve as good œconomy: And the cheaper we afford our goods, and the leſs profit we are contented with, the greater market we ſhall have. It is no matter how much we underſell other nations, ſo as we are not loſers in the main. I doubt, if the Separate traders did not get away the trade from the Company, the Dutch would: And ſurely, it is better our own people ſhould have it, than foreigners. It is very well known, ſince the African trade has been laid open, it has vaſtly increaſed. If the Engliſh traded for five or ſix thouſand ſlaves upon this coaſt, when the Separate traders were excluded, they now trade (according to Gee) for thirty or forty thouſand; and ſo in proportion in other articles perhaps. But there are ſome gentlemen, I find, not only for ſupporting our preſent ſettlements on the Gold coaſt, but for ſending ſuch a force thither, as might make us maſters of the country; by which means we might, they imagine, poſſeſs our ſelves of the Gold mines, and gain an immenſe treaſure by working them. They obſerve alſo, that this being about the ſame latitude as the iſlands, where the Cloves, Nutmegs, and Cinnamon grow, in the Eaſt-Indies, all thoſe ſpices might be propagated here.

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The Princes and States of Guinea.

In Guinea, there are ſome ſovereign Princes, whoſe dominions are very extenſive, rich, powerful and arbitrary; Monarchs limited by no laws, or any other reſtraints: And there are a multitude of others, to whom the Dutch and other Europeans have given the name of Kings, whoſe dominions do not exceed the bounds of an ordinary pariſh, and whoſe power and revenues are proportionably mean. But the latter ſeem to me, to be no more than particular Clans or Tribes, whoſe Chiefs are permitted to bear ſome reſemblance to Princes; to adminiſter juſtice in their reſpective diſtricts, and make war upon one another, when they apprehend themſelves injur'd by any neighbour. But theſe are, in reality, all ſubject to ſome of the ſuperior Monarchs firſt mention'd, and no better than their vaſſals; obliged to attend them in their wars, to quarter their Soldiers, and to ſubmit to ſuch duties and impoſitions as are impoſed upon them. We find, indeed, the Dutch Factors on this coaſt boaſting, that they are ſometimes ſerved by the ſons of Kings, and retain them in their pay, in the quality of Footmen: But they might as well be proud of being ſerved by the ſon of a petty Conſtable. The vanity of the Dutch may eaſily be perceived, when they give themſelves theſe airs, as well as the hatred and contempt they have for all Kings. One reaſon of their denominating every little officer a King, is to ſhew, that the high and mighty brutes have Kings ſubject to them. They formerly brought ſome ſuch petty Princes from the Eaſt-Indies, and confined them in a barren iſland near the Cape, where they were forc'd to work, and make lime for the Dutch-India company, who, in deriſion of Kings, gave this wretched place the name of King-Iſland; and I don't doubt, but they would ſerve all the Monarchs upon earth in the ſame manner, if they had them in their power; tho' if it be true, that the ſame word in the Negroe language ſignifies a King, and the Governor of a village of twenty huts, they have the more colour for giving the title of King to both: But the Dutch relate farther, that there are ſome republicks on the Guinea coaſt like theirs in Holland, and particularly two near their capital fort of Las Minas, or D'Elmina: But of theſe I ſhall treat, after I have ſhewn in what ſtate the great Monarchs on this coaſt live; and particularly the King of Fidah or Whidah. This Prince, in the words of one of the Dutch Factors, is feared and reverenced by his ſubjects as a demi-god, who always appear in his preſence, either kneeling, or proſtrate on the ground: When they attend him in the morning, they proſtrate themſelves before the gate of his palace, kiſs the earth three times, and, clapping their hands together, uſe ſome expreſſions that look more like the adoration of ſome deity, than complements paid to an earthly Prince; and they even tremble at the ſight of him: He has his Viceroys, Governors, Generals, and other Officers, as European Princes have, of whom he conſtantly maintains four or five thouſand with meat and drink; ſome of whom frequently are permitted to eat in his preſence; but no perſon whatever is permitted to ſee his Majeſty eat, or to know in what part of the palace he ſleeps, unleſs his wives, of whom the King ſeldom has leſs than a thouſand. Theſe continually ſurround him: Theſe are his life-guards, and frequently ſent on embaſſies, and employed in executing ſuch commands and ſentences as ſeem much more proper for men; as to puniſh criminals, pull down their houſes, and the like. BOSMAN relates, that, a little before his arrival at Whidah, a Negroe officer of his acquaintance having been unjuſtly accuſed to the King, orders were iſſued to demoliſh his houſe, and deſtroy all that he had: Of which the man having received ſome notice, when a detachment of two or three hundred of the king's wives came to execute the ſentence, they found him placed near a heap of Gunpowder, with a lighted match in his hand, profeſſing his innocence; but threatening to blow both them, and himſelf up, if they did not give him time to repreſent his caſe to the King; which being agreed to, he had the good fortune to convince his Fidaian majeſty of his innocence, and to get the ſentence revers'd.

When the King goes abroad alſo, five or ſix hundred of his wives run before him, or attend him: He has not, 'tis ſaid, a ſingle man in his train; but he ſpends the greateſt part of his time at home in his palace, adminiſtring juſtice to his ſubjects, and tranſacting affairs of ſtate; or converſing with the European Factors and Merchants, who find him uſually in a ſtately hall of audience, richly habited in Gold and ſilver ſtuffs: His wives alſo, when they attend him, are richly cloathed and adorned with Gold, Coral and glittering trifles, eſpecially their hair; and tho' the King never eats before company, 'tis ſaid, he will drink very plentifully both with the Europeans and his own ſubjects.

Their Nobility.

The chief Magiſtrates under the King are: The Cabicero's, whom he conſults in ſtate affairs, and concerning peace and war; and, by theſe, he uſually adminiſters juſtice to the people. Travellers make two claſſes of Nobility in every government in Guinea: 1. The Cabicero's laſt mention'd, who are the Grandees of every kingdom or ſtate. 2. Their inferior nobility, an order of Knights; who, being poſſeſs'd of conſiderable fortunes, either by deſcent or purchaſe, and, having obtained ſome reputation in their reſpective countries, are allowed to have ſeven trumpets, or hollow Elephants teeth, ſounded before them when they go abroad. Every one, who is initiated into this order, gives a grand entertainment, and makes preſents to the principal men of the country, in order to obtain this honour: After which, he purchaſes a ſhield and arms, and performs the ceremony of lying in arms all night, with his family, in the open field; intimating, I preſume, his readineſs to defend his country: After which, ſeveral days are ſpent in feaſting and martial exerciſes; and the new Knight is afterwards allowed to carry two ſhields both in peace and war. But to return to the King:

The deſcent of the crown.

I don't find he wears a crown, or that there is any other ceremony at his acceſſion, than the ſhewing him publickly to the people, and ſacrificing ſome animals to his gods. The eldeſt ſon is always entitled to his father's throne; the females never ſucceed, unleſs in one kingdom upon this coaſt: And there have been inſtances of a younger brother's uſurping the throne, when the eldeſt has been at a diſtance from court, by the favour of the people, and taking poſſeſſion of the palace, and the King's wives; for this, it ſeems, goes a great way in fixing a Prince upon the throne, where the ſucceſſion is conteſted: And the ſucceſſor makes no ſcruple of enjoying the ſame wives his father did, unleſs his own mother be amongſt them; and then ſhe has a ſeparate houſe and revenue ſettled on her: And, to his father's wives, the ſon, ſoon after his acceſſion, adds many more, being uſually preſents made him by his Viceroys and Governors, of the moſt beautiful black virgins in his dominions. On the death of a King, the government ſeems to be diſſolved till the ſucceſſor is proclaim'd; for the populace are ſuffered to plunder their wealthy neighbours, and commit all manner of extravagancies with impunity, till the new King aſſumes his authority; and therefore the Great men uſe all imaginable diligence to inveſt him with the regal power.

Revenues.

This country of Fida is ſo rich, and of ſo large an extent, that the King's revenues are very conſiderable. BOSMAN ſays, there are not leſs than 1000 officers employed in collecting the ſeveral duties and taxes, who are diſpers'd through every part of his dominions, there being ſcarce any thing that is not taxed. There are three Receivers-General purely upon the account of the Slave trade, the King having a Rixdollar (about a Crown) for every ſlave that is ſold: And of the ſhipping, which comes upon the coaſt to trade, he receives, one with another, not leſs than four hundred pounds ſterling each; and there ſometimes does not come leſs than fifty in a ſeaſon. But, as it is in other kingdoms, his officers find means, 'tis ſaid, to defraud their Prince of the beſt part of his revenues.

Laws.

Tho' there be no written laws in Guinea, they have particular puniſhments appropriated to certain crimes by cuſtom. Murder is uſually puniſhed with death, if the perſon killed was a free-man; but, for the murder of a ſlave, a fine only is exacted. Adultery alſo is puniſhed with death, where it is committed with any of the King's wives, or the wife of a Great man. BOSMAN relates, that two Negroes having been guilty of murder at Whidah, they were, in purſuance of their ſentence, ripped open alive, their bowels taken out and burnt, and afterwards their bodies ſtuff'd with ſalt, and fixed upon two ſtakes in the market-place, where he ſaw them: That another Negroe, having been familiar with one of the King's wives, was fixed to a ſtake, and there ſtood as a mark, for the Courtiers to throw their darts and launces at, in the preſence of the lady, the partner of his crime, who alſo ſaw the offending member cut off and burnt: After which, they were both tied hand and foot, thrown into a deep pit, and, after a pot of boiling water was leiſurely poured on them, the pit was filled up, and they were buried alive.

Another young Negroe, who had dreſs'd himſelf in the habit of a woman, and lived ſome time among the King's wives, contriv'd to run away with one of them, and a rich parcel of goods; but they were taken in the attempt: Whereupon the young fellow was tortur'd, to make him confeſs if he had been familiar with any more of them; but not being able to extort a confeſſion from him, they were both burnt in the ſame fire.

Thievery is uſually puniſhed by a heavy fine and reſtitution of the ſtolen goods; and, if the offender has nothing to pay, he is either puniſhed with death, or becomes a ſlave to the injur'd perſon: And ſo in debt, where the party is inſolvent, himſelf, his wife and children are liable to be ſold for ſlaves, according to the ſentence in the Goſpel.

Two little republicks.

BOSMAN, giving an account of the two little commonwealths of Axim and Ante, near their fort of d'Elmina, ſays, that the Cabicero's are their Sovereigns, and take the adminiſtration of the government upon them in times of peace; but the reſt of the people are conſulted in making war: That the Cabicero's are guilty of great corruption in the adminiſtration of juſtice; and that the party that bribes higheſt, uſually carries his cauſe; and it is not uncommon, when a cauſe is delay'd or given againſt a man, for him to attempt to do himſelf juſtice, by ſeizing the goods of his enemy or debtor; and this ſometimes occaſions a war between the tribes or great families, who frequently eſpouſe the intereſt of their reſpective friends.

The Dutch uſurp an authority over the natives.

In this republick, the ſtealing of men, as well as the ſtealing of cattle, is puniſh'd with death; and I find the Dutch have uſurp'd ſome ſort of authority or dominion over the natives ſubject to theſe commonwealths: Whereas no other European nation pretends to bring the people of this coaſt into ſubjection to them (the Dutch attempt it not only here, but in every part of the world where they get footing.) Their countryman relates, that two Cabicero's of Axim, men of ſome figure in this ſtate, having been long engaged in an odd diſpute, viz. which of them was ſlave to the other, the cauſe came by way of appeal before the Dutch Factor at fort d'Elmina, who took upon him to decide the cauſe; however, he did it in an amicable manner, by perſwading them to lay aſide their animoſities, and own each other for a free-man; which they agreed to, embrac'd, and ſeem'd perfectly reconcil'd before they went out of the fort, making the Dutch Judge handſome preſents for putting an end to the ſtrife; but, before two months were elaps'd, one of the parties hir'd two aſſaſſins to murder the other, which they effected by ſhooting him through the Head. This the Hollanders looking upon as a contempt of their juriſdiction, in order to aſſert their authority, ſent ſome of their officers to demand the murderers, that juſtice might be executed upon them; and, the natives refuſing to deliver them up, the Hollanders march'd with an arm'd force into their country, threatening deſtruction to their ſtate: At which the Negroes were ſo terrify'd, that they deliver'd the criminals into the hands of the Dutch; who were contented however with a large fine, at the entreaty of the Negroes. This ſtory, related by the chief Factor of their capital fort of Elmina, ſhews ſufficiently the dominion the Hollanders have uſurp'd over the natives: And were not the Engliſh and other Europeans poſſeſs'd of forts in their neighbourhood, whereby they protect the people and themſelves from their inſults, the Hollanders would tyrannize as much on the coaſt of Guinea, as they do in the Eaſt-Indies, and in a ſhort time not only make ſlaves of the natives, but drive the reſt of the Europeans out of the country, as they have done from the Spice iſlands and Java; where the Spaniards, Portugueſe, and Engliſh had ſettlements, till they were treacherouſly and barbarouſly driven from thence by the Dutch, which the Engliſh never can forget, ſo long as there is ſuch an iſland as Amboyna in being, and ſo long as we, and all the other nations of Europe, remain depriv'd of the fine ſpices by the uſurpations of the Dutch. It is amazing to me, that all the Princes of the world ſhould tamely ſit down, and ſuffer the Dutch to monopolize ſo valuable a branch of trade, and never attempt to recover their rights, or ſo much as to put in for a ſhare of the fine ſpices! I proceed in the next place to enquire what arms are uſed by the Negroes, their military diſcipline, and way of making war.

The Arms of the Negroes.

Before the arrival of the Europeans upon their coaſt, the Negroes knew nothing of fire-arms; bows and arrows, launces, ſwords, darts and ſhields conſtituted a complete ſet of arms; which were all made by the natives themſelves, with no better tools than a ſtone for their hammer, and another for their anvil: Their ſwords were very broad, turn'd back like a hanger, had a wooden guard, and were not above a yard in length; and, 'tis ſaid, the inland Negroes us'd to poiſon their darts and arrows; but this was never done by thoſe we meet with on the Guinea coaſt. They cover and defend themſelves very dexterouſly with their ſhields, againſt ſwords, launces and darts; but theſe are of no uſe againſt muſket-bullets. Their ſhields are of an oval figure, above 4 foot long and 3 broad, made of light baſket-work, cover'd with the ſkin of a Tyger or ſome other animal, ſometimes with thick leather gilt; and they have copper plates or boſſes on them, which contribute to their defence, and adorn the ſhield. The Dutch have been much cenſur'd for furniſhing the Negroes with fire-arms and gun-powder; but they will ſell any thing for money to friend or foe: and this is now one of the beſt articles in the commerce of the Europeans with Guinea; for, ſince the Dutch began to ſell them guns and ammunition, they have been imitated in it by other nations; and the Negroes are obſerv'd now to be very good markſmen, having learnt to ſhoot ſtanding, ſitting, lying or running; but they generally attack the enemy under cover, if they can, creeping upon the ground, and firing as they lie upon their bellies, or getting behind ſome tree. Every Chief of a tribe or family leads on his own people, ſlaves and dependants; but with very little order: They look like ſo many crowds or heaps of men, rather than ſoldiers; tho' ſometimes their heroes ſingle out each other, and fight hand to hand with their country weapons. But, if any of the crowd fires a muſket, he runs out of the fight to load, and then returns again, if his party is not routed in the mean time. And here give me leave to obſerve, how the Soldier is habited when

Their way of making war.

Habit of a Soldier.

he marches to the wars: He ſticks his broad ſword in the cloth he wraps about him, and has a belt of bandaleers to load his muſket with, and a pouch for his bullets, a cap on his head, made of the ſkin of a Crocodile, or ſome wild animal, which is adorned with red ſhells, a bunch of Horſe-hair, and a bright chain bound like a coronet about his head, and his body uſually painted white, which makes him a very ſhocking figure.

Every able-bodied man is obliged to march into the field for the defence of his country, or at the command of his Prince; ſo that there are as many Soldiers as men; But there are, however, ſome who make arms their only profeſſion, and let themſelves out to the neighbouring nations when their own are at peace. The Princes alſo form alliances here, as ours do in Europe; and, when any power becomes formidable to the reſt, unite in confederacies to reduce him within bounds. But the moſt frequent occaſions of wars are, the depredations of their Great men upon ſome neighbouring nation: Theſe make excurſions frequently into each others territories in time of peace, and carry off a booty; and, if ſatisfaction is not given upon demand, the injured party makes repriſals, and their reſpective tribes or nations engage in the quarrel: Nay, if a Great man in one country has a debt owing to him in another, and payment is delay'd, he falls upon any of the tribe the debtor belongs to, and carries off at leaſt as much as will ſatisfy his debt; and if the debtor repreſents to the Prince or State he is ſubject to, that he does not owe any ſuch debt, or that he has been hardly and unjuſtly dealt with by the creditor, the matter becomes a national quarrel, and they fight it out; and the ſide that apprehends itſelf weakeſt, hires foreign troops, and ſometimes whole nations to aſſiſt them; inſomuch, that in one of theſe private quarrels four or five tribes, or nations, perhaps engage on each ſide; and though ſeveral of the leſſer kingdoms and ſtates can't raiſe two or three thouſand men, there are others that can bring forty or fifty thouſand men into the field; and in the inland country, their Kings can raiſe as many more: But, 'tis obſerved, they are all forced to quit the field during the rainy ſeaſon. Plunder and priſoners, on whom they ſet exceſſive high ranſoms, or the extending their territories, are their principal views in theſe wars, as well as thoſe of Europe.

Before I diſmiſs this head, it may be proper to take notice of ſome wars, in which the Dutch and Engliſh have been concerned on this coaſt, and the occaſion of them; which will further evince the deſign of the Dutch to make a conqueſt of Guinea, and ſeize the Gold mines there to the excluſion of other nations; and that they had probably effected it, if they had not been oppoſed in this project by the Engliſh African Company.

An attempt of the Dutch to ſeize the Gold mines defeated.

Bosman, the chief Factor for the Hollanders at the capital fort of St. George d'Elmina in Guinea, relates, That the Dutch ſent Miners thither, in the year 1694, who actually attempted to open a Gold mine, in a certain mountain near the Dutch fort of Vredenburgh, in the kingdom of Commany. But the Negroes, obſerving what the Miners were about, let them know, that this hill was dedicated to one of their gods, and muſt not be touched. They repreſented alſo, no doubt, that they had only given the Dutch leave to erect forts there, for the ſecurity of their effects; but never intended to transfer their country to them, and ſuffer foreigners to dig and carry away their Gold: And, when the Dutch ſtill perſiſted in their deſign, the natives roſe, and fell upon the workmen, wounding ſome, and making priſoners of others. Whereupon the Hollanders complained to the King of Commany of the hoſtility; and receiving no ſatisfaction from him, marched a party of Soldiers into his country, in order to compel the Commanians to relinquiſh their mines, and acquieſce in their being wrought by the Dutch; but they were ſo warmly received by the natives, that they were glad to retreat to their fort: And the Commanians, juſtly reſenting this attack of the Hollanders, entered into a confederacy with the Engliſh, in order to defend their country, and particularly the Gold mines, againſt any future invaſion: For, it ſeems, the Commanians had given the Engliſh leave to erect a fort in their country, about a mile from the Dutch fort (which the Hollanders complain was a great hindrance to the projects they had formed:) And, as the Engliſh had reaſon to believe their good allies would take the firſt opportunity of depriving them of this fortreſs, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of the Gold mines, they very readily conſented to come into an alliance with the Commanians for their mutual defence. However, I perceive the Engliſh concerned themſelves no otherwiſe in the war, than by influencing ſome other Negroe powers to join the King of Commany. The Dutch alſo advanced five thouſand pounds, as appears from their own relation; with which they hired two Negroe nations to aſſiſt them in ſubduing the Commanians, not doubting but they ſhould meet with the ſame ſucceſs their countrymen had done in the year 1687, when they gained ſeveral victories over the Commanians, and obliged them to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the Hollanders were pleaſed to impoſe upon them; but, the Dutch Governor very imprudently threatning ſeveral other nations at the ſame time, they united againſt the Hollanders and their allies, and gave them one of the greateſt defeats that ever was known in that country; ſcarce any of the allies of the Dutch eſcaping alive out of the field: However, the Hollanders did not yet deſiſt from their project; but, finding means to corrupt ſome other Negroe powers, and prevail on them to join them, they engaged in a ſecond battle, and received a ſecond memorable overthrow. And now, finding that it was not poſſible to ſubdue the Commanians, and diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh of their fort, they thought fit to drop their deſign of monopolizing thoſe golden mountains, and ſtrike up a peace with the natives.

Religion of Whidah.

The Religion of the Guinea Negroes ſhall be conſidered in the next place: And, it ſeems, they generally acknowledge one ſupreme almighty Being, that created the univerſe; and yet pay him no manner of worſhip or adoration, never praying to him, or giving him thanks for any thing they enjoy. They believe he is too far exalted above them, to take any notice of poor mortals; and therefore pray and ſacrifice to a multitude of inferior deities; of which they have ſome in common to whole nations: And yet every man has a god or more of his own chuſing. Next to the being of God, no principle ſeems to be more generally entertained in this and other nations of the world, than that God is too great to be approached and addreſſed to by men, and has left the government of the world to inferior deities, that are ready to hear and anſwer their prayers. The chief deity of the Fidaians, a conſiderable kingdom of Guinea, is a Serpent of a particular ſpecies, whoſe bite is not mortal; and is ſo well uſed by his votaries, that he ſcarce ever attempts to hurt them. They addreſs themſelves to this animal on the moſt impor-

A Serpent worſhipped.

tant occaſions; as for ſeaſonable weather, the preſervation of their ſtate, or whatever elſe concerns the publick welfare. They have alſo a grand temple erected in Fida, dedicated to this ſerpent; and a leſſer in almoſt every village, with Prieſt and Prieſteſſes to officiate in them. The King annually makes preſents and offerings to the great temple, conſiſting of gold, cattle, pieces of ſilk, and all manner of meat, drink, fruits, and European merchandize, to obtain a plentiful harveſt, and the proſperity of his kingdom; and, if they apprehend any calamity like to befall them, theſe offerings are frequently repeated.

The Serpent's temple.

In this temple, 'tis ſaid, they always keep a ſerpent, of a monſtrous ſize, worſhipping the creature in perſon, and not in effigy: And formerly, the King uſed to go on pilgrimage with his whole Court, annually, to adore this ſerpent; but, of late, deputes a certain number of his wives to perform this act of devotion in his ſtead. Once every year it is pretended, that the virgins, and young women of the country, are ſeized by this ſpecies of ſerpents, and work'd up to a kind of religious frenzy: Whereupon they are carried to the ſerpents temples in the reſpective villages, and obliged to remain there for a certain time, till they return to their ſenſes. Theſe are uſually the wives and daughters of the principal men of the place, who thereupon make preſents to the Prieſts and Prieſteſſes; but my author looks upon the whole to be a pious fraud to get a little money out of the people: And, it ſeems, if any one refuſes his wife or daughter to go to this idol temple, when they pretend to be thus inſpired, he does not only incur the reputation of a prophane perſon, and an enemy to their religion, but is in danger of being ruined by the influence and ſuggeſtions of the Prieſts: And that they may be ſupported by the Government in their pretenſions, the King, it ſeems, is allow'd to ſhare the profits which the Prieſts gain by this pretended inſpiration of the females, who, when they are diſmiſs'd from the ſerpent's temple, are required not to divulge what has happened to them there, under the ſevereſt penalties; but this ſeems to be needleſs, becauſe the women are fond of going to theſe temples on ſuch occaſions, being allowed to take greater liberties there, than they could at home. To confirm which, Bosman relates, that one of the natives of his acquaintance, having a wife that pretended to be ſeized with this religious frenzy, humour'd her in it, and offered to conduct her to the ſerpent's temple; but, inſtead of it, convey'd her to the houſe of a European Factor, and gave her to underſtand, that he would certainly ſell her for a ſlave, if ſhe did not immediately lay aſide her maſk, and return to her wits: Whereupon ſhe fell upon her knees, and begged his pardon, promiſing never to trouble him with theſe humours any more, if he would forgive her; which he readily granted, on her promiſing ſhe would never divulge what had happened to her Prieſt; and thus (ſays my author) he ſaved the trouble and expence of ſending her to that religious mad-houſe: But, had the matter been diſcover'd, the man would infallibly have been ruined. Another Negroe, of the Gold-coaſt, who married a wife at Whidah, laying her in irons for pretending to counterfeit a religious frenzy, was actually poiſon'd by the Prieſts, when our author was there, according to his apprehenſions at leaſt; the man viſibly declining in his health thereupon, of which he could give no other account. But this ſeems to be only a conjecture of Bosman's, who appears to have been an enemy to Prieſts of all religions, and to every thing that had any relation to religion; for his inference is, “From hence you may obſerve, that, throughout the world, it is very dangerous to diſoblige Eccleſiaſticks;” not excepting the Prieſts of his own church: And, indeed, few Dutchmen have any other god, but their gain; at leaſt they generally make their ſpiritual concerns ſubſervient to their ſecular intereſts, witneſs their renouncing their Chriſtianity at Japan, for a liberty to trade there, excluſive of all other Chriſtian nations. Certain it is, the Japaneſe will ſuffer no other Chriſtian, Proteſtant, or Papiſt, to trade with them at this day: And, as the Dutch know themſelves to have been charged with this ſcandalous piece of hypocriſy for many years, and have never endeavour'd to clear themſelves of it, the world now takes it for granted that they cannot: I wiſh they would, if they are innocent, take an opportunity of refuting the charge, that I might do them juſtice; for I would not be inſtrumental in conveying down ſuch an aſperſion on a whole nation to poſterity, if I did not think there were too good grounds to believe it. But to return to the Fidaians: Such is the reverence they bear to theſe ador'd ſerpents, that, ſhould any perſon hurt one of them, or but touch him with a ſtick, our author aſſures us, he would be condemn'd to the flames: He ſays, the Engliſh, when they firſt traded thither, being ignorant that theſe ſerpents were worſhipp'd by the natives, killed one of them they found in their houſe; and that the whole country roſe in arms thereupon, pull'd them in pieces, and burnt their merchandize and all their effects; but I muſt confeſs I do not give entire credit to the fact, ſince our author informs us, it was an old ſtory; and I do not find it mentioned by any other writer. But Bosman relates, that, when he was at Fida, a Negroe, who was a foreigner, only took one of theſe ſnakes gently on a ſtick, and carried the creature out of his houſe without hurting it: Whereupon the natives of Fida ſet up their great howl, as they uſually do in caſe of a fire, immediately alarmed the whole city; and it was with great difficulty that the King of Fida, being made ſenſible of the ſtranger's ignorance, ſaved his life.

The ſame writer aſſures us, that, in hot weather, theſe ſerpents creep out of their holes, into their houſes, by half dozens, laying themſelves upon their chairs, benches and tables, and even getting into their beds when they are aſleep; and they have no way of getting rid of the vermin, but by calling the natives to their aſſiſtance, who will gently take them up in their hands, and carry them out of doors. The more venomous ſerpents, it ſeems, frequently attack theſe deified ſnakes, and would be too hard for them, on account of their ſtrength and ſuperior venom; but, the whole country uſually riſing when they ſee the ador'd animal attack'd by man or beaſt, he never fails to conquer, if the battle happens in view of any of his votaries. The largeſt ſize of theſe adored ſerpents are about two yards long, of the bigneſs of a man's arm, and adorn'd with white, brown, and yellow ſtreaks. They are great devourers of Rats; but, if a ſnake of this ſize ſeizes one, his throat is ſo narrow, that it is an hour before he gets the Rat through into his belly.

Such is the veneration of this people for theſe crawling, and to us terrible animals, that they will not hear any thing ſpoken in deriſion of them, ſtopping their ears, and running away, if any European pretends to laugh at their ſuperſtitious reverence for them. Bosman relates, that a Hog happening to devour one of theſe ſnakes, a proclamation was immediately iſſued for deſtroying all the Hogs in the country, and abundance of them were ſlaughter'd on the occaſion; but, at the inſtance of ſome of their rich owners, and ſome preſents made to the King, the ſevere decree was revok'd: But BOSMAN aſſures us, that ſo many were ſlaughter'd, that Hog's-fleſh became very dear while he was there.

Lofty trees adored,

The next things the Fidaians pay divine honours to, are fine lofty trees and groves. To theſe they apply in their ſickneſs, or any private misfortune; and I ought to have taken notice, that all the ſerpents temples are in ſome grove, or under ſome ſpreading tree.

And the Sea.

The Sea is another of their principal gods, to whom they ſacrifice when the winds and waves are ſo tempeſtuous, that no foreign merchants can viſit their coaſt; which uſually happens in July and Auguſt, and ſometimes in other months: Then they throw in all manner of goods, meat, drink, and cloathing, to appeaſe the enraged element.

But, beſides theſe publick objects of adoration, every man has a numerous ſet of gods, of his own chuſing, at Fida. Every thing they meet with on going abroad, animate or inanimate, they introduce into the number, after it has undergone the following trial: They pray to it for ſomething they ſtand in need of; and, if they obtain their deſire by any means, they aſcribe their ſucceſs to the influence of this new god; but if they are diſappointed, they conclude that it cannot or will not help them, and treat it with contempt, addreſſing to it no more: Which puts me in mind of the Portugueſe, who are ſaid to pray very zealouſly to the image of St. ANTHONY, which they carry about them; but, if he does not anſwer their expectations, they beat the image unmercifully, and drag it through every kennel by way of revenge. But to return:

Both Prieſt and Prieſteſſes have an uncommon reſpect ſhewn them in the kingdom of Fida or Whidah: Their perſons, and all that belong to them, are held ſacred and inviolable; and tho' the wives of other men are little better than ſlaves to their huſbands, the huſband of a Prieſteſs is obliged to be all obedience at his peril: Both the eccleſiaſtical and civil Government would reſent his aſſuming any authority over ſuch a wife; which makes the natives very cautious of marrying a Prieſteſs. Nor would they ever conſent, that their wives ſhould be admitted into the order of prieſthood, if they could help it. For, as I apprehend it, there is a certain tribe amongſt them, who are Prieſts and Prieſteſſes by inheritance; but then there are others admitted by that tribe into this order upon ſpecial occaſions.

They have imperfect and confus'd notions of Heaven and a future State; and ſome of them mention a local Hell for the puniſhment of the wicked, but ſeem to regard it as little as Chriſtians do. Thus, having enquired into the religion of the Fidaians, I proceed to treat of the opinions of the people of the Gold-coaſt in this article, where our author reſided many years.

Religion of the Negroes on the Gold-coaſt.

Here the people alſo believe in one ſupreme, almighty Being; but look upon him to be too much above them, to regard their affairs; and therefore addreſs their prayers upon all occaſions to ſome inferiour deities or demi-gods, as the Greeks uſually did of old: Some of them believe, that both black and white men were created by the ſupreme God at the ſame time: while others aſcribe the creation to a great ſpider they call Ananſie. Every thing relating to religion they denominate Fetiche, as has been obſerved already; but to the idol of their hearts, or favourite god, they give the title of Boſſam, and to this god the beloved wife is always dedicated.

Every Prieſt, or Feticheer, have a different god, to whom the people under his care apply on publick occaſions or common calamities. When they are debating on war and peace, they bring ſacrifices, and conſult the god by their Prieſt, who ſometimes performs the ceremony alone, and returns an anſwer to thoſe who come to enquire of him; at other times he conſults the idol in their preſence; from whom however they expect no vocal anſwer; but the Prieſt throws up ſome nuts or ſmall pieces of leather, and, as they fall nearer or further from each other, he foretells good or bad ſucceſs to the undertaking. They take every ſolemn oath alſo before an idol, drinking a draught after it, and praying that their god may ſtrike them dead, or the liquor may burſt them, if they do not perform their engagements, or if the thing be not true which they atteſt: However, it ſeems, the Prieſt has power to abſolve them from theſe oaths: To prevent which, upon great occaſions they make the Prieſt ſwear, that he will not abſolve the party, or diſpenſe with his oath, requiring the moſt dreadful imprecations from the Prieſt to confirm it: And the Negroes believe that whoever drinks the dreadful cup with ſuch imprecations, and afterwards breaks it, will infallibly burſt or die ſoon after.

When the weather is unſeaſonable, either exceſſive wet or dry, the whole town, or country, conſult their Prieſt how the vengeance of Heaven may be appeas'd; and he generally adviſes them to offer certain ſacrifices, which is readily camply'd with: And every village has a ſacred grove ſet apart, where the ſacrifices are kill'd, and divine worſhip perform'd; and theſe they will not ſuffer to be profaned or cut down upon any occaſion. But, beſides the idol that belongs to the Prieſt, every perſon has his particular houſhold-god, before which he conſtantly performs his devotions on the day of the week he was born: This they call their Boſſum, as they do the day itſelf, and drink no wine or ſtrong liquor on that day before ſun-ſet: They are alſo then habited in white, or their ſkins colour'd with a whitiſh earth or paint. There is another day of the week alſo ſet apart for divine worſhip; when the Poor ſacrifice Poultry, and the Rich a Sheep, to their god, without the aſſiſtance of a Prieſt, which is eaten by the man and his friends; but the guts and inwards, boil'd in the blood, is reckon'd the moſt delicious morſel here, as well as in Caffraria: And there are few families in Guinea, but what are obliged, by ancient cuſtom (which they think themſelves religiouſly bound to perform) to abſtain from certain kinds of meat; ſome from the fleſh of Goats, others from that of Hogs, and a third perhaps from tame white Fowls; and their reſpective children and poſterity never deviate from the rules preſcribed by their anceſtors: Among which, at Acra on the Gold-coaſt, circumciſion is one; but, from whence they received it, or how long they have uſed this rite, none amongſt them know; nor is it uſed by any other nation of Guinea.

What notion they have of the deities they worſhip is uncertain, any further than that they look upon them as beings veſted with great power, and that carefully obſerve their behaviour, and reward and puniſh them in this life according to their demerits: They have not any great expectations, or dread of futurity, 'tis ſaid; the rewards they expect, are a multitude of wives and ſlaves, health and wealth, and other proſperous circumſtances in this world: And the

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the puniſhments they apprehend, are a deprivation of theſe. The greateſt calamity that can befall them, and what they dread moſt, is death: Murder, adultery and theft, according to my author, are venial crimes, and may be attoned for with Gold, &c. But their eating forbidden meats, and drinking prohibited liquors, and a neglect of their holidays, they think can never be pardoned, but will (with deliberate and wilful perjury) be puniſhed with death. Moſt of them, as has been hinted already, believe little of future rewards and puniſhments; tho' they ſeem generally to agree, that the ſouls of good men ſurvive after death; and ſome few of them talk of a Paradiſe not unlike the Elyſian fields, whither good ſpirits are ſent; that is, ſuch as have kept their holidays, inviolably abſtained from forbidden meats, and obſerved their oaths: And thoſe that have been deficient in any of theſe particulars are drown'd in a certain river, and a period put to their exiſtence; but ſcarce any of them ſeem to have any notion of a wicked man's being puniſhed eternally. Thoſe that have, are ſuppoſed to have learnt it from the Chriſtians, with whom they have converſed upwards of 200 years: And there are thoſe, that imagine their ſouls, after death, paſs into the bodies of white men, and undergo almoſt an unlimited tranſmigration.

Tho' all the Negroes worſhip ſome creature or other, yet they have not all idols or images in their houſes; and ſome of the natives of the mountainous inland country, 'tis ſaid, worſhip a living man, as the Tartars near China do; of whom they relate ten thouſand miracles, and believe he dooms them to happineſs or miſery after death, according to their deſerts: They are charged alſo with worſhipping the Devil, and keeping a ſolemn feſtival, of eight days continuance, annually to his honour. But BOSMAN is of opinion this is a miſtake; he acknowledges indeed they hold ſuch a feſtival; but, he ſays, it is in order to drive the Devil out of their country.

Seven days are ſpent in feaſting, ſinging and dancing, and great liberties are taken with impunity at that time: They lampoon their ſuperiors, and make ballads on them, committing all manner of extravagancies; and, on the eighth day in the morning, they hunt the Devil out of every town and village with horrid cries and howling, throwing dirt and ſtones after him; and, when they have continued the frolick as long as they ſee fit, they return home, where they find the good woman employ'd in cleaning and ſcouring all their pots, pans and utenſils, and purifying them from all uncleanneſs they might have contracted by Satan's reſiding amongſt them. They have no other annual feſtivals but this, and another after harveſt, when they ſacrifice to their gods for affording them the fruits of the earth: As to their weekly ſabbath, ſome keep it on a Tueſday, and others on a Friday, when no perſon is permitted to go a fiſhing; but they don't ſeem very ſcrupulous as to other kinds of work. However, they all abſtain from Wine on their reſpective ſabbaths, and ſacrifice ſomething to their gods on that day.

They certainly believe, that their ſouls ſurvive after death; not only becauſe ſome of the gods they worſhip are thought to have been once great and virtuous perſons upon earth, but by the numerous ſtories they entertain the Europeans with of apparitions or ſpirits: Nay, they ſeem to believe ſpectres and apparitions more firmly than any article of their religion, terrifying themſelves and others with an apprehenſion of being diſturbed by them. Never any perſon dies, eſpecially if he be a man of figure, but they believe he appears for ſeveral nights about the place where he died; which does not conſiſt at all with the notion ſome have given us of them, that they believe the ſoul dies with the body: Nay, they aſcribe a great power to ſuch unimbodied ſpirits; of which BOSMAN gives the following inſtance. He ſays, one of their Kings happening to be killed, who was a profeſſed enemy to the Dutch, and the chief Factor of the Hollanders fort dying ſome few days after, they concluded he had been ſnatch'd away by their deceaſed King, who had a power of puniſhing him in the other world, tho' he could not ſubdue the Dutch while he was in this mortal ſtate. They ſeem to have a great deal of faith in magick or witchcraft, or ſomething like it, endeavouring to revenge themſelves on their enemies by charms and ſpells, which they hire a Prieſt to uſe, believing his curſes will have the deſir'd effect: They apply to him alſo for the diſcovery of ſtolen goods, which he pretends to help them to by the aid of good or bad ſpirits, but which of them our author don't inform us; only obſerves, that their Prieſts act in a triple capacity, viz. as Prophets, Conjurers and Phyſicians; and, when medicine does not anſwer their expectations, they have recourſe to ſacrifices and charms; and the people have ſo good an opinion of them, that, if the Prieſt does not recover the patient, or ſucceed in what he undertakes, they impute it to ſome defect in the ſacrifice or themſelves, or to any thing, rather than the unſkilfulneſs or inability of the Prieſt.

The Diet of the Negroes.

The next particular I ſhall enquire into, is the Diet of the Negroes: And, it ſeems, they eat but poorly upon the Gold-coaſt (at leaſt in the opinion of the Europeans,) Millet, boil'd to the conſiſtence of bread, is their common food, or Potatoes, Yams, and other roots in the room of it, well drench'd in Palm oil; and, if to this they add a few boil'd herbs and ſtinking fiſh (for they always let them lie upon the ground till they ſtink) the common people think they live luxuriouſly that day: Nor do their ſuperiors eat better, only they allow themſelves a greater quantity of fiſh and herbs than the poor can afford. They have a diſh alſo much admir'd by them, which is a mixture of corn, paſte and Palm oil boil'd together, to which they give the name of Malaget, and is in ſome eſteem with the Dutch, poſſibly becauſe it may reſemble their own Grout. They have alſo variety of Garden-beans and Pulſe, with Banana's and other fruits that ſerve them for food.

At Benin and the Slave-coaſt the better ſort of people eat Beef, Mutton and Fowls; and are ſo good to their poor, 'tis ſaid, that they are always welcome to their tables when they want employment, and cannot provide for themſelves. They are alſo extremely hoſpitable to ſtrangers, being proud of nothing more than the character of generous free-hearted people. Dried fiſh and roots are the principal food of the common people at Benin: But, how meanly ſoever the Negroes live as to eating, thoſe near the coaſt make it up with liquor. There is no part of the Guinea coaſt where they don't drink drams in the morning, and Palm wine in the afternoon; and their Chiefs of the towns, or petty Kings, as the Dutch call them, will meet the meaneſt of their ſubjects in the market-place of an evening, and, forming a circle upon the ground, drink to a very great exceſs, being attended by their women at the ſame time, who are no leſs addicted to drinking than the men, and their converſation is uſually as ſmutty as that of a drunken crew of ſailors, which does not at all offend the modeſty of the Negroe females, who maintain their ground, and ſit drinking and ſmoaking with the men frequently till morning. But, I'm apt to think, the Negroes of the inland country are not ſo diſſolute a people as thoſe upon the coaſt: If foreigners were to make an eſtimate of the Engliſh, from the people of both ſexes they meet with in the ſea-port towns, it would not be much to our advantage. But, beſides Wine, they have a ſort of Beer made of Millet, ſome of it very ſtrong; few of them drink Water, it being eſteemed very unwholeſome here: And they have alſo the milk of young Cocoa-nuts, which is an exceeding cooling and refreſhing liquor; but, as for Cow's milk, I perceive they never drink of it.

Diſeaſes of the Negroes.

Notwithſtanding this country is found ſo unhealthful for European conſtitutions, the natives have but very few diſtempers: The Small-pox is the moſt fatal to them of any. This, indeed, ſweeps them away like the Plague, as it generally does all other people in warm climates: And Worms are an epidemical diſtemper; not ſuch as afflict our people in their ſtomachs and bowels, but a ſpecies that are found between the ſkin and the fleſh, and give the patient inexpreſſible torment till they are drawn out; and this is an operation that laſts for a month, and more ſometimes.

As ſoon as the head of the Worm has broken thro' the tumour, and is come a little way of itſelf, they draw it further, winding it about a ſtick a little at a time; and, when they find it come hard, they deſiſt, for fear of breaking it; and then try at it again another day, and ſo on till they have got it quite out, and then the patient is at eaſe: But, if the Worm breaks, he endures a great deal of pain; for the Worm either rots in the fleſh, or breaks out at another place; Some of the Negroes have 9 or 10 of theſe worms in them at once, and the Europeans are not entirely free from them. Theſe Worms are a yard long, and ſometimes as much more: Nor is this the diſtemper of Guinea only, our people, as well as the natives, are afflicted with it in the Eaſt-Indies. A greedy ravenous Appetite is alſo reckoned among the diſeaſes of the Guinea Negroes, which proceeds, as ſome imagine, from drinking Palm wine to exceſs. The Venereal diſtemper is alſo fatal to many of them, having yet no methods of cure; and few of them eſcape it amidſt ſuch numbers of common women, who make a trade of letting themſelves out. Wounds in the wars of Mars are no leſs dangerous than thoſe of Venus, eſpecially if there be any ſhattered bones; for they can cure nothing but ordinary fleſh-wounds, which they do by applying pulteſſes of ſome ſalutary herbs to them. But tho' the Negroes are generally healthful, they ſeldom live to a great age; one of fifty is eſteem'd an old man in this country. As to the remedies for theſe, and other diſeaſes, travellers relate, that they uſe green herbs in moſt caſes: But what herbs thoſe are, they have not yet inform'd us, poſſibly few Botaniſts have made the voyage, it being generally ſo fatal to Europeans. I proceed therefore to enquire into the diſtempers Europeans are principally afflicted with on the Guinea coaſt, and the reaſons uſually given for their ill ſtate of health here. The diſtempers Europeans are moſt ſubject to, are Fevers, Dyſenteries, and the Colick. Bosman aſcribes them to the exceſſive heat of the day, and the coldneſs of the night, the Europeans not being uſed to ſuch ſudden changes. Another reaſon he aſſigns, is the thick ſtinking fogs, that ariſe from the valleys between the hills, and from the ſalt-marſhes near the ſea, and at the mouths of the rivers where their factories are uſually ſituated: Nor does the ſtinking fiſh, which the natives lay to rot upon the ſhore, contribute a little to infect the air, he thinks: And it is a matter of fact not to be conteſted, that few arrive here, but are immediately ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs, of which abundance die. But he aſcribes this, in a great meaſure, to the want of good kitchen phyſick and good medicines; and tho' a great many haſten their own deaths by intemperate living, yet the moſt regular men are frequently carried off: Indeed the Portugueſe, who come from a warmer climate, and are uſed to another ſort of diet than the Engliſh and Dutch, have their healths on all the coaſt of Africa almoſt as well as the natives; and therefore diſcoveries in thoſe warm latitudes ſeem much properer for them, than for the more northern nations. But, among other cauſes that Bosman aſſigns for the ill health of the Europeans, is the plague of Flies; ſuch ſwarms of Gnats or Muſkeeto's are perpetually buzzing about and ſtinging them, ſo that they can get no reſt night or day: And this is the caſe of all countries that are hot and moiſt. Theſe and a thouſand other inſects are perpetually feaſting upon the blood and fleſh of thoſe that come amongſt them; and, as they ſeem to delight moſt in that of foreigners, ſo their ſtings are attended with worſe conſequences, than when they attack a native: For the firſt are ſo ſwelled up at their arrival, that they can ſcarce be known by their friends; whereas the natives, and thoſe who have been uſed to the country, feel no ſuch effects from their bite or ſting. It is obſerved alſo, that warm woody countries, that are not cleared, and where the winds have not a free paſſage, are much the worſt.

Diſeaſes of the Europeans there.

Marriages.

I ſhall, in the next place, enquire into their Marriage-ceremonies, and the condition of their women and children: And, I find, the lover or his friends contract with the father of the virgin, and that frequently before the girl is capable of making any choice; ſo that if matrimony conſiſt in the mutual conſent of the parties, there is no ſuch thing here. The parents of the bride and bridegroom make the bargain when they are children, and no ſon or daughter ever pretends to diſpute the authority of the father in this matter, when they grow up. As ſoon as the bride is deem'd capable of marriage-joys, ſhe is taken home by the huſband, without any other fortune to recommend her, than her native charms: For the huſband, it ſeems, preſents her with her very cloaths and ornaments, of which he takes a particular account, becauſe, if ſhe miſbehaves herſelf, ſhe is ſtripped of them, and return'd naked to her friends; but, if the man divorces her without any fault of hers, ſhe carries off her wedding cloaths and jewels. There is an entertainment for the friends and relations when the wife is taken home, and ſhe is ſuffered to dreſs and live at her eaſe for ſome few days; but then ſhe is forced to work amongſt the reſt of his wives, to dig, plant, and ſow the ground; for the men leave the huſbandry, as well as the buſineſs of the houſe, entirely to the women; and there ſeems to be very little difference between their wives and ſlaves in this reſpect: Therefore no man ſtands upon quality in the choice of a wife; for, as he deſigns to uſe her as a drudge, he will as ſoon take the daughter of the meaneſt man, as of one of their chiefs. Thoſe that live the eaſieſt amongſt them, are the wives of the Merchants, the dealers in Wine, and the Fiſhermen, who have no lands to manure; for theſe do ſomething towards bringing in a livelihood, and providing for their families: Whereas the men of eſtates make their wives manure and cultivate them; and the more wives they have, the greater is their ſtock of Corn, Rice and Plants, which makes them multiply their wives as faſt as they can; tho' thoſe on the Gold coaſt, my author ſays, are limited to twenty; yet, in the kingdom of Whidah, they take ſome hundreds, and the King ſeveral thouſands, who are no more exempted from huſbandry and other drudgeries, than thoſe of private men, except ſome few of his favourites. They have alſo one wife they call their Boſſum, dedicated to their houſhold-god, who is exempted from working, and enjoys many other privileges in the life-time of her huſband; but ſome ſay, it is expected ſhe ſhould follow her lord into the other world, when he makes his exit, as is expected alſo from ſome Indian wives; but this does not ſeem to be much practiſed of late: The Boſſum is uſually ſome young beautiful ſlave, purchaſed with a deſign of dedicating her to his god, and with whom he ſeems under ſome obligation of ſpending his time on the night of his birth-day, and of the other day of the week appropriated to the ſervice of their gods. There is alſo another wife, to whom the affairs of the houſe are entruſted, and the government of the reſt is committed, who is exempted from labour: And theſe two the Negroes are very jealous of, and endeavour to keep to themſelves; but, for the reſt, they are not ſo much concern'd: The common people will wink at their beſtowing their favours on other men; and, indeed, promote their own diſhonour, provided they can get money by it: They will, 'tis ſaid, contrive with their wives how to draw young fellows into the ſnare, for the ſake of the damages they are entitled to, when another invades their property; for the meaneſt man does not recover leſs than five or ſix pounds ſterling, if he can prove the offence; and they generally find means to have ſome evidence of the fact, beſides the wife's: For, if the man will take a ſolemn oath that he is innocent, and there can be no witneſs againſt him but the wife (as I underſtand BOSMAN) he cannot be convicted.

Deſcent of eſtates.

Upon the Gold coaſt, the man and his wife have not a community of goods, 'tis ſaid; but thoſe the man leaves, go to his eldeſt brother and his children; and thoſe of the women to her eldeſt brother and his iſſue: Their reſpective children do not inherit the goods of either father or mother. However, if the father be a ſovereign Prince, or Lord of any town or country, the eldeſt ſon ſucceeds his father in theſe commands, tho' he has nothing of his effects, but his arms; and at Whidah, and other parts of Guinea, the eldeſt ſon ſucceeds to his father's eſtate and effects, as well as in the governments and lordſhips he held: And tho' the Negroes uſe their concubines and female-ſlaves frequently, as well as their wives by contract; yet are their children illegitimate, and ſlaves to the heir, if he does not enfranchiſe them before his death. The multitude of wives, concubines and ſlaves theſe people keep, is for the ſtate and grandeur of the matter, as well as on account of the profit of them: Here, as well as in India, a man is eſteem'd according to the number of women and ſlaves he keeps to run before him, and to ſing and dance, and divert him when he appears in publick. But there is one inconvenience in a man's having a large family, and numerous dependance, in Guinea; that he is anſwerable for all the miſchief and damage they do any one, and obliged to make it good: Nor do the people here wait, till they can have juſtice done them in courts of law; but, where a man's ſlave has done them any injury, they immediately make repriſals on the maſter; and this is frequently the occaſion of wars among the different tribes, who uſually eſpouſe the cauſe of their ſeveral friends and relations, as has been hinted already.

The Negroes of the inland country are much more jealous of their honour, than thoſe upon the coaſt: If any one is familiar with their wives, nothing leſs than his ruin will ſatisfy them: If the offender be a ſlave, his death muſt attone for the crime, in which he uſually undergoes the moſt exquiſite torture; and his maſter is obliged to pay a conſiderable fine beſides. The woman alſo pays for her wantonneſs with the forfeit of her life, unleſs her relations will redeem her with a ſwinging fine; and where ſhe has committed the crime with a ſlave, no money will purchaſe her peace: She is put to death without mercy, and the maſter of the ſlave obliged to pay the huſband very conſiderable damages: There have been inſtances of thoſe who have been obliged to pay two or three thouſand pounds for the offence of a ſlave, where a Prince or Great man is injur'd; and theſe uſually aſſemble their ſubjects and dependants, and do themſelves juſtice, as in other caſes, engaging the whole country in the quarrel. But, if the man goes aſtray, the wife has no redreſs, ſhe muſt not murmur whenever he ranges; which ſeems a little unjuſt, becauſe the cuſtom of the country allows a man women in abundance of his own: Whereas twenty or thirty females, perhaps a great many more, ſhare but one man amongſt them.

They ſeem to have a great regard to their women when they are with child, and make ſacrifices and offerings to their gods when a woman is firſt found pregnant. At the birth of the child the Prieſt is ſent for, who binds up the head, puts on ſome rings and ſpells to protect the infant againſt enchantments, and performs ſome religious ceremonies upon the occaſion, as our Europeans apprehend at leaſt: And there are two names beſtowed upon it, viz. the day of the week on which it is born, the grandfather's name if a boy, and the grandmother's if a girl; and, as they grow up, they gain a third by their employment, or ſome great action they perform; as the killing a wild beaſt, ſignalizing themſelves in the wars, and the like. In ſome places they circumciſe their children; but this is not perform'd 'till they are five or ſix years of age, or more. They alſo imitate the Jews, in obliging their women to live ſeparately from them at certain times; and are ſo ſevere upon them in ſome parts of Guinea, that they make it a forfeiture of their liberties to come into any man's houſe in ſuch circumſtances.

The women that are unmarried, 'tis ſaid, take very great liberties, which is no reproach to them upon this coaſt, neither does it hinder their getting huſbands; but this is to be underſtood only of the inferior people: And, as theſe ſell their favours as dear as they can, BOSMAN relates, there are others purchaſed by every townſhip almoſt, to ſupply the neceſſities of unmarried men; and that theſe are obliged to admit of the men's company, whether ſlaves or others, for the value of a farthing: That theſe women have huts by the way-ſides, where they entertain thoſe that are diſpoſed to become their gallants: That they generally get an ill diſeaſe by their converſing with ſuch numbers of men, and become the moſt miſerable objects in the world; none thinking it worth while to take any care of their cure, or to relieve their wants, tho' theſe creatures are mightily careſſed while they are in their bloom: and the Dutch tell us, that, when they would bring any of the neighbouring towns to their terms, they ſeize theſe ladies of pleaſure, and carry them to their forts, being aſſured the natives will ſubmit to any thing to obtain their liberty. Bosman adds, that people here look upon it as an act of charity to purchaſe ſuch young female-ſlaves, to relieve the neceſſities of the publick; and that the rich Negroe women frequently leave ſome legacies of this kind when they die; which brings me to treat of the behaviour of the Guinea Negroes, on the death of their relations, and the ſolemnity of their funerals.

Their funerals.

When a perſon of any figure dies, his wives, his relations, ſlaves, and dependants, immediately ſet up a diſmal howl: His wives ſhave their heads, cloath ſuch parts of their bodies with rags, as are uſually cloathed, and, for the reſt, colour their black ſkins with a white paint or clay, running about the ſtreets, and bewailing themſelves like ſo many diſtracted creatures; and this they repeat ſeveral days ſucceſſively: And, it ſeems, the people of Guinea ſcarce look upon death to be natural; but that it is always a puniſhment inflicted on them by their gods, for ſome notorious offences. The Prieſt therefore being ſent for, a very ſtrict enquiry is made into the life of the deceaſed; as, Whether he was ever perjured? Whether he was guilty of eating prohibited meats? Whether he obſerved their ſabbaths and holidays, or the like? Bosman ſays, the deceaſed is carried about upon men's ſhoulders, while the Prieſt puts theſe queſtions to him; and, by ſome circumſtances in the poſition of the body, or its inclining one way or other when the Prieſt puts the queſtion to him, he conjectures the cauſe of his death, and communicates it to his relations. There is ſtill another way they uſually imagine he may have been taken off; and that is, by the charms or ſpells of his enemies: And accordingly, if any of his enemies have been ſuſpected of practiſing magick, they make no ſcruple of charging him with the death of their friend, and perhaps endeavour to revenge it.

While the corpſe remains unburied, all the relations, friends, and neighbours, attend it, and join in the lamentations of the family: It is cuſtomary alſo to bring preſents with them of gold, linnen, good liquor, fruits, and other eatables, which ſeems the more reaſonable, ſince they are entertained by the heir all the time of their ſtay. At length the corpſe being richly habited, is put into a coffin, with a conſiderable quantity of gold, coral, and other valuable effects, ſuitable to the circumſtances of the deceaſed: He is carried to the burying-place, preceded by great numbers of muſketeers, who fire their guns all the way, and the reſt of the people follow the corpſe, making the air ring with their lamentations, but obſerve no manner of order in the proceſſion.

So ſoon as the corpſe is interred, moſt of the company return to the houſe of the deceaſed, which is now no longer a place of mourning; for here they drink and feaſt for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, congratulating the heir probably on his coming to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate.

Slaves ſacrificed on the death of a King.

When a King is buried, Bosman aſſures us, ſeveral of his ſlaves are ſacrificed, in order to ſerve him in the other world; as are his Boſſums, or wives, dedicated to his gods; which is another manifeſt proof, that the Negroes believe the ſoul ſurvives the body, and that men have much the ſame neceſſities, and enjoy the like ſtations in the other world, as they did in this: Though the latter part of this notion is very different from the Chriſtian's belief, who make the virtuous only to be entitled to a place in Paradiſe: But what is ſtill more to be lamented, than the putting theſe miſerable wretches to death, is the pain they endure in the execution. They pierce and cut them, as in ſport, for ſeveral hours: Bosman ſays, he ſaw eleven put to death in this manner; and amongſt them, one who had endured a moſt exquiſite torture, was delivered to a little child to cut off his head, which he was an hour in doing with a heavy broad ſword he could hardly lift.

Inſtead of a tomb, the Negroes uſually build a houſe, or plant a garden over the grave; and, at Axim, they ſet images of clay upon it, which they waſh and clean every year on the anniverſary of the funeral, when the expence is as great, as at the time the perſon was buried.

They are not leſs deſirous of being interred among their anceſtors, than the people of Europe; and, when they die at too great a diſtance from home to be removed thither, their relations, however, will bring home their friend's head, and ſome of his limbs, particularly if he is killed in a foreign war.

Language.

There are ſome other articles that ſtill remain to be ſpoke to, ſuch as their languages, learning, muſick and diverſions; but I meet with little on theſe heads. Bosman tells us, that their language is a very diſagreeable brutal ſound: That though the Europeans have often endeavoured to expreſs their words in writing, they have never been able to do it: From whence I am apt to infer, it is not very different from that of the Hottentots, who expreſs themſelves, in many inſtances, by inarticulate ſounds, which travellers compare to the noiſe of Turkey-cocks: However, of this ſort of language, it ſeems, there are many different dialects, ſo different from each other, that, in the ſpace of ſixty miles, there are ſix or ſeven ſeveral people upon the Gold coaſt that don't underſtand one another, according to the ſame writer: And, as for learning, where there is neither reading or writing, and they know nothing of the dead languages, or even of the modern of any country but their own, nothing of that kind can be expected from them: They are perfectly ignorant when their country was firſt peopled, and from what nation they derive their original; but ſeem to have a pretty general tradition, that both Black and White men were created ſo at firſt by God, and do not aſcribe their dark complexions to the heat of the Sun, or to any accident or circumſtance in their ſituation. To which ſome add another tradition, (viz.) that God, ſoon after the creation, gave them the choice of wiſdom or wealth; and that their anceſtors choſe the latter: Whereupon God placed them in Africa; but was ſo angry with the option they made, that he doomed them to be ſlaves to the White men, on whom he beſtowed wiſdom, learning, arts, and ſciences, and gave the Black the treaſures of Gold; for, according to their notion, learning is appropriated to the White men, and Gold to the Blacks: That there is no Gold to be had out of their country, nor any learning amongſt thoſe who inhabit it. Bosman mentions a Popiſh Prieſt, that uſed great endeavours to ſet theſe people right in their notions, and make proſelytes of them to Chriſtianity; and, when all his arguments proved ineffectual, threatened them with the flames of hell for perſiſting in their ſuperſtitions: To which they only anſwered, that they ſhould be in as good a condition as their anceſtors, who had, for time immemorial, worſhipped the ſame gods, and obſerved the ſame cuſtoms.

Muſick.

Their muſical inſtruments at Axim, **Bosman** informs us, are trumpets, made of Elephants teeth, boared through, with which they make a loud, but diſagreeable noiſe; and, it ſeems, it is more for the honour of the matter, than the muſick, that their Great men have theſe inſtruments ſounded before them. They have alſo a kind of drum, made of a wooden bowl, with a Sheep's-ſkin ſtretched over it in the form of a kettle-drum, having two wooden hammers for drum-ſticks; though ſometimes they play upon them with their bare hands in conſort with their trumpets, which afford no great harmony neither in the opinion of any but Negroes; nor is the hollow iron bell they beat upon at the ſame time much more agreeable: The leaſt ſhocking of any part of their muſick, is an inſtrument made in the ſhape of a harp, which makes a noiſe that may be borne with patience. They have alſo a great variety of other drums and muſical inſtruments, very entertaining in their opinion; but travellers don't think them worth a deſcription. They ſing and dance, however, to their muſick, ſuch as it is; and ſeem to be as much charmed with it, as Europeans are with the beſt voices and inſtruments, and the fineſt compoſitions of the Italians.

Some tribes of the Negroes are mightily given to gaming, and will ſtake all they have upon the event of the game; but I don't find, that they play'd at any other game than that of Draughts or ſomething like it, in which they uſed large Beans, till the Europeans taught them to play with Cards and Dice: Their rural ſports are either hunting, ſhooting, or fiſhing; and game is ſo plentiful at Whidah, and ſome other parts of Guinea, that a man may load himſelf with it in a few hours, 'tis ſaid; but they have no dogs to hunt or ſpring the game for them, or Horſes to ride after it, as with us; Guns, Nets, and Snares are what they uſe on theſe occaſions; But, in fiſhing, they want no tackle that the Europeans uſe, as has been related already: And, indeed, fiſhing is the principal employment, as well as diverſion, of thoſe tribes that lie near the coaſt.

CHAP. VII.

The preſent ſtate of NIGRITIA, ZAARA, *and* BILEDULGERID.

Containing the Preſent State of Nigritia *or* Negroeland, Zaara *or the* Deſart, *and of* Biledulgerid *olim* Numidia.

CHAP. VII.

NIGRITIA, or Negroeland, ſuppoſed to receive its name from the dark complexion of the natives, or from the river Niger, that runs thro' the middle of it, according to the beſt information I can get of the country, extends from 10 degrees to 20 north; and, in longitude, about 3000 miles, as Geographers conjecture; bounding it with Cape Verd, 18 degrees weſt of London, and carrying it to the confines of the Upper Ethiopia, or Abyſſinia, 30 degrees to the eaſtward of London: But, ſhould it be admitted, that ſome Europeans have gone up the river Niger, and diſcovered the country for 300 miles, to the eaſtward of Cape Verd, as they pretend; certain it is, that all the remainder of the 3000 miles to the eaſtward of that, is perfectly unknown to the European nations, unleſs what they have gathered from the report of the natives, who are but poorly qualified to give a deſcription of their country: Neither is the language of ſeveral of the Negroe nations, who come down to the mouths of the river Niger to trade with the Europeans, underſtood by them, or even by the natives on the coaſt; and conſequently all the deſcriptions we have of the Negroeland, above 300 miles to the weſtward of Cape Verd and the Atlantick Ocean, muſt be imperfect; I doubt they can ſcarce be rely'd on in any one particular: There may be forty kingdoms and nations of different people, for aught we know, comprehended in that vaſt tract aſſigned to Negroeland, which our Geographers continue under that name, for no other reaſon, than that they are very much in the dark as to all beyond the mouths of the Niger.

The river Niger.

This mighty river empties itſelf into the Atlantick Ocean by ſeveral mouths; of which the three largeſt are, 1. The Rio Grande, or Great River; 2. The Gambia; and, 3. The Senegal: And, as the mouth of the river Grande lies in 11 degrees north latitude, and the Senegal in 16, conſequently it is upwards of 300 miles between the two moſt diſtant mouths of this river; and all the country between, except the riſing grounds, are annually overflow'd, as the Delta in Egypt is by the Nile, and much about the ſame time, the heads of the Nile and the Niger not being very far diſtant, and the rains that ſwell them falling at the ſame time. The Portugueſe, on the firſt diſcovery of Cape Verd, fixed ſeveral colonies and ſettlements on the river Niger; of which they ſtill retain thoſe of Catheco and Biſſeo, on the river Grande: The Engliſh have, at this day, two ſettlements, one on Charles iſland, and another on James iſland, in the mouth of the river Gambia, and 100 miles farther north: The French have two ſettlements, one on the ſouth, and the other on the north of Cape Verd, near the mouth of the Senega or Senegal, and to the northward of them, on the river of St. John: The Dutch alſo have ſome ſettlements; all which formerly belonged to the Portugueſe.

European ſettlements on the mouths of the Niger.

Chief towns of Negroeland, Tombut.

The chief Negroe town, which Hiſtorians and Geographers frequently make the capital of a mighty empire, is Tombut, ſituate in 15 degrees north latitude, 6 degrees and a half weſtward of London: But I can't learn, that this, or any of their towns, conſiſt of any other or better buildings than our ordinary cottages, having clay walls and thatched roofs. Such towns or villages as thoſe, 'tis ſaid, ſtand pretty thick in that part of the country which the Europeans are acquainted with: And, 'tis thought, if their lands were as well cultivated, they would yield as good crops of grain, as thoſe of Egypt do, which have the like advantage of being overflow'd annually by the Nile, as theſe are by the Niger. However, as it is, the ſoil of Negroeland yields great plenty of Rice and Millet, Palm-trees, Cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, herbs, and roots, with fleſh, and fowl; ſo that the natives live very plentifully. As to their perſons, they are generally of a good ſtature, and of hale, robuſt conſtitutions; their complexions the deepeſt black; their hair black, ſhort, and curled like wool; their noſes flat; their lips thick; and ſcarce differing in any thing from thoſe of their neighbours in Guinea; only, as they are much leſs verſed in traffick, it is obſerved, they are a plainer honeſter people. There are ſome Mahometans, and a few Chriſtians, which the Portugueſe have made proſelytes of, 'tis ſaid, upon the coaſt, and

Fruitful country.

Perſons of the natives.

Trade.

Cape Verd.

near the mouths of the rivers: But all the inland Negroes are ſtill Pagans, as thoſe of Guinea are; and probably their cuſtoms, rites and ceremonies not very different from theirs. The European nations, that are ſettled on this coaſt, deal with the natives chiefly for ſlaves; tho' they may ſometimes meet with Gold, Elephants teeth and Drugs, but in no great quantities. Cape Verd, which lies in 15 degrees of north latitude, near the river Senega, is the moſt weſterly promontory of Africa, as has been obſerved already, and obtained the name of Verd, from the verdure of the groves of Palm-trees, and other ever-greens the Portugueſe found upon it at their arrival on this coaſt.

Before I take leave of this land of the Blacks (for the nations to the northward are of an olive colour) it may be proper to take notice of the different opinions of the learned, concerning the reaſon of this dark complexion of the Negroes.

An enquiry into the reaſon of different complexions and features.

It was long the opinion of the Chriſtians in general, and perhaps of the Jews before them, that all men were white till after the Flood; but that Ham, the ſecond ſon of Noah, was converted from a white man, to a black man, by his father's curſing him; and that Africa, falling to the lot of this ſon, all his poſterity, who poſſeſs'd this part of the world, have remained black ever ſince.

But that this curſe of Noah's was not the occaſion of ſuch a change of complexion is pretty evident: For firſt, the poſterity of Cham, or Ham, if they poſſeſs'd Africa, are not all black: The entire northern coaſt, from Egypt to the empire of Fez incluſive, and for ſeveral hundred miles to the ſouthward, even as far as the Tropic of Cancer, if not further, are not black, any more than thoſe who inhabit to the ſouthward of the Tropic of Capricorn.

2. The people, in ſome parts of Aſia, particularly in the peninſula of India, on this ſide the river Ganges, and who are ſuppoſed to be the poſterity of Seth, the favourite ſon, are full as black within the Tropic of Cancer, as any of the Negroes in Africa: Nor is there, in the inland country of India, at a diſtance from the coaſt, a ſingle perſon to be found, that is not black; at leaſt I never met with one, tho' I travelled 100 miles in that country, and reſided ſome time in it. It has been reported, indeed, that there are no Blacks out of Africa; but probably thoſe writers, who aſſerted this, had their information from ſuch Merchants, or Seamen, as had viſited only the coaſt of India; where, 'tis true, there is a tawny mingled breed; but even there the greateſt numbers of the natives are black, who lie within the Tropic of Cancer: Indeed the Indian Blacks have not the flat noſes, and thick lips, or the ſhort frizled hair of the Negroes: But theſe, I think, have never been reckon'd part of Noah's curſe.

Another reaſon aſſign'd for the blackneſs of the Negroes, is the heat of the climate; their country being ſituated within the Torrid Zone. But neither can this be admitted as the ſole reaſon of it; for great part of the continent of America alſo lies within the Torrid Zone; and yet there never was a black man there, till the Europeans tranſported them thither from Africa.

Others have ſuggeſted, that the people of Africa, being of a tawny complexion, between black and white originally, and not able to make themſelves as white as their northern neighbours, took great pains to make themſelves black, as a more deſirable colour than the olive: That they accordingly rubbed over their bodies with oil or greaſe, mixed with ſoot, or ſome other black ingredient; and thereby contributed to render their complexions darker than they were originally; and that the women afterwards, ſeeing nothing elſe but black men, brought black children into the world: And theſe ſtrengthen their opinions by ſome very notable facts. It is obſerved by all travellers, that the Negros greaſe or anoint themſelves, and their children, continually from the hour they are born; and that many of them mix black ingredients with the ointment: That the Caffries and Hottentos, beyond the Tropic of Cancer, who are not naturally of ſo dark a complexion as the Negroes nearer the Line, do actually darken their ſkins pretty much, by rubbing them with fat and ſoot.

Others obſerve, that not only the complexions, but the very features, hair, make and ſtature of people differ, as the country and climate differs, wherein they were ſeverally born: And as to the Negroes in particular, their hair, their lips and noſes, are not at all like thoſe of Aſia or Europe, or even thoſe who live in the north of Africa. The Scythians, of old, and the Tartars and Laplanders, at preſent, are of a very different make from the people of the ſouthern parts of Europe or Aſia: The Tartars are remarkable for their olive complexions, ſquat make, flat faces, and little eyes ſet deep in their heads. In ſome countries the people are tall, in others ſhort; and not only the perſons, but the very genius and temper of men differ, as the ſoil and climate differ where they were born. The Spaniard is grave and ſedate, mighty ſlow and circumſpect in his actions; while the French are gay and airy, perpetually dancing and ſinging: And this difference, no doubt, proceeds from the ſoil and ſituation of the reſpective countries; for, tranſplant any people from one country to another, they will alter or degenerate into the ſame kind of men, in a few generations, as the former inhabitants were. If the Spaniards and French were to change countries, they would, in a few generations, alter their perſons and humours; the French would be Spaniards, and the Spaniards French.

Does not every body ſee a remarkable difference between the French and the Engliſh, when the French firſt came over hither? And yet, in two or three generations, 'tis impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the one from the other. And ſo I take it to be in complexion, as well as in features and in humours: Blacks, in a few generations, would become white, if brought over hither; and poſſibly White men might become black, or very near it, if they were planted a few generations in the heart of Africa, eſpecially if pains were taken to make them ſo, by rubbing their children with greaſe and ſoot from the time they were born, as the Africans do.

To ſum up all: The Sun, no doubt, goes a great way towards the darkening the complexion of the people that inhabit the Torrid Zone; but then the ſoil they live upon, the pains they take to make their children ſtill blacker, and their women converſing altogether, or chiefly with Black men, every one of theſe may contribute ſomething towards making them ſo exceeding black; for the Sun alone, it is certain, will not do it; or the people, who live within the Torrid Zone in America, would be equally black. And, as to Noah's curſing his ſon Ham, it is evident, this can be of no weight; for, as I have obſerv'd already, great part of the people of Africa (the country his poſterity are ſuppoſed to inherit) are not black: And the people of the Eaſt-Indies, who are ſuppoſed to be the deſcendants of Seth, the favourite ſon, are as black as any of the Negroes of Africk; tho' 'tis true, their hair is long, and their features much more engaging than thoſe of the African Negroes.

If it be ſtill doubted, whether the alteration of climate or ſoil will have any effect upon the features as well as complexion, we may remember, that the Turks, Perſians, Indians, and Chineſe, all come originally from Tartary (at leaſt the ſovereigns and governing parts of thoſe empires); and yet they do not at all reſemble the Tartars, from whence they deſcended, at this day, but the people of thoſe countries they reſpectively poſſeſs'd to the ſouthward of them; which, I believe, will be admitted to amount to a demonſtration of what has been advanc'd on this head.

Zaara and Biledulgerid.

I proceed, in the next place, to the deſcription of Zaara and Biledulgerid, which are ſuppoſed to extend from the Atlantick Ocean to the eaſt, as far as Ethiopia Superior; to run all along parallel to Nigritia; and to lie between the 20th and 28th degrees of north latitude; being bounded by the territories of the Emperor of Morocco and Barbary, on the north; by Ethiopia, on the eaſt; by Nigritia, on the ſouth; and by the Atlantick ocean, on the weſt. The north diviſion of this country, called Biledulgerid in our maps, the Sailors charts denominate the country of Gualata; and to the ſouth-diviſion, which in our maps has the name of Zaara, our Mariners give the name of Arguin, from a town that lies near the mouth of a river of St. John's: However, it is agreed, that both Biledulgerid and Zaara are barren deſart countries at this day, with ſcarce any towns in them; for which reaſon I have thrown them together.

The principal river is that which the Portugueſe have given the name of Dorada to. There are ſome few leſſer ſtreams here, but none of them navigable; and the country is ſo very far from being well water'd, that, when the caravans croſs it from Morocco to Nigritia, they do not meet with water in ſeveral days, and are forced to load one half of their Camels with water and proviſions for their ſubſiſtance.

The natives of a different complexion from the Negroes.

What is moſt remarkable in the people of this country is, that they are moſt of them tawny: Tho' Nigritia lies contiguous to them, there are few Negroes in it; neither do the inhabitants agree with the Negroes in their religon, manners or cuſtoms. The inhabitants of this vaſt deſart, like the Arabs, live in tents, moving from place to place, as they can meet with paſture and water for their cattle; and, like the Arabs, they live chiefly, 'tis ſaid, by plunder and rapine: They are generally Mahometans; and probably the deſcendants of thoſe Arabs, or Saracens, who over-ran all the north of Africa in the 7th century. Biledulgerid, that now lies waſte, and almoſt uninhabited, was one of the celebrated kingdoms of Numidia, then well peopled and fruitful; and there are ſtill the ruins of ancient palaces and temples to be met with here; but every country is the worſe for being poſſeſs'd by Mahometans; they neither regard building, or the cultivation of the ſoil. Thus we find it in Perſia; a great part of which country, by the induſtry of the former inhabitants, in collecting the little rivulets, and flowing of their grounds, rendered them as fruitful as other ſoils; whereas now great part of the ſame lands yield nothing but weeds and briars: And even that fruitful country of Natolia, or the Leſſer Aſia, where were ſo many flouriſhing towns and provinces anciently, is now become a deſart. It is true, all ſoils are not alike fruitful; but good huſbands will make almoſt any thing produce a crop by their labour and induſtry; whereas the careleſs ſlothful Turk can ſcarce ſubſiſt upon the richeſt ſoil; nor will he trouble himſelf to improve his country by trade, how advantageouſly ſoever it is ſituated; but this is left in a manner entirely to the Chriſtians and Jews under their dominion.

Of a different religion, &c.

As we know very little more of Zaara and Biledulgerid, than that the country is a deſart; and that the few people in it live in tents, ranging perpetually from place to place, and have no ſettled habitation; I proceed to the deſcription of the empire of Morocco.

CHAP. VIII.

The preſent State of the Empire of Morocco:

In which are comprehended the Kingdoms or Provinces of Fez, Morocco, *and* Suz.

CHAP. VIII.

Situation and extent of the empire of Morocco.

THE empire of Morocco lies between 28 and 36 degrees of north latitude; and between 4 and 9 degrees of weſtern longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London, being bounded by the Mediterranean, on the north; by the river Fulvia, which ſeparates it from Algiers, on the eaſt; by Biledulgerid, on the ſouth; and by the Atlantick Ocean, on the weſt; being upwards of 500 miles in length from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt, and about 200 miles in breadth. Some extend this empire as far ſouth as the river Niger, almoſt making it upwards of 12000 miles from north to ſouth; but all that tract of land from the province of Suz to Nigritia, being only a barren deſart inhabited by Arabs, who wander from place to place, and are under no manner of government, is very improperly comprehended in the empire of Morocco.

Antiently Mauritania Tingitana.

This empire, now call'd Morocco from a city of that name (on the north part of it at leaſt) was the Mauritania Tingitana of the Romans, and ſo denominated from the city of Tingis, now Tangier, lying on the ſouth-ſide of the Streights of Gibraltar.

Face of the country.

The country is finely diverſified with mountains and vaſt extended plains, moſt of them very fruitful, and pretty well inhabited. The principal mountains are thoſe of Atlas, which lie almoſt in the form of a creſcent between the kingdoms of Morocco and Suz, and extend from the kingdom of Algier to the Atlantick ocean. There are not many woods in it, and thoſe there are deſtitute of timber.

Rivers and port towns.

The chief rivers are, the river Suz, in the kingdom of Suz, at the mouth whereof ſtands the city Santa Cruz; the river Rabata, at the mouth whereof is the piratical town of Sallee; the river Ceba, at the mouth whereof lies the piratical town of Mamora; the river Lecus, on which ſtands the port-town of Larrach: None of theſe rivers are navigable for ſhips; nor will the ports at the mouths of them admit of large veſſels. Arzilla, to the northwards of Larrach, is another inconſiderable port-town; and the Portugueſe are yet in poſſeſſion of Maſignan on the ſame coaſt to the ſouthward: There are alſo the bays of Tangier and Tetuan in the Mediterranean, where ſhips may ride during ſome winds, but are very unſafe in others; and the Spaniards are yet in poſſeſſion of Ceuta over-againſt

Gibraltar, and of Penon de Veloz further to the eaſtward: But in none of theſe is there any ſafe harbour.

Sallee, a piratical port.

Sallee, on the weſt coaſt of the kingdom of Fez, is eſteemed the beſt port the Emperor of Morocco hath: And, tho' this appears to be a pretty good harbour when a ſhip is got into it; yet, at a full tide, there is not above 12 foot of water; and the bar, at the mouth of it, is ſeldom to be paſs'd by any thing but boats and very ſmall veſſels: And yet from this place, and Mamora, a little to the northward of it, do the Pirates of this country perpetually infeſt theſe ſeas, taking abundance of Chriſtians ſhips, with their row-boats and ſmall craft, with which they board and overpower merchantmen that have but few hands: And even our Eaſt-India-men and ſtouteſt ſhips are under great apprehenſions when they paſs near this coaſt; for, tho' they have no quarrel with us, they will ſeize and carry in our ſhips upon very frivolous pretences, particularly if they find paſſengers on board of any other nation they are at war with.

The air of the country.

The air of this country is generally temperate, eſpecially on the mountains, and near the ſea-coaſts, where they oftner complain of cold than heat: It freezes ſometimes in the winter very hard, and the tops of the mountains are cover'd with ſnow great part of the year. However, in the valleys, their winter is but ſhort; and, when it freezes in the morning, the middle of the day is generally warm. It freezes hardeſt in January, as with us; February is more moderate, and the weather variable, changing ſeveral times the ſame day.

Seaſons.

In March the north and weſt winds blow furiouſly; in which month their trees begin to bloſſom: Towards the end of April they have ripe cherries; in May, Figs; and, in the latter end of June, all manner of fruit is ripe, except their latter Figs, which are not ripe till September. The ſpring (when the weather is very temperate) is reckon'd to begin the latter end of February, and end the latter end of May: Then their ſummer begins, and laſts to the midle of Auguſt. This is a pretty hot ſeaſon, the air all the while wonderful clear and ſerene; and it is uſually very unhealthful, if it happens to rain in the ſummer; the ſun then is parching hot, and occaſions malignant fevers. Their harveſt begins in the middle of Auguſt, and laſts till the middle of November; when their winter begins, and continues till the middle of February. During this time, and the beginning of the ſpring, they have hard gales of wind and ſtorms, with ſnow, hail and thunder; and the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt winds frequently blaſt their fruits in the ſpring.

Their rainy weather begins in October, when they ſow their lands upon the hills; but, in their valleys, their ſeed-time does not begin till February.

Diviſion of the empire.

The empire of Morocco being divided into the three grand provinces or kingdoms of Fez, Morocco and Suz; I ſhall give a brief deſcription of each, and of the principal towns contained in them.

Province of Fez.

City of Fez.

The kingdom of Fez is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the north; by the territories of Tangier, on the eaſt; by Morocco, on the ſouth; and the Atlantick Ocean, on the weſt: The chief towns whereof are, 1. Fez, the metropolis of the empire, ſituated in a plain on a branch of the river Cebu or Fez, latitude 33, longitude 4 weſt of London. This city is rather two cities joined, the one call'd Old Fez, and the other New Fez. Old Fez is ſituated the loweſt, and has a ſmall river running through it: The town is of a round figure, and about three miles in circumference: There are between 50 and 60 moſques, or Mahometan temples, in it: The houſes of their Great men here, as in other places, contain ſeveral ſquares: Thoſe of the common people are very mean, and the ſhops like ſo many pedlars ſtalls: The ſtreets narrow and unpaved, miſerably dirty in winter, and duſty in ſummer: Their inns, that have been ſo much cry'd up, are built in form of a ſquare alſo, with lodging-rooms on the inſide: The traveller buys his own proviſion, and dreſſes it, and has the conveniency of feeding his horſes and cattle before the door of his lodging in the ſquare: So that I find they pretty much reſemble the caravanſera's, or places of refreſhment, on the roads in Perſia and Turky.

The town of Old Fez is defended by a double wall, and a caſtle on each ſide of it, ſituated upon an eminence; but lies very much expoſed, being commanded by ſome riſing grounds in the neighbourhood: Their beſt defence lies in their numbers, being able, 'tis ſaid, to arm forty-thouſand men.

The new town is ſeparated from the other only by a ſmall river, and has a double wall round it, with ſquare towers, like thoſe of Old Fez: There is alſo one tolerable baſtion on the walls of the new town, ſaid to have been built by an Engliſh Renegado. This town was deſigned as a citadel to command the old town; and here the King always keeps a good body of horſe for that end, whoſe principal buſineſs it is to collect the corn of the neighbouring country, and lay it up in the magazines for grinding; of which they have ſeveral water-mills on the rivers that run by the town: Here are ſome palaces of the Kings and great men, but run to ruin ſince the court removed to Mequinez; and the houſes of the common people have only clay, or mud walls and thatch'd roofs. The new town is about a mile and a half in circumference, and very populous: The gates magnificent, and make a grand appearance at a diſtance; but a traveller is miſerably diſappointed when he comes into it, to find little elſe but thatch'd cottages, beſides the moſques, the magazines, and ſome few ruinous palaces. However, Old Fez is a town of the greateſt trade of any town in the empire.

Mequinez.

Mequinez, the preſent reſidence of the empire of Morocco, is ſituated in a delightful plain, about a day's journey to the weſtward of Fez, and two to the eaſtward of Sallee, on the ſame river that Sallee ſtands: The palace and the olive parks about it make a very beautiful appearance at a diſtance; but neither does Mequinez anſwer the expectations of the traveller when he comes into it. It is of an irregular form, about two miles in circumference, and ſaid to contain three hundred thouſand ſouls: The ſtreets, like thoſe of Fez, are dirty in winter, and duſty in ſummer, meanly built, and their tradeſmen have ſtalls on ſome of the higheſt ground in the town, where they ſell their goods: Mequinez is ſurrounded by an ordinary wall, and parted by a road from the Negroe town, which is inhabited by the King's black troops (the cavalry, on which he principally relies) with their families.

The palace lies on the ſouth-ſide of the city, and indeed is another city interſperſed with parks, fields, canals and gardens: In one quarter whereof is the Haram, aſſign'd ſolely to the uſe of the King's women and their guard of Eunuchs: A ſecond contains the rooms of ſtate and audience: In a third quarter are the King's handicrafts, workmen and armoury: In a fourth his guards are lodg'd, where are the artillery and magazines: And in a fifth the ſtables: Every part divided into large ſquares; being in the whole about three miles in circumference. And here the walks and pavements are kept exceeding neat, and the galleries frequently adorn'd with moſaic work. Mr. Blaithwait, who attended Mr. Russel, the Engliſh Ambaſſador to the Court of Morocco in the Year 1727, gives us an account of that Miniſter's audience at the palace of Mequinez, which affords us a tolerable idea of the place and people, as well as of their prince.

The reception of the Britiſh Ambaſſador at Mequinez. An. 1727.

He ſays, on the day appointed for the audience, a Spaniard, Alcaide (Governor) of the Chriſtians, and ſeveral officers of the palace, came to conduct the Ambaſſador to Court: That about twelve of them mounted, and rode in the following manner: The Ambaſſador, between the Baſſaw who conducted him to Mequinez, and the Baſſaw's brother, preceded by twenty Muſketeers: The reſt of the Engliſh gentlemen accompanied by another of the Baſſaw's brother, and ſome officers of the Court: Two of the Ambaſſador's ſervants in liveries on horſeback; and after them, the captives and the Mooriſh and Jewiſh ſervants, who walk'd on foot. The whole cloſed with a guard of horſe belonging to the Baſſaw: However, a drunken Moor of quality, in the abundance of his zeal, rode in amongſt them, calling them Chriſtian dogs and rogues, preſenting his piece at the Engliſh, and it was with ſome difficulty he was perſuaded to go about his buſineſs: Nor was this inſult taken any notice of; for, it ſeems, a flaming zeal for their ſuperſtition is an attonement for almoſt any crime.

The preſent made the Emperor of Morocco by the Britiſh Court.

Being enter'd the firſt gate of the palace, they all alighted, and in the ſquare within it were found thirteen fine Horſes of the Emperor's, richly capariſon'd and accoutred, and held by ſo many Negroe grooms for ſtate. Theſe the Baſſaw led them to take a view of. After which, having paſs'd through two or three ſquares more, they came to the Emperor's apartment; but in ſuch a crowd, that it was with a great deal of difficulty they arrived there. After ſome time they were conducted into a long gallery; the floor and ſides whereof were covered with ſmall tiles, an inch ſquare, of various colours. Hither his Britiſh Majeſty's preſent was brought, and ſet out to the beſt advantage; conſiſting of a large cryſtal ſconce with twelve branches; eleven bales of coarſe cloth, each bale containing three pieces; three boxes of ſuperfine cloth, containing fifteen pieces; one box of French linen, call'd Brittanies; two boxes, containing each fourteen loaves of double-refin'd ſugar; one box of China ware; one box, containing eighteen pound of tea; one box, containing three large China jars of ſweet-meats; one box of toys; one box, with brocades, ſilver tabbies, thread ſattins, and gold lace; one caſe, containing a gun and a pair of piſtols; four cheſts of Florence; and one box, containing hollands and cambricks.

Having waited here about an hour, they were conducted to an open gallery, which gave them the proſpect of a fine meadow within the palace; over the middle of which there was a terrace walk from one end to the other, thick ſhaded with Vines ſupported by an arch'd frame. Having paſs'd in a continual crowd ſtill a great way farther, they were at length ſtopp'd, and given to underſtand the Emperor was in the next room. Whereupon the Baſſaw, his brothers, and ſeveral other great officers immediately pull'd off their Alhagues (their outward veſts) or habits of diſtinction, as well as their ſlippers, and each of the Baſſaw's brothers took a China jar of ſweet-meats, part of the preſent, to carry in to the Emperor; and all the reſt of the preſent was carried in, and placed in the Emperor's ſight, before the Ambaſſador was admitted: Then two great doors were flung open, and they ſaw his Majeſty ſitting under a canopy in an open gallery; and, at his feet, his favourite brother Muley Amsteddy, with his Prime Miniſter Baſſa Empsael, a great fat Negroe.

The Ambaſſador, being led up to the throne, pull'd off his hat, and made three bows; and, having deliver'd the King of Great-Britain's letter, tied up in a handkerchief, into the Emperor's own hand, and a gold watch in another, he put on his hat, and made a ſpeech, expreſſing the great eſteem his Maſter had for his Imperial Majeſty, condoling his father's death, and congratulating the Emperor's acceſſion, which was interpreted (my author obſerves) to very little purpoſe; for the Emperor was ſo drunk, he could ſcarce hold up his head: However, it ſeems he underſtood ſo much by the ſpeech and the preſent, as to be very well pleas'd; and anſwer'd *buono, buono*, ordering the Alcaide of the Chriſtians to ſee they did not want Wine and roaſt Pigs every day, charging his Prime Miniſter to let the Chriſtian Miniſter (the Ambaſſador) have whatever he demanded. Then the Courtiers proſtrated themſelves on their faces, and crawl'd upon their hands and knees to kiſs his feet: Soon after which, his Majeſty's Eunuchs, finding him much out of order, carried him away, and the Court retir'd. My author ſays, while the Ambaſſador waited to be admitted, there was ſuch a noiſe and diſturbance among the drunken Courtiers, that he could compare it to nothing elſe, but the common ſide of a Jail; tho', at their audience, things were a little compoſed.

He adds, this Emperor, Muley Hamet Duhebby, was upwards of 6 foot high, about 50 years of age, of a fierce countenance, and much pitted with the ſmall-pox; his face bloated, and his fore teeth out; and, being a Malatto of a tawny complexion, made a very indifferent figure: It being cold weather, he had a black cloak over a white Alhague or veſt; his turbant was a green ſilk ſaſh, which hung careleſly about his head, and ſhewed he was drunk. All he had about him worth admiring was a fine ſcimiter in a gold ſcabbard, richly ſet with precious ſtones.

The Ambaſſador finds great difficulty in getting out of the palace.

Some character of the Emperor.

The Emperor being carried away, the confuſion among his drunken Courtiers was as great as before; neither was there any care taken to conduct the Ambaſſador back again to his houſe: They were puſh'd and ſhov'd about, and in danger of being trodden under foot; and, inſtead of being aſſiſted by the Officers of the Court, the gates were ſhut againſt them, and extravagant ſums demanded for permiſſion to go through them. In the mean time the throng was very great, and their very buttons were cut off their cloaths before they could get away, and they expected every minute to be ſtripp'd by the mob: However, by bribing the Porters very handſomely, they were ſo fortunate at length to eſcape out of the palace, and get to their houſe. But to return to the Emperor: It was uſual with him, it ſeems, to drink with his Miniſters, till he fell down dead drunk; and then he was carried to bed by his Eunuchs: And, when he waked again, he was ſure to give ſome examples of his cruel and fierce diſpoſition; inſomuch, that his ſervants fled, and dreaded to come near him; and happy was the Miniſter who could make an excuſe to be abſent.

He murders ſeveral people.

While the Engliſh Ambaſſador was at Mequinez, he ſhot two men that waited on him, and he endeavoured to kill his Prime Miniſter with his own hand: But this Courtier, keeping out of the way till his fury was over, was then taken into favour again: He commanded two young Jewiſh women to be brought to his bed; and, when he ſent them home again, hearing that their huſbands had preſumed to go to bed them, he ordered their huſbands to be put to death: Another of his miſtreſſes diſobliging him, he ordered all her teeth to be drawn out; and, enquiring for her afterwards, and being told ſhe was not recovered from the illneſs that operation had occaſioned, he ordered the man's teeth, who drew them, to be pulled out, and ſent her by way of ſatisfaction. For any trifling offence, or for his humour, would he order a man to be toſſed, that is, thrown up into the air by four luſty ſlaves, as high as they could, and then let fall again; whereby ſometimes the perſon was killed, and others made cripples of: And ſuch feaſts as theſe, it ſeems, were his ſport and diverſion. From ſuch a court as this, no wonder, therefore, if the Engliſh Ambaſſador haſtened to be diſmiſſed.

The demands of the Britiſh Court.

The demands Mr. RUSSEL was inſtructed to make at the Court of Morocco were, To get all ſuch captives releaſed, as had been taken under Britiſh colours: To get reſtitution made to ſuch Merchants, whoſe ſhips had been robbed by the Sallee pirates ſince the laſt peace; and to confirm that peace with the preſent Emperor. But he was ſoon given to underſtand, that there was no reſtitution to be expected from this Court; and, for the captives, they did conſent to releaſe about a dozen of them, of which four were Engliſh: And for theſe the Ambaſſador paid a great deal more than their ranſom could have been valued at. The Prime Miniſter, the favourite Women, and every Officer concerned in his diſpatches, were bribed again and again; nor was there a ſervant about the Court, but was perpetually begging ſomething of him, under pretence of ſome good offices they had done him: However, at a vaſt expence, and with abundance of difficulty, the following articles of Peace were agreed on; and thoſe made by Admiral STEWART with the ſame Court, in the reign of King GEORGE I. were confirmed.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES of Peace and Commerce,

BETWEEN *the moſt high, and moſt renowned Prince* GEORGE II. *by the Grace of God, King of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith,* &c. *and the moſt high and glorious, mighty and right noble Prince,* MULEY HAMET DAHEBBY, BEN MULEY ISMAEL, BEN MULEY ZERIPH, BEN MULEY ALY, *King and Emperor of the kingdoms of* Fez, Morocco, Taffilet, Suz, *and all the* Algarbe, *and its territories in* Africa, *&c. concluded, agreed, and adjuſted by* JOHN RUSSEL, *Eſq;* *on the behalf of his* Britannick *Majeſty*; *and by his Excellency Baſſaw* HAMET, BEN ALY, BEN ABDALLA, *and his Imperial Majeſty's Admiral of* Sallee, HADGE, ABDELCADER, PEREZ, *on the behalf of the Emperor of* Fez *and* Morocco.

The Articles of Peace and Commerce.

“ARTICLE I. That all Moors and Jews, ſubject to the Emperor of Morocco, ſhall be allowed a free traffick, viz. to buy or ſell for thirty days in the city of Gibraltar, or iſland of Minorca, and not to reſide in either place, but to depart with their effects, without lett or moleſtation, to any part of the ſaid Emperor of Morocco's dominions.

“ARTICLE II. That the King of Great-Britain's ſubjects, reſiding in Barbary, ſhall not be obliged to appear before the Cadi, or Juſtices of the country; but only the Governor of the place, and his Britannick Majeſty's Conſul, are to take cognizance of, and adjuſt the differences they may have with the natives of the country.

“ARTICLE III. That the menial ſervants of his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects, tho' natives of the country, either Moors or Jews, be exempt from taxes of all kinds.

“ARTICLE IV. That all his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects, as well paſſengers as others, taken by any of the Emperor of Fez and Morocco's Cruiſers, on board any foreign ſhip or veſſel whatever, ſhall immediately be ſet at liberty, and ſent to the city of Gibraltar.

“ARTICLE V. That there be permiſſion for buying proviſions, and all other neceſſaries for his Britannick Majeſty's fleet, or city of Gibraltar, at any of the Emperor of Fez and Morocco's ſea-ports, at the market-prices; and the ſame to be ſhipped off without paying cuſtom, as has been extorted lately, contrary to the treaty of peace ſubſiſting.

“ARTICLE VI. All other Articles, being fifteen in number, concluded, agreed, and adjuſted by the honourable CHARLES STEWARD, Eſq; on the behalf of his Britannick Majeſty, and by his Excellency Baſhaw HAMET, BEN ALY, BEN ABDALLA, and his Imperial Majeſty's Treaſurer, Mr. MOSES BEN HATTAR, a Jew, on the behalf of the ſaid King of Fez and Morocco, ſhall ſtand good, and be of the ſame force, as in the reigns of the moſt high, and moſt renown'd Prince GEORGE I. King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, &c. of glorious memory, and the high and glorious, mighty and right noble Prince, ALBUMAZAR MULEY ISMAEL, late Emperor of Morocco. And it is farther agreed, that all the Articles aforemention'd, as well the fifteen, as theſe additional ones, ſhall in twenty days after the date hereof, be publiſh'd in the Arabick language, and affix'd on the gates of all the ſea-port towns in his Imperial Majeſty's dominions.”

Sign'd and dated at the Court of Mequinez, January 14. 1727-8.

Soon after the ſigning this treaty, the Ambaſſador took leave of the Court of Mequinez, and begun his journey for Tangier under a Mooriſh guard commanded by officers, who had money allowed them, by their ſuperiors, to defray the whole expences of the journey; however, they put it in their pockets, made the Ambaſſador pay his own and their charges upon the road, and yet forced the country people to furniſh proviſions, without allowing any thing for them: and, when the Ambaſſador came to Tangier, he was under apprehenſions of being detain'd there by the Baſſaw, under pretence of ſome further demands: But the Baſſaw, being then treating with the Governor of Gibraltar for powder and other warlike ſtores he wanted, was ſo good as to permit the Ambaſſador to embark for Gibraltar, where he arriv'd the 7th of February 1727-8. He had been promis'd two fine Barbary Horſes, and a Lion, by the Court of Mequinez; but, it ſeems they never intended to gratify him in this particular, unleſs he would have paid double the price of them, as he did for every thing elſe: And he was very glad to make his eſcape from that barbarous Court without them.

The ſeveral quarters of the city of Mequinez.

But to return to the deſcription of Mequinez: This city, as has been obſerv'd, is divided into ſeveral quarters, or rather is ſeveral cities united: The palace is a diſtinct town: The quarter of the Moors is another: The Negroe town a third; and the Jews have a quarter to themſelves, in which there does not leſs than fifteen thouſand of them inhabit, being allowed a Shiek, or Governor, of their own nation: And, tho' the Princes and Great men inſult them ſometimes, yet the Government take a particular care of their protection; for, when Mr. RUSSEL was there, five Moors were crucified for murdering a Jew; and indeed they are ſo uſeful here, that the Goverment cannot do without them. All money affairs, and all foreign trade, are negotiated and carried on in this country by the Jews; their principal employment at Mequinez, is working in Gold and Silver, changing of money, and lending it upon uſury: And not only the Jews, but the Chriſtian ſlaves, have their Alcaide, who is a Chriſtian and their Protector, and are allowed to carry on any buſineſs almoſt. Several Chriſtian ſlaves get money here, and are allowed a property in it; in which reſpect their condition is to be preferr'd to that of the Moors themſelves.

Jews the only Merchants.

A Convent at Mequinez.

Here alſo is a Convent of Spaniſh Friars allow'd, that is endow'd with a revenue of five hundred piſtoles a year, for the relief of captives, both with food and phyſick, for preventing their turning Mahometans: Theſe alſo are under the Emperor's protection, on account of their taking care of his ſick ſlaves, and the preſents they annually make him: They have an Infirmary capable of entertaining an hundred perſons; and to theſe the captives apply when they are ſick, lame, or in any other diſtreſs.

The condition of Chriſtian ſlaves here.

My author adds, that in the late Emperor MULEY ISMAEL's time the caſe of the Chriſtian ſlaves was a great deal worſe than it is at preſent; for he employ'd many of them in his buildings: However, their work was not harder than that of our day-labourers. And he gave ſeveral of them licences to keep taverns, on condition of ſubſiſting their poor brethren; to whom he alſo order'd a daily allowance of bread: Nor were maſters of ſhips, or thoſe who had a little money to bribe the Alcaide, forc'd to work at all. But further, the Canute, where the Captives are lodg'd, is a much better place than any of our common priſons: Here every nation has a diſtinct apartment, in which are taverns and a market of all manner of fruit and eatables: Nor are any of the Moors ſuffer'd to diſturb them, or indeed to come into their houſe but upon permiſſion. My author adds, that he ſaw ſeveral captives at Mequinez, who liv'd much better than ever they did in their own country; and they have not only the Spaniſh convent to go to in their diſtreſs, but whatever money their friends ſend over for their ſubſiſtence, is faithfully deliver'd them, unleſs they defraud one another; nay, ſeveral captives have grown rich here, and carried money out of the country; and ſome of them, that were at Mequinez when Mr. RUSSEL was there, kept their mules and their ſervants. Whereupon our author obſerves, it is not ſo inſupportable a ſlavery as has been repreſented. There may have been ſome inſtances of cruelty towards the captives, but not many; and they have themſelves ſometimes, by needleſs provocations, drawn on them the ill uſage they met with. They have alſo this farther ſatisfaction, to be ſlaves only to the Emperor; for he reſerves all the Chriſtian captives that are taken to himſelf, and very rarely parts with any of them to his ſubjects.

Of the Renegadoes.

The moſt wretched and abandon'd people at Mequinez, are the Renegadoes, who have renounc'd Chriſtianity, and turn'd Mahometans: Theſe are deſpis'd by the Moors to the laſt degree, and deſerve to be ſo by every body elſe, not only on account of their changing their religion, but becauſe they prove the moſt vicious, treacherous, diſſolute mortals that the country affords. They are generally entertain'd in the army, where they are half naked and half ſtarv'd; unleſs ſome few of them, who underſtand engineering or gunnery, or ſuch as can be uſeful to the Moors in fitting out their piratical veſſels at Sallee: Theſe are pretty much careſs'd, and perhaps contribute more to the making prizes of the ſhipping and merchandize belonging to the Chriſtians than the Moors themſelves: They have their own Alcaide, or Governor, as the Chriſtians and Jews have theirs.

Tetuan deſcrib'd.

The next town I ſhall deſcribe in the province of Fez is Tetuan, which is ſituated on the aſcent of a rock, about eight miles from a Bay of the Mediterranean ſea, call'd from this place Tetuan Bay, and is between 20 and 30 miles ſouth of Ceuta, and about 50 ſouth-eaſt of Tangier. The Town is about a mile long, and half a mile broad, and has a fine proſpect of the ſea and the country beneath it: The ſtreets are narrow, unpav'd and full of dung-hills, which makes it a filthy place in winter; and yet this is ſaid to be one of the beſt towns in the country, on account of its being better built than moſt others. Their houſes are uſually built about a little open ſquare, with piazza's ſupporting galleries above them; and in the middle of the ſquare people of ſubſtance always have a fountain. There are commonly four rooms on a floor, one on every ſide of the ſquare, which have no other light than what they receive from the great folding-doors that open into the piazza.

The town of Tetuan contains about thirty thouſand inhabitants, of which five thouſand at leaſt are Jews, who have ſeven ſynagogues here; but, tho' their numbers are ſo great, they have not two hundred houſes amongſt them, ſeveral families living under the ſame roof. They are ſaid to be very poor, tho' all the trade of the place paſſes through their hands; for they are the only brokers between Chriſtians and Moors. One thing which ſeems particular to this town, is, that the people walk on the tops of the houſes, and viſit one another from thence, more than by the ſtreets. The town is ſurrounded with an ordinary wall, and defended by an old caſtle, conſiſting of two ſquares; the outward ſquare flank'd with towers, but the walls not cannon proof, and it is commanded by hills about it. They have a burying-place, on a hill above the town, adorn'd with ſuch numbers of cupola's and pyramids, that it looks like a town itſelf; but what is beſt worth ſeeing in Tetuan, is the Baſſaw's palace.

The Baſſaw's palace.

The entrance into this palace is by a cloyſter, which leads to a ſpacious ſquare, ſurrounded by a piazza, and in the middle a marble fountain; the pavement of the area and the piazza being of a moſaic work: On each ſide the ſquare is one large room, and in each of the angles a ſquare tower of a conſiderable height above the building; in two of which are ſtair-caſes, that lead to the grand apartment above: In the third is a door that leads to a moſque; and in the fourth another, through which they go into the gardens. On each ſide of the galleries above, which run over the piazza, are fine apartments for the Baſſaw's four wives; each apartment conſiſting of five rooms, namely, one large room, cover'd with a cupola, in the centre of four leſſer rooms; and through theſe are doors, that lead to the bagnio's of the women, and the lodgings of the female ſlaves; but the inner rooms have no other light, than what they receive by the door of the great outward room: Both the doors and ceilings of the houſe are very lofty; and over the womens apartment are four noble terrace walks, that overlook the town, a frightful vale beneath it, the river, and part of the Mediterranean ſea; and at the end of each terrace, is a turret with latices, where the women ſit to work, and can ſee all that paſſes without being ſeen: In the evening the ladies uſually walk in the garden, where ſeveral of the walks are ſhaded with Vines turn'd over arches: the walls of the garden being ſo high, that they cannot be overlook'd from any part of the town. This deſcription of Tetuan, and the palace, is taken from Captain BLAITHWAIT, who has alſo deſcrib'd another elegant ſeat of the ſame Baſſaw in the neighbourhood of Tetuan: And, as theſe may ſerve as a model of all other houſes of the Moors of any quality (for they ſcarce ever vary in their form) and will give us the moſt advantageous idea of them, I ſhall take leave alſo to ſubjoin the following account of his country ſeat.

His country ſeat.

This palace ſtands in a pleaſant valley, about two miles from Tetuan, and conſiſts of two large ſquares ſurrounded by piazza's, and galleries over them: In the middle of the outward ſquare is a fountain, and the area, as well as the piazza, pav'd with Dutch tiles: The inner ſquare is much larger than the firſt, to which there is a deſcent by ſeveral ſteps: In the middle of it is a fine ſquare parterre, and in the centre of that a circular baſon, with Orange-trees and flower-pots about it: There are four openings to deſcend by ſteps into the fountain on one ſide, and over-againſt theſe four alcoves; in one of which the Baſſaw frequently ſits to ſee his women bath themſelves: Beyond both theſe ſquares is a very large garden, and a wilderneſs, conſiſting of Orange-trees, Lemon-trees, Figs, Pomegranates, Dates, Tamerinds, and other fruit: in which are two bowers; and by the ſide of the garden runs a river, which altogether make it a moſt agreeable retirement. My author obſerves, that the Moors of quality in Barbary have ſcarce any pleaſures, but what they take in their women, their houſes, gardens and horſes: Converſation with men is what they do not reliſh at all; the reaſon of which is ſuppoſed to be, that their law prohibits them wine, without which, good humour, and a ſprightly converſation, cannot be long kept up: And this may be the caſe with ſome people poſſibly; but I cannot help being of opinion, that moſt men are in reality better company without ſtrong liquor, than with it.

Tangier.

The next town I ſhall deſcribe is Tangier, becauſe it was once ours; tho' there is ſcarce any thing in it worth mentioning at preſent. This town is ſituated on a bay of the ſea near Cape Spartel, juſt at the entrance of the ſtreights of Gibraltar, on the African ſide: It is built on the declivity of a hill, which makes it exceſſive hot in ſummer, the afternoon ſun lying full upon it. When the Engliſh had it, the walls were upwards of a mile in circumference, and they had lines and redoubts that took in the neighbouring hills, with two caſtles, the upper and lower, for its defence; in the former whereof lived the Engliſh Governor, and the Baſſaw at preſent: And there was a mole built for the ſecurity of ſhipping, the heads whereof run out 300 fathom into the ſea, and were defended by three batteries of cannon; but theſe and moſt of the works were blown up, or demoliſh'd by the Engliſh, when they abandon'd the place, and it is now not very ſtrong: There is but one ſingle moſque in the town, and another in the caſtle; however, it makes a tolerable appearance from the ſea, the houſes being white, and all in view; but they have ſcarce any trade. This, as has been obſerv'd, was the Tingis of the ancients; and from it this part of Africa was call'd Mauritania Tingitana. ALPHONSUS the fifth King of Portugal, took it from the Moors in the year 1463; and, in 1662, the Court of Portugal transferr'd it to CHALES II. King of England, on his marriage with the Princeſs CATHERINE, Infanta of Portugal. The Engliſh kept it twenty-two years, and laid out a great deal of money on the mole and fortifications; but the parliament refuſing to let the King have money to maintain the garriſon, he found himſelf obliged to quit the place; though, 'tis agreed, it would have been of very great ſervice to the nation, if we had been maſters of it in the laſt wars with France and Spain.

Morocco.

The kingdom of Morocco, the next diviſion of this empire, is bounded by the kingdom of Fez towards the north; by the mountains of Atlas, on the eaſt; and by the ſame mountains, which ſeparate it from the province of Suz, on the ſouth: The chief town whereof is Morocco, a large old city, ſituated in a fine plain about the centre of the kingdom, latitude 31 and a half, weſt longitude 7 degrees. This, in ſome of our old writers, is ſaid to be one of the greateſt cities in the world; to contain an hundred thouſand families; to be elegantly built, eſpecially their moſques and palaces: But all theſe matters appear to have been wonderfully magnified; and, ſince the ſeat of the empire has been removed from thence, the town is extremely declin'd; and as to the fortifications ſo much talk'd of, they would not be able to hold out twenty-four hours againſt an army prepared for a ſiege. The reſt of the towns mention'd by Geographers in this province are, Elgiamba, Imegiagen, Imizimzi, Delgumba, Agmet, Teneſſa, which have little in them that deſerve a particular deſcription, and are moſt of them, indeed, no better than open villages; tho' ſome writers have dignified them with the name of cities.

Suz.

The province of Suz, in which I comprehend that of Tafilet, is bounded by Morocco, on the north; by Biledulgerid, on the eaſt and ſouth; and by the Atlantick ocean, on the weſt: The chief towns whereof are, Taradant and Tafilet; the former the capital of Suz, and the other of the province of Tafilet: The reſt of the towns mention'd in the province of Suz are, Meſſa Guargeſen, Tejeat, Garet, Tagovoſt, Tedſi, Santa Cruz (a ſea-port) and Illec: But the only town travellers mention in Tafilet, is the capital of the ſame name, ſituated in latitude 26 and a half, longitude 2 degrees weſt of London. The preſent imperial family came from the province of Tafilet; MULEY ISMAEL, the late Emperor, was of that country; which, lying the fartheſt ſouth of any

The complexion of the natives.

of the territories belonging to this empire, and his mother being a Negroe, the complexion of the royal family is exceeding dark; for the inhabitants of this empire differ much in their complexions according to their ſituation; thoſe to the ſouthward are very tawny, as are alſo the Arabs, who range about the plains, and live in tents like the Arabs of Aſia; the Moors and Jews, who live in towns and on the ſea-coaſt, are many of them fair; and thoſe that inhabit the villages on the mountains, are not of ſo dark a complexion as the Arabs: As to the Blacks, that of late years have had the adminiſtration of the Government, and compoſe their beſt cavalry, theſe being brought from Negroeland, or deſcended from parents who came from thence, differ very little from the Guinea Negroes.

Habits.

The habit of a Moor is a linen ſhirt or frock next his ſkin, a pair of drawers, a ſaſh, and over all a looſe coat, or veſt, of ſilk or cloth, with ſmall buttons of gold, ſilver, or other metal: Their arms are bare to the elbow, as well as their legs; but people of diſtinction ſometimes wear Turkey-leather buſkins, and moſt of them ſandals or ſlippers: They ſhave their heads all but one ſingle lock upon the middle of the crown, and wear a turbant, which is never pull'd off before their ſuperiors, or in their temples; they expreſs their reverence, both to God and Man, by putting off their ſlippers, which they leave at the door of the moſque or palace, when they enter either; and, when they attend their Prince in the city, they run barefoot after him, if the ſtreets are never ſo dirty: Their Turbants are of ſilk or fine linen, ſome of them five or ſix ells long, and in their ſaſh or girdle, under their outward garment, they uſually carry three fine knives in a ſilver ſcabbard about a foot long, adorn'd with precious ſtones: Their handkerchiefs, and ſuch things as we carry in our pockets, they have in their boſoms: They never ſhave their beards, but clip them into form, and keep them very neat.

The habit of a woman is not very different from that of a man, except that ſhe wears a fine linen cloth, or caul, on her head inſtead of a turbant, and her drawers are much larger and longer than the mens: The women alſo, when they go abroad, have a linen cloth over their faces, with holes in it for their eyes like a maſk: Thoſe of quality wear pendants in their ears, and bracelets on their arms; but wrap themſelves up in a white cloth, ſeveral ells in length, when they walk in the ſtreets; ſo that little of them is ſeen: They paint and colour their hair and eye-brows with burnt Antimony, endeavouring to make them look as black as poſble, and the ends of their fingers are painted blue.

Furniture.

I have already deſcribed the houſes of the Moors, but not their furniture, which is but mean: They have neither wainſcot nor hangings, neither beds, chairs, ſtools, tables or pictures; they ſleep upon a mattreſs on the floor, which, in the houſes of perſons of quality is cover'd with carpets, and the meaner people have mats: On theſe they ſit croſs legg'd alſo at their meals, having pillows and cuſhions to lean on. They waſh always before and after they eat, wiping on their handkerchief; but have neither table-cloth or napkin.

Diet.

Rice ſeems to be a great part of their food here, as well as in the eaſt; tho' they eat alſo bread, beef, mutton, veal, fiſh and fowls: Their favourite diſh is Cuſcuſou, which is fine flour grain'd as large as hemp-ſeed, and ſtew'd with mutton, fowls and roots: When it is enough, they put the flour thus grain'd into a large diſh, leaving a vacant ſpace for the meat and fowls in the middle, and then pour in the broth. This diſh is very high ſeaſon'd with Garlick, Onions and ſpices, and garniſh'd with whites of eggs. Their meat is all boil'd and roaſted to rags, ſo that they can pull it to pieces with their fingers; and this is very neceſſary, becauſe they uſe neither knives nor forks; but, having waſh'd their hands, every man tucks up his ſleeves, and, putting his hand into the diſh, takes up and ſqueezes together a good handful of all the ingredients, as much as his mouth will hold; and conſequently their food is neither very hot when it is brought before them. Their cups and diſhes are of braſs, pewter, earth or tin, the law prohibiting their uſing gold or ſilver veſſels; and, as wine alſo is forbidden, they drink nothing but water, ſometimes mixing it with honey: If they have a diſh of ſoup or other liquids, they eat it with a great wooden ſpoon, which is handed round the company. At an entertainment the deſert uſually conſiſts of the fruits of the country, ſuch as Grapes, Oranges, Figs, Pomegranates and Melons.

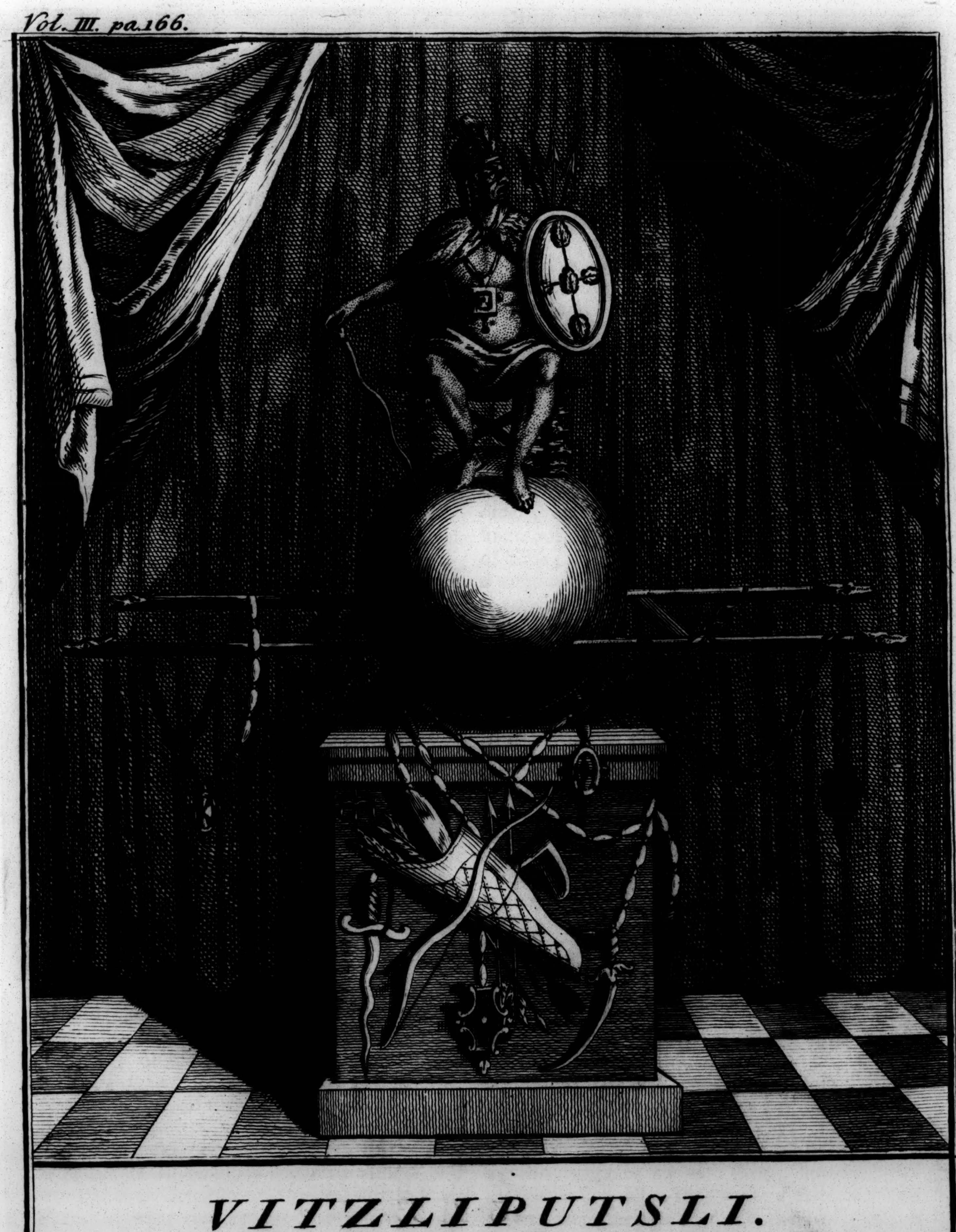
Diverſions.

They ſmoke pretty much, and play at draughts and cheſs; but never for Money; this being another prohibition of their law: And I ſhould have remember'd, that they are as ſcrupulous of eating blood as the Jews; and therefore cut the throat quite through of every beaſt they kill, and drain all the blood from it. The company are ſometimes entertain'd with muſick and dancing; but people of any faſhion never dance themſelves; and tho' their muſick is not very agreeable to an European ear, they ſeem extremely pleas'd with it themſelves.

Genius and temper of the Moors.

The Moors are ſaid to be a covetous, unhoſpitable people, intent upon nothing but heaping up riches; to obtain which they will be guilty of the meaneſt things, and ſtick at no manner of fraud; and, as they know themſelves to be ſuch treacherous, deceitful wretches, they are very ſuſpicious of foreigners. The Arabs alſo have always had the character of a thieviſh pilfering generation; and, 'tis ſaid, will even rob and deſtroy one another, when they have no body elſe to prey upon; and, as they perpetually lead a rambling life, are obſerv'd to be of a more tawny complexion, and much thinner and leaner than the Moors. The people, who inhabit the hills, and who have the leaſt to do with the Court or with traffick, are much the plaineſt, honeſteſt people amongſt them, and ſtill retain a good ſhare of liberty and freedom, the Government uſing them rather as allies than ſubjects, leſt they ſhould entirely diſown their authority. But to proceed in the character of the Moors: They are obſerv'd with all their bad qualities to be very dutiful and obedient to their parents, their princes and every ſuperior; but, under an arbitrary government, where none dares reſiſt on peril of his life, this may rather be the effect of their fear, than their virtue. Another thing however they are certainly to be commended for; and that is, their Reverence for God and Religion, and whatever is eſteem'd ſacred amongſt them: They will not ſuffer theſe to be burleſqu'd, and made a jeſt of by prophane fools, which is too often conniv'd at among Chriſtians, and ſometimes encourag'd by thoſe who ought to give a better example; neither do they imitate us in faſhionable murder, deſtroying each other, like fools of honour, in duels. 'Tis acknowledg'd they do not want courage; and yet their quarrels rarely proceed

Arabs.



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proceed to blows, and ſcarce ever to the taking away each others lives: Tho', 'tis obſerv'd, they have not the ſame tenderneſs for Jews and Chriſtians, and the enemies of their religion: It ſeems to be an univerſal opinion among them, that the cheating, robbing, and even killing of theſe is meritorious; and did not the Government, for political reaſons, reſtrain their ſubjects from theſe outrages, there would be no living amongſt them for one of a different faith. And this leads me to conſider their Laws and the Conſtitution of their Government.

Laws and Government.

Here, as in all other Mahometan countries, the Alcoran, and their comments upon it, are their only written laws; and their Cadi's, and other Eccleſiaſticks, their only civil magiſtrates: And tho' theſe ſeem to be, in ſome inſtances, controll'd by the arbitrary determinations of their Princes, Baſſaws, Generals and military officers; yet the latter have a very great deference and regard for their law: And indeed, if their Princes or Governors are found to deſpiſe and ſlight their law in any notorious inſtances, how loyal ſoever the Moors may be in all caſes where their religion is not concern'd, this would be look'd upon as a ſufficient ground for renouncing their authority. The preſent Emperor, by his drunkenneſs, which their law forbids, has loſt the hearts of the beſt part of his ſubjects, and is maintain'd on the throne purely by the power of his Negroe troops, who probably profeſs themſelves Mahometans, only becauſe it is the Court religion, and are as great lovers of wine as the Prince they ſerve.

Succeſſion of the crown.

The late Emperor MULEY ISMAEL ſat upon the throne ſixty years; his mother, as has been already obſerv'd, was a Negroe, which poſſibly might make him leſs acceptable to his Mooriſh ſubjects, and put him upon eſtabliſhing the Blacks, and giving them in a manner the dominion of the country for his own ſecurity. As the crown ſeems to be in the diſpoſal of the reigning Prince, MULEY ISMAEL appointed the preſent Emperor MULEY HAMET, his ſon by his favourite wife, to ſucceed him, tho' he had an elder ſon by a former wife, named ABDELMELECK, who being Governor of the Province of Suz at the death of MULEY ISMAEL, diſputed the title of MULEY HAMET, and, obtaining a victory over an army of his Negroes, poſſeſs'd himſelf of the kingdom, or province of Morocco, as well as that of Suz; but impolitickly declaring, that he would extirpate all the Blacks, when he came to the throne, they united againſt him as one man, and the country has been in a ſtate of civil war ever ſince; the Blacks adhering to MULEY HAMET, and the Moors, that dare declare themſelves, to ABDELMELECK. As to the more ancient hiſtory of this country, I ſhall defer it till I have deſcrib'd the reſt of Barbary, and then give it entire.

Their Magiſtrates, as has been obſerv'd, are either Eccleſiaſticks, or military officers: Their Cadi's are judges of all religious and civil affairs; and their Baſſaws, Governors, Alcaides, and military officers, of what concerns the State or the Army. If a Moor ſhould turn Chriſtian, or a Renegado, after he has profeſs'd Mahometaniſm, apoſtatize from it, he is burnt without mercy. Murder, theft and adultery, alſo are generally puniſh'd with death; and their puniſhments for other crimes, particularly thoſe againſt the State, are very cruel: As impaling; dragging the priſoner through the ſtreets at a mule's heels, till all his fleſh is torn off; throwing him from a high tower upon iron hooks; hanging him upon hooks till he dies; cruciſying him againſt a wall; and indeed the puniſhment, as well as condemnation of criminals, is in a manner arbitrary. The Emperor, or his Baſſaws, frequently turn executioners, ſhoot the offender, or cut him to pieces with their own hands, or command others to do it in their preſence.

Land-forces.

As to their military forces, were they aſſembled in one place, they would certainly conſtitute a very numerous and formidable army. It is computed, that the Black cavalry and infantry do not amount to leſs than forty-thouſand men, and the Mooriſh horſe and foot may be as many; but, being diſpers'd in ſeveral parts of this large empire, are not ſeen in ſuch numerous bodies as the Negroes, who live at Mequinez, and have the guard of the Emperor's perſon: The Blacks are eſteemed their beſt horſe, and the Europeans have been ſenſible of their bravery and military ſkill, both at Oran and Ceuta: They have fire-arms, as well as ſwords and launces: Their Troopers ride very ſhort, and their ſaddles have long peaks before and behind: Their ſtirrup-irons are ſhap'd to the foot, ſo that they can ſtand up and ſtrike when they make their blow; and no men ſhew more dexterity in riding, wheeling or firing: Their horſes are very ſwift, and beautifully made; but not ſo heavy and ſtrong as ours.

It is their cavalry they chiefly rely upon, both in their civil wars, and thoſe with foreigners. Their infantry indeed are numerous, and carry fire-arms; but are not diſciplin'd, and obſerve no manner of order; and, as their country is generally open, know not how to defend themſelves againſt a body of horſe; five hundred of their foot will fly before a troop of fifty horſe: Nor do they underſtand how to attack, or defend a town; which may be the reaſon they have ſcarce one place of any ſtrength in the country, and but few guns mounted on the walls of their towns. They ſeem very ignorant in the management of great guns and bombs. Theſe are altogether left to the ſkill of renegado Chriſtians, of whom there are ſome thouſands in their armies. They have a train of an hundred and fifty braſs guns in the palace of Mequinez, beſides ſeveral mortars, which are ſometimes drawn out in times of danger; but I do not find there are any mounted upon the walls.

Strength at ſea.

As to their ſhipping: Captain BLAITHWAIT relates, that, when he was there in the year 1727, their whole naval force conſiſted but of two twenty gun ſhips, the biggeſt not above 200 tuns, and a French brigantine they had taken, with ſome few row-boats; and yet with theſe, being full of men, do they iſſue out from Sallee and Mamora, which lie on the Atlantick Ocean, near the Streights mouth, and make prizes of great numbers of Chriſtian merchant-ſhips, carrying their miſerable crew into captivity. Tho' they are at peace with Britain, they make no ſcruple of ſeizing and carrying their ſhips into Sallee, if they find a paſſenger on board belonging to a nation at war with them; however, they are uſually ſo good as to diſmiſs the ſhips, and their crews, after they have robb'd them of ſome of their merchandize. The charge of theſe piratical cruiſers is borne entirely by private adventurers; tho' the Emperor has a tenth of all the prizes they make, and all the captives that are taken; which leads me to enquire into the Revenues of this Prince.

Revenues of the empire.

Theſe ariſe either from the labour of the huſbandmen, and the fruits of the earth; or by duties upon goods imported and exported: The Emperor has a tenth of all corn, cattle, fruits and produce of the ſoil, as well as the captives; and a tenth of all the prizes that are taken. The port-charges of ſhips, that trade to the dominions of the Emperor of Morocco, are one barrel of powder for entrance, twelve ounces for loading and anchorage, and twelve to the Captain of the port: Veſſels, trading to and from Gibraltar, pay but half this duty for loading and diſcharging.

Cuſtoms. The duties on goods exported are, on Wax, per hundred weight, twenty-five ounces; Tangoult, ſix ditto; old Copper, twelve; red Morocco ſkins per half dozen, one; ditto other colours, two blanquils; Hides tanned or raw, each two ditto; Wool, Dates, Almonds, Gums, Soap, great quintal, three ounces; Tallow, per ſmall quintal, ſix ounces; Mats, per bale, ſix; Goat-ſkins in hair, per bale, ſix; Calves-ſkins dreſs'd or raw, one blanquil; Sheep-ſkins, per half dozen, two: His whole revenue being eſtimated at 500 quintals of ſilver, each quintal worth three hundred and thirty pounds ſterling.

Coin. The Coins of this Empire are, 1. A Fluce, a ſmall copper coin, twenty whereof make a blanquil of the value of two-pence ſterling. A Blanquil is a little ſilver coin, which is made ſtill leſs by the Jews clipping and filing it. The Moors, therefore, who have always ſcales in their pockets, never fail to weigh them; and, when they are found to be much diminiſhed in their weight, they are re-coin'd by the Jews, who are maſters of the Mint, by which they gain a conſiderable profit, as they do alſo by exchanging the light pieces for thoſe that are full weight. Their Gold coin is a Ducat, reſembling the ducat of Hungary, worth about nine ſhillings ſterling, and they uſually give three of them for a moidore. Merchants accompts are kept in ounces, an imaginary coin, ten of which make a ducat in Merchants accompts; but, in payments to the Government, 'tis ſaid, they will reckon ſeventeen ounces and a half for a ducat.

When Gibraltar was beſieg'd by the Spaniards, the Moors and Jews, at Tetuan and Tangier, lower'd the price of the moidores and other gold coins the Engliſh paid them for proviſions, and raiſed their own ſilver. They alſo frequently put light money on the ſeamen, and then got money of them for exchanging it again: And, tho' they will give but thirty-ſeven ounces for a moidore upon the ſea-coaſt, when foreigners come to traffick with them, they will give forty-five ounces for a moidore at Mequinez and the inland towns. Four blanquils, or two-penny pieces, when full weight, paſs for an ounce; but their blanquils, being ſo very thin, clipp'd and crack'd, make payments very troubleſome; for ſcarce any other money paſſes, their gold being generally hoarded up.

Animals. The Animals of this part of Africa, whether wild or tame, are much the ſame we meet with to the ſouthward, except the Elk, the Elephant, and Rhinoceros, which no travellers pretend to meet with in the empire of Morocco; and, as they want theſe, ſo they have ſome others, that are not to be found in the ſouth of Africa, particularly Camels, Dromedaries, and that fine breed of horſes call'd Barbs; which, for their beauty and ſwiftneſs, can ſcarce be parallel'd in the world: As to Buffaloes, Cows, Oxen, Sheep, Goats, Deer and Hares, they have great plenty of them: Their deſarts alſo are very much infeſted with Lions, Tygers, Leopards, and Serpents of a prodigious magnitude. But, as to their Dragons and flying Serpents, that travellers and voyage-writers of the laſt age talk'd ſo much of, theſe may be put into the liſt of their monſters that never had any exiſtence in nature. They have alſo great numbers of Oſtriches, Pheaſants, Partridges, Turkeys, and other fowls wild and tame; and their ſeas and rivers abound with fiſh. As for domeſtick animals, they keep the greateſt number of Dogs of any people, which make ſuch a barking in their towns all night, that there is no reſting for them: And as theſe are their favourites; ſo Hogs are the averſion of Moors, Arabs and Jews, being prohibited by their reſpective laws to eat ſwine's fleſh: Theſe, therefore, are left entirely to the Chriſtians. On the other hand, 'tis ſaid, the Moors and Arabs will eat the fleſh of Camels, and of many other animals, which we refuſe.

Camels, their uſefulneſs. The moſt uſeful creature they have, is the Camel, which ſerves them not only for meat and drink, but will carry a burthen of a thouſand weight, and travel eight or nine days without water, and with very little food: Some few balls, made up of barley paſte, is all they give them on a journey. Theſe animals are extreamly proper for their ſandy plains, ſeveral of which are many days journey over, and not a drop of water to be met with; inſomuch, that they are forced to load one half of the Camels with water, for the uſe of the merchants and people belonging to the caravans they ſend into the eaſt and ſouth: But, tho' the camel carries his burthen with eaſe over a level ſandy plain, he is very ill made for going up hill or down; nor does ſtony or ſlippery ways ſuit with his ſoft tender feet; a mile in ſuch a road wearies him more than ten upon the dry ſand; and ſometimes after rain, when the ways are ſlippery, their caravans are forced to lie ſtill till they are dried again, leſt their Camels ſhould ſlip down and lame themſelves: Nor are their Horſes Horſes. to be admir'd only for their beauty and ſpeed, but their uſe in the wars; being extreamly ready to obey their riders upon the leaſt ſign in charging, wheeling or retiring; ſo that the Trooper has his hands very much at liberty, and can make the beſt uſe of his arms. The Roman hiſtorians relate, that the Numidians and Mauritanians, who poſſeſs'd the coaſt of Barbary formerly, made no uſe of bridles, even in an engagement; but that their cavalry were manag'd altogether by ſigns, or the voice of their maſters. But I don't find they ever put their Horſes to drawing, or carrying burthens. In their huſbandry they plow with Oxen, and the Camels and Mules are the beaſts of burthen; and they have Mules to draw their carriages: The Arabs alſo live pretty much upon the milk of their Camels, as well as that of Cows and Goats.

Produce of the ſoil. As to the produce of the ſoil, they have or might have vaſt quantities of corn, wine and oil: No country affords better Wheat, Barley or Rice; both the French and Spaniards fetch theſe from the Barbary coaſt when they have a ſcarcity at home: And our garriſons of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon have been ſupplied with proviſions from the African coaſt, tho' I think the natives of Fez and Morocco make ſome ſcruple of ſending corn out of their country, it being prohibited by their law; but the Turkiſh ports to the eaſtward are not ſo ſqueamiſh, it being one of the beſt articles in their trade. The plains of Fez and Morocco are well planted with the fineſt Olives, that yield delicious oil; and there are no better Grapes for making wine in the world, as the Jews at Tetuan experience; tho' the cultivation of Vines is not encourag'd, wine being prohibited them: However ſome of their Great men, who do not ſtand in awe of their Prieſts, will drink wine when they can get it, and that pretty openly. The Jews alſo diſtil ſpirits in Barbary, for which they meet with a quick market, even among the Mahometans, who do not, poſſibly, look upon this as wine. However, I find ſobriety to be ſtill a very advantageous character among the Turks: The leſs a man drinks, the more he is eſteem'd; and therefore moſt of them chuſe to confine themſelves to Sherbet, Coffee and ſmall liquors; and, when they have a mind to intoxicate themſelves, do it with Opium. But to return to the produce of the ſoil: Beſides the fruits already mention'd, they have Dates, Figs, Raiſins, Almonds, Apples, Pears, Cherries, Plums, Citrons, Lemons, Oranges, Pomegranates, with plenty of roots and herbs, in their kitchen-gardens; and their plains produce excellent hemp and flax: As to foreſt-trees, I find they have but few, and ſcarce any good timber; poſſibly their ſoil is not proper for timber, or they take no care to preſerve it, having very little uſe for any. Here are ſome mines of very fine Copper, but it is not very plentiful; and, as for the Gold and Silver mines mention'd by ſome writers, I cannot learn that any ſuch have ever been open'd in this country.

They have no ſhipping to carry on a foreign trade by ſea: But the Europeans bring them whatever they want from abroad; as Linen and Woollen cloth, Stuffs, Iron wrought and unwrought, Arms, Gunpowder, Lead, and the like; for which they take in return, Copper, Wax, Hides, Morocco leather, Wool (which is very fine) Gums, Soap, Dates, Almonds and other fruits.

Trade by land.

Caravans.

Their trade by land is either with Arabia or Negroeland: To Mecca they ſend caravans, conſiſting of ſeveral thouſand camels, horſes and mules, twice every year, partly for traffick, and partly upon a religious account; great numbers of Pilgrims taking that opportunity of paying their devotions to their great Prophet. The goods they carry to the Eaſt, are woollen manufactures very fine, Morocco ſkins, Indigo, Cochineal and Oſtrich feathers: And they bring back from thence, Silks, Muſlins and Drugs. By their caravans to Negroeland, they ſend Salt, Silk and Woollen manufactures, and bring back Gold and Ivory in return, but chiefly Negroes; for from hence it is, that their Emperor chiefly recruits his Black cavalry, tho' there are alſo great numbers born in the country, for they bring thoſe of both ſexes very young from Negroeland; the females for breeders, and the males for ſoldiers as they grow up: They firſt carry a Muſket and ſerve on foot, and after ſome time are preferred to be Cavaliers. And as theſe have no other hopes or dependance but the favour of the Emperor, they prove much the moſt dutiful and obſequious of all his ſubjects; and indeed ſupport the Prince in his tyranny over the reſt, who would not probably have borne the barbarous cruelties of the two laſt reigns, if they had not been govern'd with a rod of iron in the hands of theſe Negroes; who, like other foreign mercenaries, never enquire into the reaſonableneſs of their Prince's commands, but execute his moſt inhuman decrees without remorſe. But to return to their caravans: They always go ſtrong enough to defend themſelves againſt the wild Arabs of the deſarts in Africa or Aſia; tho', notwithſtanding all their vigilance, ſome of the ſtragglers and baggage often fall into their hands: They are alſo forc'd to load one half of their camels with water, to prevent periſhing with drought and thirſt over theſe extenſive deſarts; and there is ſtill a more dangerous enemy, and that is, the ſand itſelf: When the winds riſe, the caravan is perfectly blinded with the duſt; and there have been inſtances, both in Africa and Aſia, where whole caravans, and even armies have been buried alive in the ſands. There is no doubt alſo, but both men and cattle are ſometimes ſurpriz'd by wild beaſts, as well as robbers in thoſe vaſt deſarts. But what I had almoſt forgot to mention, tho' I have frequently ſuffer'd by them myſelf, are the hot winds: Theſe, blowing over a long tract of burning ſand, are equal almoſt to the heat of an oven, and have deſtroy'd abundance of merchants and pilgrims: In ſhort, if it was not for devotion, or in expectation of very great gains, no man would undertake a journey in theſe deſarts; ſo great are the hazards and fatigues they muſt of neceſſity undergo, and many of them frequently die in the voyage. However, as thoſe that go to Mecca aſſure themſelves of paradiſe if they die, and have uncommon honours paid them at home if they ſurvive, people croud to be taken into the eaſtern caravans: And the Gold that is found in the ſouth, makes them no leſs eager of undertaking that journey.

Religion.

As to the religion of this country: Having given a very full account of the Mahometan ſuperſtition, in treating of Perſia, Arabia and Turkey, in the firſt volume of *Modern Hiſtory*; I ſhall take but a ſhort view of it here. They are of a different ſect from the Mahometans of Turky and Algiers, and have alſo a Mufti or High-prieſt of their own, who reſides at Mequinez: And under him are Prieſts and Eccleſiaſticks in every city and town, who determine civil as well as eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and officiate in their moſques. But beſides theſe, they have their Saints or Marabouts, that live retir'd in the mountains and unfrequented places, for whom they have ſuch a veneration, that, if a criminal can eſcape to their abodes, the Officers of Juſtice dare not ſeize him, and the Saint frequently procures the offender's pardon: Theſe have a very great influence on all degrees of men; and ſome of them, I perceive, are temporal as well as ſpiritual Lords, having whole towns and countries that are their vaſſals; indulging themſelves in a reaſonable number of wives and concubines, and all the pleaſures that the world affords. But then there are others that live the life of Hermits, and uſe great auſterities, going about in rags and a neglected dreſs; who are, however, no leſs reverenc'd and ador'd than the others. The people proſtrate themſelves before theſe Marabouts, eſteeming it a great favour to kiſs their feet, or but the hem of their garments; tho' Captain BLAITHWAIT, who attended the Engliſh Ambaſſador to the Court of Morocco, in the year 1727, ſays, he could obſerve nothing extraordinary in theſe Marabouts, but an affected gravity and reſervedneſs, with ſome uncommon agitations, diſtorting their countenance, and rolling their eyes, that people might imagine they were inſpir'd; which ſeems to be pretty near the character we have of the firſt Quakers, and their ſucceſſors in hypocriſy the French Prophets: However, the people adore them, and never preſume to ſuſpect the pious fraud; which is the better to be borne, ſince theſe pretended Saints make uſe of their influence to do good offices, and not to oppoſe their weak brethren, or to fleece them of their money: And it is much eaſier for a Proteſtant to live under the government of Morocco, in one reſpect, than in any popiſh kingdom or ſtate; and that is, that they compel no man to be of their religion, but allow every one the free and open exerciſe of divine ſervice, according to their reſpective forms of worſhip: Nay, they ſuffer their very ſlaves to have

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their prieſts and their chappel in the capital city of the empire; whereas it is reported, that the Spaniards, and ſome other Roman catholick kingdoms and ſtates, where the Inquiſition is eſtabliſh'd, have been very ſevere upon ſuch Moors as have happen'd to fall into their power, in order to force them to turn Chriſtians: Nor is it poſſible for the people of Barbary to forget how their anceſtors were uſed in Spain, and how many hundred thouſand of them were depriv'd of all they had in the world, and tranſported to Africa, on account of religion, or rather through the avarice of the Spaniards to poſſeſs their eſtates. I ſay, conſidering all theſe things, we cannot but admire the moderation of thoſe Mahometans, in ſuffering the Spaniards and other Chriſtians that fall into their hands, to profeſs the Chriſtian religion in that country, when nothing leſs than a total extirpation of Mahometans would ſatisfy the Catholicks of Spain; and, as ſome have obſerv'd, the cruelties of the Turks on the Barbary coaſt, which are ſo much complain'd of, are not more to be dreaded than thoſe of the Inquiſition: Nor are there near ſo many inſtances of the former, as of the latter.

Marriages.

As the religion of this Empire is the ſame with that of other Mahometan countries, ſo are their marriages celebrated in the ſame manner. The parties and their friends having agreed upon terms, they come before the Cadi, or Civil magiſtrate, who records the contract; after which, an entertainment is made, and the bride carried home in great ſtate to her huſband's houſe, which is the whole of the ceremony: And we may be ſure it is no part of the contract, "That the man ſhall keep no other woman," as with us; becauſe he is allowed four wives, and as many concubines as he pleaſes; and the greater the huſband's quality is, the greater number of women he keeps; more for oſtentation, and the ſtate of the matter, than for any thing elſe. But whether it be part of the contract, that the man ſhall let every wife take her turn in his bed, or whether the law requires this of him, I can't tell; but it is held a great piece of injuſtice to defraud any of his wives of their due: However, I find they make no great ſcruple of keeping boys, as well as concubines, and often deal unnaturally by their wives: But the latter is held to be a ſufficient ground for a divorce; and, 'tis ſaid, a divorce is not difficult to obtain on either ſide: Only, if the fault be in the man, the wife is ſuffer'd to go off with her cloaths and jewels; and, if the woman goes aſtray, ſhe is turned out naked; and indeed ſeldom eſcapes with her life; for death is the puniſhment of adultery, if the man will be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the rigour of the law; while ſodomy with boys is ſcarce deem'd a crime amongſt them.

Funerals.

Their funerals alſo are ſolemniz'd here, as in other Mahometan countries: Women are hir'd to lament and howl over the corpſe, who tear off their hair, and cut themſelves till the blood follows. After ſome time, the corpſe is carried to the burying-place, with the head firſt, in the uſual dreſs, the Prieſts ſinging as they go, *Lailla illalah Mahomet reſſoul Allah*; "God is a great God, and Mahomet his Prophet;" and, having ſet the corpſe upright in the tomb, with the face towards Mecca, they leave it in that poſture.

As to their burying-places: Every perſon, according to his quality, purchaſes a piece of ground, a little out of town near the highway-ſide, which they encloſe with a wall, and make a kind of flower-garden of it, erecting a dome, or a ſpire, ſometimes over the graves of their deceas'd friends; and thoſe who can do no more, place a ſtone at the head, and another at the feet, as in our church-yards; but they never bury in their moſques, or within the walls of a town. The women piouſly viſit the tombs of their huſbands, or other relations, every Friday (their ſabbath) carrying thither meat and fruits, which the poor eat when they are gone: And here, or at home, the women perform their devotions on that day; for they are never ſuffer'd to enter into a moſque, nor are they viſited by their Prieſts. Poſſibly the men don't trouble themſelves much what religion they are of, or whether they have any; for they expect a ſeraglio of virgins in paradiſe, form'd on purpoſe for them, whoſe charms will never decay, or ſatiate the appetite.

CHAP. IX.

The preſent State of Algiers.

Containing the preſent ſtate of the kingdom of Algiers.

CHAP. IX.

The ſituation and extent of the kingdom of Algiers.

THE kingdom of Algiers is bounded by the Mediterranean ſea, on the north; by Tunis on the eaſt; by the mountains of Atlas, which ſeparate it from Biledulgerid, on the ſouth; and by the river Zea, or Mulvia, which divides it from the kingdom of Fez, on the weſt; extending along the coaſt of the Mediterranean about 600 miles from weſt to eaſt, the breadth various, and very uncertain; tho' our beſt Geographers place it between the 30th and 37th degrees of north latitude.

Rivers.

The principal rivers, which riſe in mount Atlas, and run northward into the Mediterranean, are 1. The river Areſgola, or Hartegol, which falls into the Mediterranean, about ſeven leagues to the weſtward of Oran. 2. Aſſafran, which diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, five leagues to the weſtward of Algiers. 3. Chilef, which falls into the ſea, near Moſtagan. 4. Sofaya, which runs into the ſea, to the eaſtward of the city of Algiers. 5. Sef Gomar, which runs by Conſtantina, into the Mediterranean. 6. Zinganor, or Major, which falls into the ſea, near Bugia. And, 7. Mira, which diſcharges itſelf into the Mediterranean, near Arcea. None of theſe have a very long courſe, riſing but in the mountains of Atlas, or other hills in this kingdom; nor do I find that any of them are navigable, at leaſt that there is any navigation upon them; tho' there are ſome of them large enough, and would probably be made navigable, if any other people but the Turks were poſſeſs'd of them; and indeed they appear ſo very indolent here, that they have not one bridge or ferry over any river in the country, but go about frequently ſome miles to find a ford; and if there happens to fall heavy rains, travellers are forced to wait till the waters are down again, before they can paſs them.

Provinces.

This kingdom is uſually divided into five provinces, viz. 1. Tremeſen, or Telenſin; 2. Tenez; 3. Algiers; 4. Bugia; and, 5. Conſtantina.

Tremeſen.

The province of Tremeſen is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the north; by Tenez, on the eaſt; by Biledulgerid, on the ſouth; and by the kingdom of Fez, on the weſt: The chief towns whereof are, Tremeſen, Marſalquivir, or Almarſa, and Oran.

Towns.

1. Tremeſen is ſituated in 34 degrees north latitude, under the ſame meridian that London lies, and is about 60 miles to the ſouthward of the Mediterranean ſea, formerly the capital of a kingdom of the ſame name; but has been under the dominion of the Turks of Algiers theſe hundred years and more: Hiſtorians deſcribe it to have been a moſt

magnificent city, large, rich and populous, while it was in its glory, and govern'd by its native princes. But there ſeems to be ſcarce any thing in it remarkable at preſent.

Marſalquivir.

2. Marſalquivir, or Almarſa, lies on a bay of the Mediterranean ſea, three or four miles ſouth-weſt of Oran, and is eſteemed one of the ſafeſt roads on this coaſt. It was poſſeſs'd by the Spaniards, till the Algerines took Oran from them; but ſurrender'd to the Spaniards again, immediately after their retaking Oran, in the year 1732.

Oran.

Oran is ſituated on another bay of the Mediterranean ſea, latitude 36 degrees, eaſt longitude 1, about 250 miles weſt of Algiers. It lies partly in a plain, and partly upon the aſcent of a hill, and is about a mile and a half in circumference, as well fortified as the ground about it will permit; but, it being commanded by ſome of the neighbouring hills, if there be not a garriſon of ten or twelve thouſand men to defend the avenues, diſtant caſtles, and redoubts, as well as the town itſelf, it cannot ſuſtain a long ſiege.

The Spaniſh coaſts and merchant-ſhips ſuffering much from the Corſairs or Rovers of this town, Ferdinand, King of Spain, ſent over an army, under the command of his Prime miniſter, Cardinal Ximenes, in the year 1509, to beſiege it; who, having a correſpondence with ſome of the inhabitants, when the Moors ſallied out with the beſt part of the garriſon againſt the Chriſtian army, their friends in the town ſhut the gates againſt them, and the Cardinal obtain'd an eaſy conqueſt, killing above 4000 Moors, and delivering at the ſame time 20000 Chriſtian ſlaves out of captivity: The Turks of Algiers made ſeveral attempts to recover this town from time to time for near 200 years; but were always repuls'd till the year 1708, when they made themſelves maſters of it, by the treachery or cowardice of the Governor, as the Spaniards give out, and remained in poſſeſſion of Oran till the year 1732. But King PHILIP, having at this time no other enemy to contend with, and a fine army of veteran troops, that had no other employment, embark'd a good body of them at Alicant, about the middle of June 1732, under the command of the Conde de Montemar, who landed near Oran, on the 29th of the ſame month, with very little oppoſition; and, having afterwards gained the height of the mountains above Oran, the garriſon abandon'd the place, without waiting to be beſieg'd in form: of which tranſaction we receiv'd repeated advice in our common news-papers; but the account the Turks give of this enterprize affords ſome further particulars.

Oran taken by the Spaniards, ann. 1732.

They ſay, that the Dey of Algiers, believing that this armament of the Spaniards was intended againſt his capital, did not ſend ſuch reinforcements to Oran as he would have done, if he had expected they would have attemped that city: However, the Bey or Viceroy of Oran had aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men, for the defence of the place, moſt of them horſe; with which he did endeavour to hinder the deſcent of the Spaniards; but his troops were diſorder'd by the continual fire of the cannon of the enemy from their men of war and gallies. He attack'd them alſo after they were landed; but, the ground being unfit for cavalry, and his horſe ſtill galled by the Spaniſh artillery, he was obliged to retire; and thereupon determined to wait for a reinforcement of four thouſand Turks, and ſix thouſand Moors, which he daily expected from Algiers, before he engaged the Chriſtians again: And, in the mean time, for fear of the worſt, removed all his effects, his treaſure, and his women, out of Oran to a place of ſecurity: Whereupon the garriſon and inhabitants were in the greateſt conſternation; imagining they ſhould be ſoon abandon'd by the Governor, and ſacrificed to the Chriſtians; and thereupon pack'd up all that they had, after the Baſſaw's example, and kindly quitted the town to the Chriſtians without a blow; leaving in it an hundred and forty-ſix pieces of cannon, beſides mortars, and at leaſt fifty ſhip-loads of proviſions, which contributed very much towards the preſervation of the conqueſt; for the ſea was ſo tempeſtuous they could receive nothing from their fleet for ſeveral days.

However, the Baſſaw attack'd the Spaniſh army as they were marching into the place; and, tho' he found it impoſſible then to ſave the town, ſo obſtinate was the engagement, that the Spaniards loſt near five thouſand men; and were afterwards ſo harraſs'd by the Turks, before they could put the place in a poſture of defence, that great part of their army was cut off, and amongſt them their new Governor the Marquis of Santa Cruz, and ſeveral of their beſt Generals. But to proceed:

Province of Tenez.

The next province to the eaſtward of Tremeſen is that of Tenez, bounded on the north, by the Mediterranean; on the eaſt, by the province of Algiers Proper; on the ſouth, by the mountains of Atlas; and on the weſt, by Tremeſen; extending about an hundred miles from weſt to eaſt, along the coaſt of the Mediterranean; but the breadth from north to ſouth is very uncertain: The chief towns are Muſtagan, Tenez, and Sercelli.

Towns.

Muſtagan.

Muſtagan is ſituated at the mouth of a river that falls into the Mediterranean, in the mid-way between Oran and Tenez; of which I meet with no particular deſcription.

Tenez.

Tenez, the capital of the province, is ſituated alſo on the ſea-coaſt, in 36 degrees odd minutes north latitude, about an 100 miles to the eaſtward of Oran; and is ſuppoſed to be the Julia Cæſarea of the antients.

Serſela.

Sercelli, or Serſela, ſtands near the ſea, latitude 37 degrees, between Tenez and Algiers; anciently a large populous city, but not very conſiderable at preſent.

Algiers proper.

The province of Algiers proper is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the north; by the province of Bugia, on the eaſt; by Biledulgerid, on the ſouth; and by Tenez, on the weſt; extending, from weſt to eaſt, along the coaſt of the Mediterranean, upwards of two hundred miles, and about four hundred miles from the ſame ſea to the ſouthward: The chief Towns whereof are Algiers, the capital, and Metafuz, or Temendfaſt.

Towns.

Algiers.

The Town of Algiers is ſituated in latitude 37, weſt longitude three and a half, on a bay of the Mediterranean ſea, a little to the eaſtward of the river Safran: It is built on the ſide of a mountain; the houſes flat-roof'd, terraſs'd, and white-waſh'd; and, riſing gradually from the ſea-ſhore up the hill, forms a kind of amphitheatre, and appears very beautifully on the approaching it by ſea; but this, like moſt other Turkiſh towns, looks better at a diſtance than when we are in it: The moſques, the domes, the ſpires, the caſtles, and palace ſtanding in full view, give us a great idea of the place; but, as the ſtreets are extremely narrow, and the private houſes but mean, our expectations are not anſwer'd when we come to examine it cloſely: However, there is this convenience, that the Inhabitants can viſit each other from the tops of the houſes almoſt all over the town, without going into the ſtreets. The walls are about a league in circumference, defended by ſome baſtions and ſquare towers between them: The port is ſecured by a pier or mole, in length about five hundred paces, extended from the continent to a ſmall rocky iſland, where ſtands a caſtle, call'd the Lantern, with three tier of braſs cannon, beſides other fortifications, lately erected for its defence, ſince the French bombardment: The town has five gates; and in it are ten great moſques, or Mahometan temples; fifty leſſer moſques, three colleges, and abundance of ſchools, where the children are brought up with the utmoſt prejudice to Chriſtianity. It is computed, there are about an hundred thouſand ſouls in the town.

On the ſide of the bay, oppoſite to the mole, is a fort defended by about twenty great guns, call'd Fort Metafuz, from the cape near which it is ſituated; built to command that part of the bay where the French gallies lay when they bombarded it: There are alſo two other forts on that ſide, where the Engliſh lay when they bombarded the town, well furniſh'd with cannon: So that Algiers is much better prepared to defend itſelf againſt a bombardment, than it was formerly.

On the land ſide there is a fortreſs at the very top of the hill, above the town, call'd Al Caſabba; and without Bebalweyd-gate are three other forts; and a little farther a fourth, called the Emperor's caſtle, being ſituated upon the hill, where the Emperor CHARLES the Vth had his head-quarters when he beſieged Algiers: But the greateſt ſtrength is the numbers and reſolution of the natives, brought up and enur'd to daring and hazardous enterprizes; being in a manner in perpetual war with all mankind.

The houſes are very cloſe throng'd together in the town, no gardens or vacant ſpaces, and many families in one houſe; but their gardens extend a great way beyond the walls, both on the hills and in the valleys, affording a moſt agreeable proſpect; the ſoil extremely fruitful, and well planted, by the labour of the Chriſtian ſlaves, who have the cultivation and management of them for their high and mighty lords the Janizaries and Burghers of Algiers.

Metafuz.

The town of Metafuz lies upon the ſea, about four leagues to the eaſtward of Algiers, and is not remarkable for any thing that I can meet with, but being the place where the Emperor CHARLES V. embark'd, when he was forced to raiſe the ſiege of Algiers, and the giving name to a certain cape or promontory on that coaſt.

Province of Bugia.

The next province to the eaſtward of Algiers is Bugia, extending from weſt to eaſt about thirty miles along the Mediterranean, and upwards of an hundred to the ſouthward of that ſea; the chief towns whereof are, Gigeri, or Gergel, and Bugia.

Towns.

Gigeri.

Gigeri is ſituated 14 or 15 leagues north-eaſt of Algiers, upon the Mediterranean ſea, remarkable for little but an old caſtle, that ſtands upon a mountain of very difficult acceſs. Here the French were fortifying themſelves in the year 1666; but were driven from thence by the Algerines, and compell'd to leave their cannon and moſt of their effects behind them.

Bugia.

Bugia, now the capital of the province, and formerly of a kingdom of the ſame name, is ſituated at the mouth of the river Major, about twenty leagues to the eaſtward of Algiers. The town lies upon the ſide of a hill, and is defended by a caſtle that ſtands above it, but not able to protect ſhips in the river; for I find, the Engliſh Admiral, Sir EDWARD SPRAGUE, in the year 1671, took or deſtroyed nine Algerine men of war here.

Near the mouth of the river Major, lies the little iſland of Tabaria, in the poſſeſſion of the Genoeſe; and which they have ſo well fortified, as to bid defiance to all the power of the Algerines.

Conſtantina province.

The province of Conſtantina is the moſt eaſtern province of the kingdom of Algiers, being bounded by the Mediterranean, on the north; by the river Guadilbar, which divides it from Tunis, on the eaſt; by Biledulgerid, on the ſouth; and by the province of Bugia, on the weſt: The chief towns whereof are Conſtantina, and Bona.

Towns.

Conſtantina.

Conſtantina is ſituated on a river, about ninety miles ſouth-eaſt of Bugia, latitude 35. There are ſome noble ruins found in and about this town; but it is remarkable for very little elſe at preſent.

Bona.

Bona, or Hippon, lies on the Mediterranean, latitude 37, about ninety miles north-eaſt of Conſtantina; and near it is a coral fiſhery. This town, among others, was taken by CHARLES V. in his expedition againſt Tunis, but recover'd by the Turks not long afterwards. It is ſaid to be the place where the famous St. AUSTIN died.

Face of the country.

Having given a deſcription of the ſituation of the provinces and great towns of the kingdom of Algiers, I proceed to conſider the face of the country; and I find, that mount Atlas runs through the ſouth part of it, from eaſt to weſt, from the kingdom of Tunis to the kingdom of Morocco: It is alſo very mountainous towards the Mediterranean ſea; but both hills and valleys are exceeding fruitful where they are cultivated, abounding in corn and fruits; ſuch as Dates, Olives, Figs, Grapes and Almonds: They have alſo good ſtore of Wax and Honey, and their coaſts afford great quantities of Salt.

Government of Algiers.

The Government of Algiers is, in reality, an abſolute monarchy at this day, tho' it has ſome appearance of a mix'd Government; becauſe the Dey, or Sovereign, ſometimes aſſembles a Divan, conſiſting of the chief officers of the State and the Janizaries, and demands their advice in matters of importance; but this, it ſeems, is only to ſkreen him againſt popular diſcontents; for he acts, by his ſole authority, whenever he pleaſes. The Dey is, indeed, elective; his ſon never inherits by deſcent, and this election is by the Turkiſh army: Thoſe, who have no relation to the ſword, have nothing to do in the election. There are frequently ſeveral candidates nam'd upon a vacancy; and, when they have fixed upon one, they all cry out, "Allah "Barick, God proſper you, and ſhower down his "bleſſings upon you;" and, whether the perſon is willing to accept the honour, or not, he is immediately inveſted with the Caftan or robe of ſovereignty: Then the Cadi is call'd, who declares, that God has vouchſafed to call him to the government of that kingdom; and that he is to maintain his ſubjects in their liberties and properties, and duly adminiſter juſtice to them; and exhorts him to employ his utmoſt care for the proſperity of his country: And, 'tis ſaid, he ſits daily, adminiſtering juſtice from five in the morning till noon, and from one till four, hearing and determining all cauſes that are brought before him, without any aſſociates or aſſiſtants but four ſecretaries. However, matters relating to lands of inheritance, to religion, or the breaches of their eccleſiaſtical and civil laws (which are the ſame among the Turks) are determin'd by the Cadi's, or Eccleſiaſtical judges; ſo that theſe cauſes, determin'd by the Dey, ſeem to relate chiefly to the government of the State and the Militia, or to perſonal debts, and other controverted matters; for which the Alchoran has made no proviſion: His judgments are abitrary, not regulated by laws; nor is there any appeal from his tribunal. But, as the military men do not only elect their Sovereign, but depoſe, or put him to death, whenever they apprehend he does not conſult their intereſt, he is oblig'd to be very cautious in the decree he makes.

Of the ſix Deys that have reign'd ſince the year 1700, four have been murder'd, and a fifth reſign'd his government to ſave his life. The want of ſucceſs in any inſtance, almoſt infallibly occaſions a rebellion; and 'tis well if the Dey is not ſacrific'd to the fury of the Janizaries, and another elected, in whoſe hands they hope their affairs will proſper better.

Land-forces.

The Militia who elect their Dey, are all natural Turks or renegado Chriſtians, admitted into thoſe troops generally denominated Janizaries, and amount to about twelve thouſand men: Theſe are, by ſome, ſtyl'd the nobility of Algiers; and certain it is, that the frequent revolutions that happen at Algiers, are brought about by this claſs of people chiefly: They are but few in number indeed, compar'd with the native Moors; and yet do they tyrannize over the natives in a moſt inſolent manner. On the contrary, in the empire of Morocco, the Moors govern every thing, and will not ſuffer the Turks to have any ſhare in the Government. The Moors here are ſaid to be a cowardly and mean-ſpirited people, in compariſon of the Turks; who have defeated armies of them, both in Morocco and Tunis, of ſix times their number, and ſtorm'd and plunder'd both their capitals within a very few years, compelling their reſpective Princes to accept of ſuch terms as the Deys of Algiers were pleaſed to impoſe on them. The reaſon of which ſuperiority is ſuppos'd to proceed either from that ſubmiſſion the Turks have always exacted from the Moors, whereby the latter are in a manner diſpirited; or that the Algerine Turks, being all men of the ſword, engag'd perpetually in the moſt deſperate ſervices by ſea and land, and, dreading no dangers, are an over-match for all their neighbours, who endeavour to live in peace: But, from what cauſe ſoever this ſuperiority proceeds, it is ſurprizing to obſerve, that leſs than ten thouſand of the Algerine Turks ſhould dare to march through great part of the empire of Morocco, and make themſelves maſters of the capital city of Fez one year, and afterwards of Tunis the next. But, 'tis certain, the native Moors have as great a dread of theſe Pirates by land, as our defenceleſs Merchants have of them at ſea, and tremble at the very name of an Algier Turk: And, tho' this kingdom conſiſted at firſt of little more than the lands within view of the city, by what they have taken from the Kings of Tunis and Bogia on the eaſt, and the Emperor of Morocco on the weſt, we ſee it extended, at this day, 600 miles and upwards in length, and 3 or 4 hundred in breadth, to the ſouthward, except ſome few inacceſſible hills, where live a wretched ſort of people, that are not worth their conqueſt. But to proceed;

Three Beys or Viceroys.

In theſe extenſive territories the Dey has three Viceroys, or Beys; one in the eaſt, another in the weſt, and a third in the ſouth; who, in the latter end of the ſummer, aſſemble each of them a ſmall army, with which they make the tour of their reſpective Governments, to gather in ſuch taxes, as the Dey is pleaſed to impoſe upon the people; and, in caſe any of them refuſe payment, the Bey ſeizes or deſtroys their whole crops of grain and fruits. In collecting theſe taxes, the reſpective Beys are employed three or four months every year; and whatever the whole country can raiſe, is brought to Algiers for the ſupport of the Government, and particularly the payment of the Janizaries, which muſt be preferr'd to all other ſervices, it being very dangerous diſobliging that body: But, as money is pretty ſcarce in this country, I find great part of the taxes are taken in kind, that is, in corn, cattle, and ſuch other goods as may be moſt uſeful to the Turks at Algiers; and the prizes they make at ſea ſome years, equal the revenues they exact from the natives at land. Theſe Pirates ſeem to look upon the whole world as their tributaries; or rather, that the reſt of mankind were only made to be ſlaves to their pleaſures, and ought not to expect juſtice, or common humanity, at their hands. They agree with our Fanaticks, that dominion is founded in grace: That true believers have a right to every thing this world affords, and, according to CROMWEL's notion, ought not to be ſubject to laws, human or divine, at leaſt in their commerce with reprobates, and infidels, as they eſteem all men but themſelves. But, as has been obſerv'd, the Turks here do not only treat the Chriſtians and Jews with inſolence, but even the Moors, who are of the ſame faith: The meaneſt Turkiſh ſoldier will make the wealthieſt Moor give him the way: They are uſed more like men of quality, than common ſoldiers: They have their quarters in ſpacious ſquares, where they are maintain'd, and ſerv'd by ſlaves, at the publick expence: They are duly paid every other moon, and have the privilege of buying their proviſions one third cheaper than any other of the inhabitants. Beſides theſe, the Dey of Algiers has ſeveral thouſand Moors in his ſervice, horſe and foot, and every one of his Beys commands an army of the ſame people, as has been obſerv'd already; but theſe have no ſhare in the election, or depoſing their Princes; or are entitled to any of the privileges the Turkiſh ſoldiers enjoy.

Force of the Algerines at ſea.

The Algerines are more formidable at ſea, than any other power on the coaſt of Barbary; and the ſea-faring people are in great eſteem, on account of the prizes they frequently bring in; but ſtill they have no ſhare in the election of a Dey: The fathers of the Trinity aſſure us, that the Algerines have no leſs than five and twenty ſhips of war, from eighteen to ſixty guns, beſides a multitude of ſmaller cruizing veſſels; and, as they have very little timber in the country, nor any naval ſtores whatever, their ſhips are either thoſe they take as prize, or built, and rigg'd out of the materials of ſuch ſhips as are taken: However, they never ſuffer the number of their ſhips of war to be diminiſh'd; but, if any of them are loſt, or decay'd, they immediately add as many more.

The Engliſh have been at peace with the Algerines ever ſince the year 1682: But the Dutch could not obtain a ſettled peace 'till very lately; in negotiating which, their good friends (the Engliſh) aſſiſted them, or they would probably have been in a ſtate of war with Algiers at this day: And ſurely this muſt be aſcrib'd to an exceſs of goodneſs in the Engliſh nation on many accounts: For firſt, the Dutch are every where their rivals in trade; there is ſcarce any part of the world where the Hollander has not endeavour'd to ſupplant them, and in too many ſucceeded. In the next place, while the Dutch were at war with Algiers, they were forced to ſend ſtrong convoys with their merchant-ſhips into the Levant; nor could theſe always protect their ſhips: They found it neceſſary to employ the Engliſh in carrying their goods thither, and conſequently the Engliſh were gainers by this war between Holland and Algiers; and yet were we ſo very kind and diſintereſted, as to make their peace for them, and let them into the trade again. Whether the Dutch will ever make any returns for ſo ſignal a favour, we ſhall ſee, if we live long enough; but their uſual way of requiting a Britiſh kindneſs, is by acts of treachery and injuſtice. I queſtion whether the Hollander has not done the trade of England more miſchief, than ever the Algerines have, particularly in depriving us by violence of the Spice Iſlands, which they keep poſſeſſion of to this day: Nor were their cruelties at all ſhort of thoſe the Turks exerciſe on their Chriſtian ſlaves; for, to deter the Engliſh Merchants from ever coming to the Spice Iſlands again, they burnt off their fleſh by inches, and exercis'd all the tortures upon them they could invent. Let them never therefore cry out of the piracies of the Algerines, when they themſelves took not only our ſhips, but our lands (the invaluable Spice Iſlands) from us, and have never made reſtitution to this day; tho' they have often promiſed it by ſolemn treaties: And what aggravates the injury is, that this was done at a time of full peace, and in the very next reign after the Queen of England had reſcued them from the oppreſſions of the Spaniards. But to return to the Government of Algiers:

It has been already obſerv'd, that the Dey is an abſolute Sovereign, and in reality knows no ſuperior; however, the Grand Signior ſtill ſtyles him Lieutenant, and the people, under his juriſdiction, ſubjects to the Porte, as appears by the letter written to the Dey by the Grand Signior in behalf of the Dutch, in the year 1719; a tranſlation whereof follows.

To the Dey and Baſſa of Algiers, MEHEMED *Baſſa, a Prince choſen to enjoy the dignity whereof he is poſſeſſor, who has been preſerv'd by the help of the moſt High; and to the moſt learned Mufti, and you Cadi's and Judges abounding with eloquence and equity; as likewiſe to all others among you, who are replete with knowledge; and to all the Chiefs of your Militia fighting for the faith; and alſo to all our faithful Algerine ſubjects, Health.*

A letter from the Grand Signior to the Dey of Algiers n behalf of the Dutch.

“WE give you to underſtand by the tenor of this noble and ſublime Order, that the Holland Ambaſſador, who is now at our High Porte, having repreſented to us, that you have declared war with Holland without any cauſe, and that the ſame was unjuſt, and contrary to the articles of thoſe treaties which have been granted them by our Porte, with which they are in peace. All which, having been examined with attention, we have been informed, that the unjuſt war, by you declar'd againſt the Hollanders, is repugnant to thoſe articles the ſaid Dutch Ambaſſador has exhibited; by which articles it is ſpecified, That, while they ſhall be in peace with our High Porte, no injury ſhall be done to their perſons, or their effects, by our ſubjects of Algiers, Tunis or Tripoli: Nevertheleſs, you have tranſgreſs'd the treaties, taken from them to the value of fifty thouſand dollars, and their Conſul has been oblig'd to retire into France.

“Having a regard to thoſe reſpectful remonſtrances, made by the Holland Ambaſſador at the threſhold of our happy Porte, we have heretofore diſpatch'd to you our order and intentions upon this matter; and the effect, not having anſwer'd what we ought to have expected from loyal and obedient ſubjects, we now ſend this preſent order, whereto you are to conform; which order will be deliver'd you by HASSAN AGA, one of our Capiji Baſhis. Our intention is, that you ſend to Conſtantinople two officers, who being commiſſion'd to negotiate a peace with the ſaid Hollanders, ſhall exhibit their allegations; you knowing that ſuch ſubjects as diſobey their Emperor are criminals, and frequently expos'd to chaſtiſements ſent them down from the moſt High, as it is expreſſed in the noble Koran: Wherefore, it is better that you preſerve to yourſelves love and applauſe, than that you incur hatred and reproach. For which reaſon you are to put in execution what is enjoin'd you by the preſent order, at the top whereof is the noble ſignet, to which it behoves you to give credit.”

They have little dependance upon the Grand Signior.

While this was reading in the Divan, the whole audience kept a moſt reſpectful ſilence; and, being ended, the Baſh-Chiaus cried out, fatha, fatha, expreſſing thereby the reſpect and ſubmiſſion wherewith the Emperor's Firman, or Order, ought to be receiv'd: And it appears, that the Algerines have indeed a great veneration for the Grand Signior, as the head of their religion; but have a ſtill greater for their own intereſt, and are not to be moved by any threats of the Porte, when it pretends to debar them from exerciſing that piratical war with the European nations, which is the foundation of all their wealth and grandeur; for it was not till ſome years afterwards they made peace with Holland; and that, at the inſtance of the Engliſh, as has been obſerv'd already, as well as in conſideration of very rich preſents diſtributed among their leading men; and indeed, the Algerines, like other people, are govern'd chiefly by intereſt, nothing elſe inclines them either to peace or war; if they think they ſhall get moſt by peace, they prefer that; and, if they propoſe greater advantages by war, they will never liſten to a peace.

The Grand Signior had, 'till very lately, a Baſha always reſiding at Algiers, to whom he expected the Dey and his ſubjects ſhould pay a great regard; but, finding his authority ſlighted, and that they would not permit his Baſha to intermeddle in their affairs, or even allow him a vote in their Divan, he was pleaſed to conſtitute the Dey himſelf his Baſha, that he might ſeem ſtill to retain ſome authority over the Algerines: And accordingly we find the preceding letter directed, To the Dey and Baſſa of Algiers, MEHEMED Baſſa, who indeed are the ſame perſon with two different titles.

The Aga of the Janizaries the next officer to the Dey.

The next temporal officer to the Dey, and who has the greateſt influence in the Algerine Government, is the Aga, or General of the Turkiſh Militia. This is the oldeſt officer in the army, who continues in this poſt but two months, and then is ſucceeded by the next ſenior officer. While he remains Aga of the Militia, the keys of the city are in his cuſtody, all military orders are given out in his name, and in his palace only, the Turks are puniſh'd (according to the decrees of the Dey) whether by baſtanade, impriſonment, or death.

The Mufti, Cadi, &c.

The three chief Eccleſiaſticks are extremely reverenc'd by all; and theſe are the Mufti, the Cadi, and the Grand Marabout: The firſt, the High Prieſt, of their religion: The ſecond, the ſupreme Judge in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and ſuch civil matters, as the military power does not interpoſe in;

and the Grand Marabout, their great living Saint, or Hermit, or rather the General of that Order, who profeſs themſelves Hermits or Marabouts; the laſt have an inconceivable influence both on the Government, and the affairs of every private man in the kingdom of Algiers: The three Eccleſiaſticks may be diſtinguiſh'd by the largeneſs of their turbants: They ſit in the Divan, a little below the Dey, on his right hand; and, when they enter the aſſembly, he riſes up, and embraces them; but, tho' they are adviſ'd with on important occaſions, they have no vote here: The Divan, I perceive, conſiſts of near two thouſand officers and ſoldiers, and of none but the Turkiſh ſoldiery. In the electing the Dey, if I am not miſtaken, every man of the Turkiſh Militia has a vote: As to the depoſing him, this is done generally by tumults of the populace: They are not govern'd by laws, or precedents, in theſe revolutions; but by intereſt, revenge, ambition, or perhaps mere caprice; ſo that the reign of the Dey is generally ſhort, and always precarious, notwithſtanding all the arts they uſe to ſecure their dominion: And, what is ſtill more unfortunate, there is no deſcending from that dignity, without running an apparent hazard of his life: There is ſcarce any medium between the throne and grave.

The Dey choſen by the ſoldiers only.

Adminiſtration of juſtice.

The Dey, as has been related already, ſits on his tribunal ſeveral hours every day, to hear the complaints of his ſubjects, and adminiſter juſtice: The plaintiff, it ſeems, always makes his complaint in perſon (there are no Council, Proctors, Attornies, or Sollicitors, to manage their cauſes for them;) and the defendant or wrong-doer is immediately ſummon'd to anſwer the complaint. Upon his appearance, both parties are examin'd upon oath, as well as the witneſſes; and, if either of the parties appear to have been guilty of perjury, he immediately receives 300 baſtinadoes with a cudgel, and is oblig'd to make the injur'd perſon ſatisfaction forthwith. If a perſon appears to be indebted to another, he is decreed to pay the debt in ſuch time as the Dey awards: In which if he fails, an officer is order'd to ſell his effects by auction, and make the creditor ſatisfaction; and this is done without any manner of charges. If the creditor have no effects, or real eſtate, he is impriſon'd; and, if he have a real eſtate, and ſatisfaction is to be made out of it, the matter is referr'd to the Cadi, or eccleſiaſtical Judge, who only can determine matters in relation to lands and inheritances. And, ſince I have mention'd lands, theſe always deſcend to the eldeſt ſon; and where a perſon leaves no heirs, all his lands and effects, or, in other words, his whole real and perſonal eſtate, are ſeiz'd and poſſeſs'd by the Government.

Deſcent of eſtates.

Puniſhments.

The uſual puniſhment at Algiers for offences not capital, is the baſtinado, which conſiſts often of ſome hundreds of blows over the ſoles of the feet, the calves of the legs, the buttocks or belly, with an unmerciful cudgel. In capital caſes the Turks are ſtrangled with a bow-ſtring, which two people pull different ways with all their ſtrength: But the various deaths the poor Chriſtian ſlaves are put to, that offend theſe barbarous Pirates, are almoſt innumerable; impaling, and burning, or rather roaſting, the unhappy ſufferers alive, are but too frequent on their attempting to make an eſcape, eſpecially if any Turk is kill'd in the ſcuffle; but the worſt of all deaths, is the throwing them off the walls of the town upon iron hooks, on which they are catch'd by the jaws, by the ribs, or ſome other part of the body, and hang in the moſt exquiſite torture for ſeveral days before they expire; but this, 'tis ſaid, has not been executed for many years: However, I find there have been inſtances of the crucifying Chriſtians, and nailing their hands and feet to the walls within theſe few years; to which they have been provok'd by reports that were ſpread of ſome of their Chriſtian neighbours having been equally cruel to the Turks they had taken. And this leads me to give ſome account of the condition of the Chriſtian ſlaves at Algiers.

Condition of ſlaves at Algiers.

The Corſair or Pirate, it ſeems, no ſooner takes a prize, but he examines into the quality and circumſtances of all his priſoners; and, if he imagines they do not give him a juſt account of themſelves and their comrades, he orders them to be baſtinado'd on the ſoles of their feet till they do. Having got what information he can, he brings them on ſhore after he has ſtripp'd them almoſt naked, and carries them to the Dey's houſe, whither the European Conſuls immediately repair, to ſee if there be any of the priſoners who belong to their reſpective nations, who are at peace with Algiers; for, in that caſe, they reclaim them, provided they were only paſſengers: But, if it be proved the priſoners ſerv'd for pay on board the ſhips of any nation at war with this Government, there is no way to get them releas'd, but by paying the full ranſom.

The matter being ſettled between the Dey and the Conſuls, which of the priſoners ſhall be ſet at liberty, and which of them deem'd ſlaves, the Dey has his choice of every eighth ſlave, and generally takes the Maſters, Surgeons, Carpenters, and moſt uſeful men belonging to the reſpective prizes: And, beſides his eighth, he lays claim to all ſuch priſoners as are of any quality, for whom a ſwinging ranſom may be expected: The reſt are left to the Captor and their Owners, and uſually carried to the Beſiſtan, or Slave-market, where the Crier proclaims the quality, the profeſſion and circumſtances of each of the unhappy captives, and the reſpective prizes ſet upon them. They are led afterwards to the court before the Dey's palace, and ſold by auction in his preſence to the beſt bidder; but whatever is given beyond the firſt price ſet upon them belongs to the Government: The Captors and Owners have no more than the firſt price, which is divided equally between them.

Thoſe ſlaves, which belong to the Dey and the publick, who have no particular profeſſion, and cannot be ſerviceable to the State in the building and rigging of ſhips, or in any art or manufacture on ſhore, are put to the moſt laborious employments; as in drawing carriages with materials for building, removing ſtones or rubbiſh, cleaning the ſtreets and houſes, carrying the ſoldiers baggage, and the like, and are lock'd up at night in the priſons belonging to the State; of which there are three that have obtained the name of Bagnio's: They have each of them a ring of iron on one ancle, and thoſe they apprehend inclin'd to make their eſcape, are ſometimes loaden with chains, in which they are forced to work all day. However, there are others, it ſeems, when they have got a little money from their friends, or by way of charity, or can borrow any of the Jews upon an extravagant intereſt, are permitted to keep taverns, paying a certain duty to the Dey, in proportion to the wine they vend: And theſe, it ſeems, are oblig'd to contribute towards the maintenance of their brethren in ſervitude, and to the Chriſtian chappels that are allow'd in theſe priſons: And yet, with all the duties and intereſt they are forced to pay, the ſlaves that keep theſe taverns uſually get money: There have been inſtances of ſome that have got enough to purchaſe their

Taverns kept by Chriſtian ſlaves.

their liberties, and carry money away with them; for the Government allow their ſlaves a property in what they get, and protect them in it. Theſe taverns are no better than cellars, and dark warehouſes, that have no other light than what they receive from the door; and in the ſame room ſtand the buts of wine, the beds and the tables where the company ſit; but people will make a ſhift, with very poor accommodations, for the ſake of a little good wine; and hither Turks, Moors and Chriſtians reſort promiſcuouſly. Very little regard is paid to their great Prophet's prohibition in Algiers; only the good Muſſulman has ſo much reſpect for the Alchoran even here, that he will not keep a tavern and diſtribute the forbidden liquor to others for the world, tho' he makes little ſcruple in drinking it. The management of theſe houſes therefore is left entirely to the Chriſtians, or Jews; and the man that keeps a tavern, tho' a ſlave, is empower'd to ſtrip any of his gueſts, even the Turks themſelves, if they refuſe to pay their reckoning; and in this he is protected by the Dey. Every ſlave belonging to the Government alſo is allowed three loaves a day, about the bigneſs of a penny-loaf, beſides what he earns himſelf, or is given him in charity; for, when the Government have no other employment for them, they are allowed to work in any manufacture they are maſters of, and take the profit of it. Every Friday particularly (the Mahometan Sabbath) they are allowed to work for themſelves, or to reſt from their labour as they ſee fit.

The Turks of Algiers drink wine.

Slaves to private men.

The condition of thoſe, who are ſlaves to private men, depends very much upon the temper of the maſter, and their own behaviour. They are employ'd in the buſineſs of the houſe, in trade, huſbandry, or gardening, according to their qualifications, and the buſineſs the maſter has for them to do: Ship and Houſe-Carpenters, Sail-makers, Smiths, and the like, are very uſeful, and much encourag'd; and a European Surgeon is a notable Phyſician among them. Notwithſtanding the dread our people are in of being taken by Turkiſh Rovers, many of them live better in their maſters houſes at Algiers, than ever they did in their own countries, being entertain'd rather as companions than ſervants, where they happen to be good for any thing: Tho' 'tis true, ſome barbarous maſters uſe their ſlaves ill, giving them ill language, and beating them unmercifully, that they may oblige them to redeem themſelves at an extravagant price, eſpecially where they are inform'd they are people of ſubſtance. As to female ſlaves, unleſs their maſters expect a conſiderable ranſom for them, they make them their concubines, or ſell them to thoſe who want to purchaſe ſuch conveniences, if they are young. The Popiſh Prieſts, who are employ'd for the redemption of captives, entertain their readers with abundance of tragical ſtories upon this head; of which I ſhall preſent the reader with one, in the very dreſs the fathers have introduc'd it; which, tho' it may be true in the main, I will not be anſwerable for every circumſtance theſe good men are pleas'd to tranſmit to us. They relate, that ANNA MARIA FERNANDEZ, a native of Toledo, aged ſixteen, being taken captive with her mother, and a ſiſter named FLORA, was brought by a Chiaus to the palace, September the 1ſt, 1715, while ALI Dey was ſuperintending the pay of his Militia. This young maid being in the court-yard, prepoſſeſs'd with ſentiments of her holy religion, and foreſeeing that her youth and beauty were on the point of expoſing to very great perils both her faith and her innocency, took advantage of the confuſion, occaſion'd by thoſe multitudes of Janizaries, and daub'd her face all over with dirt, beginning withal to lacerate her cheeks and arms, having firſt recommended herſelf to God, and, with ſhowers of tears, invocated the powerful aid of our bleſſed Lady. The pay being over for that day, this poor victim was preſented to the Dey, who made her go up into his apartment: There he endeavour'd to bring her into temper by great promiſes, exaggerating the happineſs ſhe might hope for, in caſe ſhe ſubmitted to his pleaſure; and as, amidſt theſe proteſtations, he attempted to careſs her, this young creature generouſly repell'd all his careſſes, and all his violences, telling him, that ſhe would not purchaſe his protection, nor the advantage he offer'd her, at the price of her ſoul: That ſhe was his ſlave, and he might condemn her to hard labour, which ſhe was ready to undergo; but that ſhe could not conſent to any criminal actions, becauſe ſhe was a Chriſtian. She ſtill perſever'd in reſiſting with a conſtancy equal to the violence ALY Dey continued offering her, till, aſham'd to find himſelf thus baffled, after having given her ſeveral kicks and buffets, he retir'd much incens'd. This was but the prelude to what other trials he made her undergo. That very evening he return'd to the charge, and found her no leſs inflexible than before: Her cries, which reſounded even without the palace, made ſuch as heard them judge what violence was offering her; and it evidently appear'd that her conſtancy was not vanquiſh'd, when the Dey was ſeen all in a rage, drawing her by the hair from the top to the bottom of his ſtair-caſe.

Female ſlaves.

The ſtory of a virtuous Spaniſh ſlave, as related by the Fathers.

Either the Dey underſtood Spaniſh, or he muſt have an interpreter.

Finding himſelf unable to ſucceed in this firſt aſſault, he changed his battery: He lodg'd her in a handſome chamber, with a Negroe ſlave to attend her, and went often to ſee her, making her abundance of fruitleſs proteſtations; to which he joyn'd what is moſt capable of dazzling young perſons of that ſex, magnificent apparel, coſtly jewels, &c. But this virtuous maid, more curious to preſerve her nuptial garment without a ſtain, refuſed them all, ſpite of the Dey's intreaties, earneſt remonſtrances and commands, daily repeated for more than a month. To remove her ſcruples, he cauſed a Chriſtian girl, of her own country and acquaintance, to be brought her as a companion; and who, in her preſence, made no difficulty of taking from the Dey's hands ſuch things as he offer'd to our virgin, and therewith adorn'd herſelf. But this generous maid made her bluſh with confuſion, bitterly reproaching her baſe compliance, and criminal forgetfulneſs of her baptiſmal vows. ALI Dey could not but admire the one, and heartily contemn'd the other, who yielded ſo eaſily: But that admiration did but add fuel to his paſſion; he imagin'd, that the country-air might work ſome effect on her, and that amidſt thoſe rural pleaſures ſhe might loſe ſome of her auſterity, and become more tractable: Spite of all her reſiſtance, he forced her to put on a ſuit of fine cloaths, and mount on a mule, after that country faſhion, in a Racabia, a ſort of cage, moſt ſumptuouſly cover'd after their manner; and therein ſhe was conducted to his uncle's garden-ſeat. As ſhe was perſuaded, that the amorous Dey would not fail following her, and that abroad in the country her cries would not be heard, ſhe made loud lamentations as ſhe paſs'd the ſtreets of Algiers, that all people might be witneſſes of the violences ſhe underwent; and that ſuch Chriſtians, as were within hearing, might be excited to ſuccour her, at leaſt with their fervent prayers to the Almighty; which ſhe ceas'd not calling on them to do for her, imploring with great outcries for God's aſſiſtance, and our bleſſed Lady's interceſſion.

The Dey's uncle could not, with all his efforts and artifices, make any impreſſion on the heart of this young virgin; all this was much leſs dangerous to her, than the preſence of her perſecutor: Nor had menaces and promiſes much force to ſtagger her, after the attacks ſhe had actually ſuſtain'd. She there found herſelf, as it were, under ſhelter; nor did ſhe begin to tremble, till the Dey, after a three weeks interval, ſent for her home, where he had already got her mother and ſiſter, in order to try if he could not, through their means, bring her to a compliance. He flatter'd them with hopes of their liberty, in caſe they could engage her to be more condeſcending: But all was in vain; and this bringing them together ſerved only to make all three firmer in their ſentiments of virtue and religion. Our apoſtolick Vicar, and the Father adminiſtrator of the Goſpel, touch'd at this maiden's ſituation, went to our Conſul, M. Clairambault, to confer on the means to put a ſtop to ſo cruel and ſo dangerous a perſecution, and in what terms to attack Ali Dey on the affair: They knew what an anſwer he had return'd to the complaint brought him againſt a certain patron, who uſed the like compulſion to a Chriſtian female ſlave of his; he ſaid, ſhe was his own proper goods, which he might uſe juſt as he pleaſed. M. Clairambault however undertook ſpeaking to him, and did it with his uſual diſcretion: The Dey reply'd, that he did not offer to force his ſlave to change her religion. Our conſul return'd very ſorrowful, as judging from this anſwer, that Bobba Ali deſign'd not to quit his pretenſions; and, in effect, he purſued her with more artifices and greater violence than ever. This continued till ſuch time as the Omnipotent, vouchſafing to put a period to the combats of his ſervant, ſuddenly changing the Dey's fury into admiration; and that, touch'd with the conſtancy of his ſlave, he frankly ſet her, together with her mother and ſiſter, at liberty. May the 10th, 1717, they were all three embark'd on a veſſel, wherein our Spaniſh fathers of the redemption carried off two hundred and thirty captives, whom they had ranſom'd. Of ſuch eſtimation is perſevering virtue, ſince it caſts a luſtre, which makes it admir'd and recompens'd even by a paſſionate enamour'd Barbarian.

Adminiſtration of juſtice farther conſider'd.

But to enlarge a little further on the adminiſtration of juſtice among the Algerines; for pirates and uſurpers muſt obſerve forms of juſtice for the preſervation of their lawleſs governments, whatever rapine and injuſtice they are guilty of towards the reſt of mankind. The Moors, Jews and Chriſtians, who are freemen, have their reſpective Judges of their ſeveral nations aſſign'd them, who are permitted to adminiſter juſtice among their people (unleſs the crime affects the State) and theſe are judged by their ſeveral laws. Traitors, Houſe-breakers and Highway-men, are put to the moſt cruel deaths here, tho' their State is ſupported by robbery: And a Moor, who has been guilty of theft, has his right hand cut off; which, being hung about his neck, he is ſet upon an aſs, with his face to the beaſt's tail, and led about the ſtreets, a cryer going before him and proclaiming his offence. Adultery and robbery are always puniſh'd with death; apoſtates from the eſtabliſh'd religion are burnt here, as in other Mahometan countries: And tho' the Popiſh Prieſts, that are ſlaves at Algiers, are uſed better than other captives generally, their brethren taking care conſtantly to remit money to their ſeveral maſters, to excuſe them from labour; yet, if any Chriſtian nation is at war with Algiers, the Prieſts are always made the firſt ſacrifice. When the French bombarded the city in the next year 1688, the Turks fir'd no leſs than forty Frenchmen at the Fleet, from the mouths of their great guns or mortars; among whom were the French Conſul, and the apoſtolical Vicar, who had the management of the Chriſtian-hoſpital at Algiers; but, 'tis ſaid, the French Admiral ſet them an example, by firing ſeveral Turkiſh ſlaves from his mortars into the town: However, theſe are extraordinary caſes; generally Chriſtian ſlaves are treated very well at Algiers, they neither tempt, or force them to change their religion; it is not for their interſt: Their maſters had rather they would not turn Mahometans, for then they loſe the benefit of their ranſom; neither can they ſell them to others. Indeed, when a Chriſtian ſlave has committed ſome crime that deſerves death, the Dey will ſometimes offer him his life, if he turns Mahometan; and if they have any ſlaves under twelve years of age, ſome rich Muſſelman will endeavour to bring them up in their ſuperſtition, cloath them handſomly, and even adopt them for their children; but, as for thoſe that are grown up, they never attempt to make them change their religion. 'Tis true, ſome purchaſe young girls, on purpoſe to make concubines of them; and there are others that buy up young boys for their unnatural luſts: But for the moſt part, it is obſerv'd, Chriſtian ſlaves are uſed better than thoſe Chriſtians that are at liberty: The latter are inſulted and abuſed frequently both by Turks and Moors; but they take care how they meddle with ſlaves, as their maſters will reſent the affront, and they are forced to make ſatisfaction if they do them any injury.

Popiſh Prieſts, how uſ'd.

French Conſul and apoſtolical Vicar fir'd out of mortars.

The Turks do not force their ſlaves to turn Mahometans.

There is much more danger of falling into the hands of the mountaineers on the coaſt, than of the Algerines; for the former are not content with making Chriſtian ſlaves, but make them ſerve with rigour, frequently taking away the life of a Chriſtian priſoner, which thoſe barbarians look upon as a meritorious action. But even here I find the people much more inclined to preſerve their priſoners, where a good ranſom may be expected, than to deſtroy them; as may be collected from the Relation Laugier de Taſſy has given us of the captivity of young Miſs de Bourk, daughter of the Count de Bourk, which I chuſe to recite, becauſe it gives us ſome notion of the mountaineers of the kingdom of Algiers, and how very little authority the Dey has over them.

The captivity of Miſs de Bourk among the mountaineers.

Monſieur De Taſſy relates, that the Counteſs de Bourk embarked at Cette in Languedoc, on the 23d of October, 1719, in a Genoeſe bark, with her ſon, her daughter, M. L'Abbe de Bourk her brother-in-law, another Iriſh gentleman, with ſix domeſticks, two of them men, and four of the other ſex: She was going for Spain to her huſband Chevalier Tobias, Count de Bourk, a gallant Iriſh officer, then in his Catholick Majeſty's ſervice, and who had followed King James into France. On the ſecond day of their voyage, being on the Catalan coaſt near Barcelona, the bark was made prize of by a ſmall Algerine: But the Counteſs having a paſs from the French court, the Captain treated her with the utmoſt civility and diſtinction, recovering her from the fright ſhe was in, by aſſuring her, that no injury ſhould be offer'd either to herſelf, or any of her retinue. She deſired to be left with her family on board the Genoeſe bark; which requeſt the Corſair readily granted. He took into his own ſhip the Genoeſe equipage, and put in their ſtead a few Turks and Moors to conduct the bark, which he took in tow, ſteering away for Algiers. But, on the 30th of that month, being near the Barbary coaſt, and attack'd by a moſt furious tempeſt at N. W. the Corſair was oblig'd to cut away the bark, in order to govern his own veſſel; that prize not able to keep up with the Algerine, and the wind forcing her towards land, ſhe run a-ground between Bujeya and Jejil, where ſhe was daſh'd in pieces. The Cabails, who, whenever the northerly winds blow tempeſtuouſly, are extremely attentive to obſerve from the tops of their mountains what paſſes upon the coaſt, having ſeen the approach of this veſſel, ran down to the ſea-ſide in great numbers to wait for and pillage her: The Algerines, who ſaved themſelves by ſwimming, acquainted the chief of thoſe Moors, that there was in the bark a French Princeſs. Immediately ſeveral Cabalis threw themſelves into the water, to ſave her at leaſt; but could only ſave Miſs DE BOURK, her uncle L'ABBE DE BOURK, a chamber-maid, with the two men-ſervants; the Counteſs, with her ſon, three women ſervants, and M. ARTHUR, her gentleman, were all drown'd: They made L'ABBE carry the child on his ſhoulders, and conducted them all to a place the leaſt acceſſible in certain mountains, ſome days journey from the ſea. Being arrived there, Miſs DE BOURK, her uncle, and one domeſtick, were carried to one tent; the chamber-maid and ſecond domeſtick to another. Next day the Shieks, or Chiefs of the Adouars or villages, aſſembled to conſult on what was to be done with the priſoners, whether they ſhould write to the Aga of Jejil, to ſend information to the French Conſul at Algiers, that he might ranſom the lady and her retinue? or whether it would not be better they ſhould wait till the ſaid Conſul claimed them, and ſo get a ſum more conſiderable? It was determined to ſtay till they were claimed, which obliged Miſs DE BOURK (then only in her tenth year) to write a very moving letter (November 4.) to the Conſul at Algiers; wherein ſhe acquainted him with her misfortunes and condition: She conjur'd him to redeem her at any price whatever, and deliver her from the horrors ſhe underwent. The Moors ſent this letter to a certain Marabout near Bujeya, who paſſes for a great ſaint, and is held in ſuch veneration, that when any one of that country aſks a favour, he does it in the name of God and of the ſaid Marabout. This ſaint immediately diſpatch'd away to Algiers a courier, who deliver'd the letter to the Conſul, by whom it was communicated to M. DUSAULT, lately arriv'd there from France, in quality of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Envoy-extraordinary.

During this interval, the ſon of one of the moſt conſiderable Shieks demanded Miſs DE BOURK in marriage of his Father, who propoſed it to the other Shieks. Theſe imagin'd he might thereby acquire vaſt riches; and therefore ſeveral others of the moſt powerful diſputed her with him; but none obtained her: And it was finally reſolved in their council, that ſhe ſhould be ranſom'd.

His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Envoy went inſtantly to MEHEMET, Dey of Algiers, of whom, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt preſſing terms, he demanded the liberty of Miſs DE BOURK and her retinue: The Dey anſwer'd, that the Cabails acknowledg'd not his ſovereignty, by reaſon he could not reduce them to obedience in a mountainous country, which was inacceſſible to all but its inhabitants; and, when any Algerine forces were ſent thither, in order to their reduction, they always laid ambuſcades, into which the Turks could not poſſibly avoid falling. He added, that all he could do, was ſtrictly and preciſely to enjoin his Agas of Jejil and Bujeya, to uſe all practicable means to get thoſe Chriſtians releas'd, and then ranſom them on the eaſieſt terms they were able to obtain. He immediately ſent away his orders to that purpoſe, joining therewith letters for the Marabouts of thoſe places, requiring them to act in concert with his ſaid officers. On the 24th ditto, M. DUSAULT order'd to ſea a French veſſel then in the port of Algiers; whereon embark'd IBRAHIM HOJA, our nation's Interpreter, to carry thoſe diſpatches to the Aga's and Marabouts: On their receipt thereof they inſtantly took horſe, and rode to that Adouar where Miſs DE BOURK was detain'd: There they negotiated the ranſom of her, and thoſe with her, and procured the releaſe of all five for 1300 Algiers current dollars. But to return to the Chriſtian ſlaves at Algiers.

LAUGIER DE TASSY obſerves, that the French and Spaniſh ſlaves have each of them their Prieſts and chappels at Algiers, where divine ſervice is perform'd after the mode of their reſpective countries: That the Jews alſo, who are computed to be five thouſand families in the town, have their ſynagogues and their Prieſts; but that Britain, and the ſeveral Proteſtant nations of Europe, have neither chappels or eccleſiaſticks to perform divine ſervice, tho' they have Conſuls here to take care of the intereſts of their reſpective nations, and tranſact their affairs: But one reaſon the Engliſh have no chappel or Prieſt here may be, that there are not many Engliſh ſlaves in the place. We have been at peace with Algiers theſe fifty or threeſcore years, and no Engliſhman can be made a ſlave, unleſs he ſerves in the fleets of foreigners, who are at war with the Algerines, for pay; of which indeed there are ſome, but they are redeemed from time to time, either by the Government, or by private charities. Queen ANNE redeem'd ſeveral in her reign; King GEORGE I. redeem'd 37; and his preſent Majeſty 150, and upwards.

No Proteſtant Eccleſiaſtick at Algiers.

Engliſh ſlaves redeem'd of late years.

Something ſhould be ſaid of the trade of the Algerines; but in truth their trade, by which they principally ſubſiſt, is piracy and man-ſtealing. In their prizes they find all the merchandize of Europe; and this, as well as the priſoners, the Captain of the pirate and his crew divide equally with the owners, after the Dey has taken the eighth ſhare he claims in every prize. The Jews are the principal merchants at Algiers, as they are in every town upon the Barbary coaſt, tho' there are in ſome Mooriſh merchants alſo; but, as to the Turks, they trouble themſelves with no kind of merchandize but ſlaves, arms and ammunition: They are all of them men of the ſword, and look upon traffick to be beneath them. The Jews buy the goods found in the prizes, and retail them at home, to export them again to foreign markets; and there are ſome few European ſhips that come to Algiers on account of trade, but meet with little encouragement, unleſs there have been no prizes made in a great while; for the pirates, who come by their goods without paying any thing for them, muſt certainly be able to afford better penny-worths than the Merchant, who buys his goods.

Trade of Algiers.

Turkiſh veſſels, and thoſe of the Moors, pay twenty Piaſters, in the port of Algiers, for anchorage, whatever burthen the ſhip is of; and thoſe of Chriſtians, at peace with that nation, pay forty Piaſters; while thoſe, who are at war with Algiers, pay fourſcore piaſters for anchorage: For they take all foreign ſhips into their protection, when they have enter'd any of their ports, whether they are at peace with them, or not; but, if they meet with the ſame ſhips at ſea, even in their return from Algiers, they look upon them as lawful prize.

The duties on all merchandize imported by Turks, Moors or Jews, are twelve and a half per Cent.; and the duties on exportation, two and a half per Cent. The Engliſh, by their treaty in the year 1703, are to pay but five per Cent. on goods imported, and two per Cent. on thoſe they export; and, 'tis ſaid, the French have had the ſame favour ſhewn them: They make even money pay five per Cent. on importation, except that which is ſent for the redemption of captives, and this pays but three per Cent. Wine, Brandy and Spirits pay four Piaſters the piece on importation; and the company of the Baſtion de France (a little iſland the French are poſſeſs'd of on the coaſt of Algiers) are allowed to ſend two veſſels to Algiers every year, without paying any duties, 'tis ſaid.

Goods imported.

The merchandizes imported, are wrought Silks, Gold and Silver Stuffs, Damaſks, Linnen and Woollen Cloths, Spices, Copper, Braſs and Tin-ware, Quick-ſilver, Arms, Powder and other Ammunition; Sails and naval ſtores, Cochineal, Copperas, Sugar, Cotton, Galls, Brazil-wood, Red-wood, Alums, Vermillion, Wine, Brandy, Spirits, Opium, Gums, Paper, dried Fruit, and other leſs conſiderable articles.

Goods exported.

In return for which, the Europeans receive Wax, fine Wool, Oſtrich-feathers, Skins of wild Beaſts, Dates and Chriſtian ſlaves: Nor is there any kind of merchandize, but what may be met with here ſometimes, when they bring in rich prizes.

The Engliſh furniſh them with ammunition and naval ſtores.

The Engliſh Conſul, ſays Laugier de Tassy, is the only Merchant of that nation at Algiers, and carries on a more advantageous trade than any other perſon; for he furniſhes the Dey with powder, bullets, bombs, arms, anchors, cordage, and all manner of naval ſtores, and takes in return corn and oil, which are of great ſervice ſometimes to the Britiſh garriſons of Port-Mahon and Gibraltar; and, 'tis ſaid, no other nation is ſuffer'd to carry any corn out of the country: But there is more than one reaſon for this indulgence, and for keeping fair with the Engliſh; for they do not only furniſh the Government of Algiers with ſuch things as are moſt wanted there; but, if there ſhould happen to be another rupture with England, the Algerines would not be able to ſtir out of their ports for our Cruiſers from Port-Mahon and Gibraltar: They will therefore ever have as much reſpect for Britain, as for any power in Europe, while we retain thoſe two places.

The foundation of the Turkiſh government at Algiers.

That famous, or rather infamous, Pirate Barbarossa, laid the foundation of the Turkiſh dominion at Algiers, and was the firſt that ſtyl'd himſelf King of it: Of which uſurpation I meet with the following account. The Moors of Spain, having been driven from that country in the year 1492, and tranſported to the coaſt of Barbary, took all opportunities of retaliating the injury that was done them, and revenging themſelves on the Spaniards, by taking their merchant-ſhips, and plundering the towns on the coaſts; which they were very ſucceſsful in for ſome years, being well acquainted with the country; and they found means, in theſe excurſions, to ſurprize and carry multitudes of people into captivity: Whereupon Cardinal Ximenes, prime Miniſter to Ferdinand V. King of Arragon, in order to reſtrain theſe outrages, fitted out a fleet in the year 1505; on which having embark'd a body of land-forces, under the command of Peter, Count of Navarre, he beſieg'd and took the town of Oran on the coaſt of Barbary, then inhabited by Moors who had been driven from Grenada and Valentia. The Count afterwards made himſelf maſter of Bugia, and ſeveral other towns upon the ſame coaſt, together with the little iſland that lies before the bay of Algiers; whereby he prevented the Moors ſhipping going in or out of that port, and gave the town apprehenſions of falling ſuddenly under the dominion of the Spaniards.

In this diſtreſs Prince Selim, then Sovereign of Algiers, having heard of the fame of Barbarossa, the ſucceſsful Turkiſh Corſair, ſent to deſire his aſſiſtance againſt the Spaniards: The Pirate was cruiſing in the Mediterranean, when he received the invitation; and, glad of the opportunity, ſent away 18 gallies, and 30 ſmall barks to Algiers, marching thither by land himſelf with ſuch forces as he could aſſemble on a ſudden. The Algerines, receiving advice of his approach, march'd out of town with Prince Selim at their head, to welcome their Deliverer; and, having conducted him to Algiers, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people, he was lodg'd in the Prince's palace. But their joy was not long-liv'd; for the Pirate, who, for many years had made no ſcruple of ſeizing whatever came in his way, immediately form'd a deſign of making himſelf Sovereign of Algiers; and, having found means to aſſaſſinate Prince Selim privately, cauſed himſelf to be proclaim'd King, maſſacring all thoſe he imagin'd might oppoſe his deſigns: Whereupon moſt of the natives abandon'd the place, and left the uſurper in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the city; but, upon his promiſing them his protection, and the enjoyment of their ancient laws and liberties, they returned to their habitation, and acknowledged him their Sovereign. They ſoon found themſelves, however, under the dominion of a barbarous tyrant, who, after he had fortified the place, and ſecured his poſſeſſion, treated them no better than ſlaves.

This revolution happen'd at Algiers in the year 1516; and the ſon of Prince Selim, flying to Oran for protection, prevail'd on the Spaniards the year following to fit out a ſtrong fleet, with an army of 10000 landmen on board, to aſſiſt him to recover his right, promiſing to acknowledge the King of Spain for his Sovereign, if he ſucceeded: But the Spaniſh fleet being arrived near Algiers, was diſpers'd or ſhipwreck'd in a violent ſtorm, and moſt of their forces drown'd, cut in pieces, or made ſlaves by the Turks. Barbarossa, puff'd up with this ſucceſs, continued to treat the Moors, both in town and country, with greater inſolence than ever, which induced the reſt of the Mooriſh Princes to enter into a confederacy againſt the uſurper; and, having choſen the king of Tenez their General, and aſſembled 10000 Horſe, and a good body of Foot, they took the field, in order to lay ſiege to Algiers. Barbarossa, having intelligence of their motions, march'd out to meet them with no more than 1000 Turkiſh muſketeers, and 500 Moors he could confide in, and had the good fortune to defeat the numerous forces of his enemies; who, being without fire-arms, were ſoon diſorder'd by his muſketeers, eſpecially their horſe, on whom they moſt relied: After which, the Conqueror enter'd the city of Tenez, the King being fled to Mount Atlas, and cauſed the Inhabitants to proclaim him their King.

There happen'd, about the ſame time, an inſurrection in the kingdom of Tremeſen, which lies ſtill more to the weſtward; and the rebels hearing of the ſurprizing ſucceſſes of Barbarossa, invited him to come and deliver them from the oppreſſions they pretended to have ſuffer'd under their native Sovereign, a meſſage extremely acceptable to the ambitious Turk, who, having ſent for a reinforcement of troops, and his artillery from Algiers, immediately advanced towards Tremeſen; and, engaging that King in the plain of Aghad, obtained a compleat victory, to which his artillery and ſmall arms very much contributed, the Moors having neither the one or the other, but ſtill fought with their old weapons, launces, bows and ſwords. The King of Tremeſen, it ſeems, eſcaped out of the battle, but his traiterous ſubjects afterwards murder'd him, and ſent his head to the Conqueror; who thereupon enter'd the city of Tremeſen in triumph, and was proclaim'd King. The citizens acknowledg'd him their Sovereign, and took the oath of allegiance to BARBAROSSA, who now ſaw himſelf maſter of three kingdoms within the ſpace of a year, which he had acquired with the aſſiſtance of a handful of men only; but as Tremeſen was in the neighbourhood of Oran, he juſtly apprehended the Spaniards would not long permit him to enjoy his conqueſts in quiet. He enter'd therefore into an alliance with MULEY HAMET, King of Fez, the moſt powerful of the African Princes, who was no leſs an enemy to Spain than himſelf; and, thus ſupported, he did not doubt but he ſhould be able to defend the extenſive territories he had conquer'd againſt all the power of the Chriſtians: And he might have judged right, poſſibly, if his ally, the King of Fez, had been as ready to oppoſe the efforts of the Spaniards, as he was. But CHARLES the Vth, coming to take poſſeſſion of the throne of Spain about this time, and being implor'd by the prince of Tremeſen, to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his father's kingdom out of the hands of BARBAROSSA, he ſent over 10000 men from Spain, under the command of the governor of Oran; who immediately took the field, and, being join'd by a good body of Moors and Arabs, march'd towards Tremeſen. Whereupon BARBAROSSA immediately ſent to his ally, the King of Fez, to haſten to his aſſiſtance, and march'd in perſon, with 1500 Turkiſh muſketeers, and 5000 Mooriſh horſe, to attend the motions of the Governor of Oran, 'till he ſhould be join'd by the King of Fez; but, being hemm'd in by the Spaniards, and endeavouring to break through them in the night-time, he was cut in pieces with all his Turkiſh infantry. Whereupon the Governor of Oran continued his march to Tremeſen, and, the citizens opening their gates to him, the young Prince was reſtored to his throne. Some days after the battle, the King of Fez arriv'd in the neighbourhood of Tremeſen, with an army of 20000 men; but, hearing of the ſucceſs of the Spaniards, he return'd with more haſte into his country than he came: Whereby the Spaniards had an opportunity of recovering both Tenez and Algiers, if they had followed their blow, and might with eaſe have expell'd the Turks from the coaſt of Barbary at that time; but the Governor of Oran contented himſelf with what he had done, and ſent back the forces to Spain that had been employ'd in this expedition, at a time when the Turks of Algiers had given themſelves over for loſt. But, finding the Spaniards made no preparations to attack them, they proclaim'd CHEREDIN, the brother of BARBAROSSA, their King, who met with no diſturbance 'till the year 1619, when he underſtood there was a general conſpiracy of the Moors and Arabs, to free themſelves from the Turkiſh yoke, and recover their ancient liberties: And, as he was conſcious he was too weak to reſiſt their united forces, eſpecially if they ſhou'd be join'd by the Spaniards, whom he apprehended to be at the bottom of this conſpiracy, he diſpatch'd an expreſs to SELIM, the then Grand Signior; repreſenting, that all Africa wou'd ſoon fall under the dominion of the Spaniards, if the Turks ſhou'd be driven from Algiers; and deſiring he wou'd ſend him a ſtrong reinforcement of troops, promiſing to reſign his kingdoms to the Porte, and that he would act for the future, as Baſha, or Viceroy, to the Grand Signior.

The Ottoman Emperor accepted CHEREDIN's offer, and ſent 2000 Janizaries to his aſſiſtance; publiſhing a proclamation at the ſame time, that all Turks who ſhould reſort to Algiers, ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges there, as the Janizaries did at Conſtantinople; whereupon all people of deſperate fortunes, and whoſe crimes had render'd them obnoxious to the Government, immediately enter'd themſelves in the ſervice of CHEREDIN BARBAROSSA; and, with theſe reinforcements, he was ſoon in a condition to defeat all the conſpiracies of the Moors, and render himſelf abſolute maſter of that part of Barbary: He alſo ſubdu'd the iſland the Spaniards had poſſeſs'd themſelves of at the mouth of the bay of Algiers, and by a mole join'd it to the continent; and, having erected a ſtrong fortreſs on the iſland, he enlarg'd his piratical fleet, and ſo infeſted the coaſts of Spain and Italy, that a merchant-ſhip could not ſtir out of any port without falling into the hands of his Corſairs. He alſo made frequent deſcents upon the coaſts, carrying multitudes of Chriſtians into ſlavery; and this, at the time when CHARLES the Vth, then Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, was at the height of his glory.

This Prince, now Sovereign of the beſt part of Europe, incens'd to ſee his dominions inſulted, and his ſubjects daily carried into ſlavery by theſe raſcally Pirates, and being incited to extirpate them by Pope PAUL III. as enemies not only to the Chriſtian faith, but to all mankind; the Emperor, in the year 1541, having aſſembled a fleet of 500 ſail, including tranſports and gallies, embark'd with an army of 20000 men and upwards, in Spain; and arriving before the bay of Algiers the latter end of October, landed about two thirds of his army, and ſummoned the place; which was upon the point of ſurrendring to him, when a ſudden ſtorm happen'd, in which great part of his fleet was ſhipwreck'd, his proviſions all deſtroy'd, and ſuch heavy rains at the ſame time fell on the ſhore, that his forces could no longer keep the field; whereupon he found himſelf oblig'd to abandon the enterprize, and reimbark what forces he had left, having loſt, at leaſt, one third of them, either by ſhipwreck or the ſword of the enemy, in his retreat; tho', had this enterprize been undertaken ſooner in the year, in all probability it had ſucceeded, and CHARLES the Vth had added Africa to his empire, which was already extended over the beſt part of Europe and America.

But I ſhould have taken notice, that ſome little time before this memorable enterprize of CHARLES the Vth, the Grand Signior had preferr'd CHEREDIN BARBAROSSA to the honourable poſt of Captain Baſha, and commander in chief of all the tertories of Algiers; but thought fit to appoint HASSAN AGA, the Eunuch, Baſha of the town of Algiers, probably to be a check upon CHEREDIN, and prevent his ſetting up again for himſelf. And, after the death of BARBAROSSA II. the Porte govern'd the kingdom of Algiers by their Baſha's (as other provinces of that empire are govern'd) till the

17th century, when the Janizaries, or militia of Algiers, 'tis ſaid, repreſented to the Grand Signior, that his Baſha's tyranniz'd over the country, ſquandered away the ſoldier's pay, and rendered the government of the Turks ſo odious there, that the Spaniards and Moors were about to unite againſt them, and would infallibly drive the Turks from the coaſt of Barbary, if that Government was not better regulated: They deſired therefore, that they might elect one of their officers, with the title of Dey, to be their Governor; promiſing thereupon, to raiſe ſupplies ſufficient to maintain their forces, which would ſave the Porte an immenſe charge; and that they would however always acknowledge the Grand Signior for their Sovereign; in which propoſal, it ſeems, the Porte acquieſced. They elected a Dey, and under the government of ſuch magiſtrates of their own electing they remain at preſent; but in no part of the world there are ſuch frequent inſtances of the people's depoſing and murdering their Princes, ſcarce any of them dying a natural death. They reign with abſolute authority for a few years, months, or weeks, and ſometimes a few hours puts an end to their dominion and their lives; nor are the Algerines, at preſent, any otherwiſe ſubject to the dominion of the Grand Signior, than as they acknowledge him the head of their religion: His orders are very little regarded in their territories.

It is amazing that this large kingdom of Algiers ſhould be kept under the moſt ſlaviſh ſubjection by a body of 12000 Turks only, compoſed of the vileſt and moſt abandoned wretches on the face of the earth; being chiefly ſuch who, to avoid the puniſhment due to their crimes, have fled from Conſtantinople, and other Turkiſh towns and provinces in the Levant: none of the better ſort of Turks ever reſorting hither. And when the uſual number of their militia happens to be leſſened by mortality, or the being made ſlaves to the Chriſtians, they ſend to the Levant, to pick up all the Banditti and Deſperadoes they can meet with to recruit their piratical troops; taking alſo the renegado Chriſtians, and the ſons of the ſoldiery, which they have by Mooriſh or Arabian wives, into that body; for no Turkiſh women ever came to Algiers, looking upon it, as it really is, a neſt of Pirates and Robbers, inſolent daring villains, who are only fit for the converſation of people like themſelves. Neither Moors or Arabs are ever admitted into this militia, leſt they ſhould endeavour to free their country from this inſupportable tyranny of the Turks, and drive out their domineering maſters. And though the ſon of a Turk and a Mooriſh and Arabian wife is admitted into their militia, theſe are never ſuffered to enjoy any preferment or poſt in the Government; it being ſuſpected they may entertain too great a regard for their friends and relations by the mother's ſide.

To every private ſoldier of this body, it ſeems, they give the title of Effendi, or lord; and indeed theſe lordains demand a reſpect from the natives equal to that of Princes; and out of them are elected their Deys or Kings, their Aga's, their Beys or Viceroys. The Governors of towns, and all officers of ſtate, and this militia, are exempted from all taxes and duties whatever, ſeldom puniſhed for any crimes unleſs thoſe againſt the State: Nor is any juſtice to be obtained againſt them, where the native Moors, Arabs, Chriſtians or Jews, are parties: Theſe are forced to ſubmit to all manner of injuries and affronts from the ſoldiery. They fly the ſtreets, if they ſee a Janizary coming, or ſtand cloſe up to the wall in the moſt reſpectful poſture, till thoſe high and mighty robbers paſs by them.

While the Dey is ſucceſsful, pays the ſoldiers duely, and does not attempt to invade their privileges, no Prince is obey'd with more alacrity by his troops; they refuſe no hazards in his ſervice: But if things go never ſo little amiſs, the fault is immediately charged upon the Dey, and it is well if he be not ſacrificed to their fury; which makes moſt of their Princes ſo cautious, as not to enter upon any thing of conſequence, without the concurrence of the Divan, or great Council of the ſoldiery.

Thoſe Janizaries who are unmarried, have much the greateſt privileges: They are lodged in ſpacious houſes provided by the Government, attended by ſlaves, and have the privilege of buying their proviſions one third under the market-price, and a great allowance of bread every day, beſides their pay; but the married men are excluded from all theſe advantages, being obliged to find their own houſes, and their own proviſion for their families out of their pay: One reaſon for diſcouraging the ſoldiers marrying, is ſuppoſed to be, becauſe the Government is entitled to all the eſtates and effects of all thoſe that die or are carried into ſlavery without children: But the principal is, that the married men are ſuppoſed to have more regard to the natives with whom they intermarry, than the unmarried ſoldiers; and for the ſame reaſon, the ſons of the married Janizaries are not allowed the privileges of the natural Turks, or ever preferred to any poſt in the Government, as has been obſerved already; which are ſuch diſcouragements to their taking wives, that ſcarce any Janizaries marry, unleſs the renegadoes that are admitted into that body, who are not very numerous: However, all of them are allowed to purchaſe female ſlaves, and keep as many concubines as they pleaſe, without any reſtraint.

The greateſt crime here, next to treaſon, if it be not held a branch of it, is the expreſſing any compaſſion or tenderneſs for the natives: However, they employ armies of Moors in ſeveral parts of the country, who aſſiſt in oppreſſing their fellow-ſubjects, and levying the tributes the Dey impoſes. And notwithſtanding the tyranny the Turks exerciſe over the Moors and Arabs; yet if any Chriſtian power makes an attempt againſt their country, they now ſeem ready to unite their forces againſt ſuch invaders, as dreading the government of Chriſtians more than the uſurpations of thoſe of the ſame faith.

The election of the Dey, further treated of.

But to be a little more particular as to the election of the Dey: He ought, by their conſtitution, to be choſen by the Turkiſh militia, without one diſſenting voice. When the throne is vacant, they aſſemble at the place, and the Aga of the ſoldiery demands who ſhall be their Dey; whereupon every one calls out for the perſon he is beſt affected to; but till all agree in the choice, they are directed to name others, till they pitch upon one who is univerſally approved; and it is not uncommon for them to draw their ſabres, and for the ſtrongeſt to force the reſt to agree with them: In which contentions, many are killed or wounded. And there are inſtances of a powerful faction electing another Dey, while the former has been living, and murdering the reigning Dey as he ſat upon his tribunal: And in this caſe, the uſurper ſeldom fails to murder all the great officers and members of the Divan that oppoſe him.

Haly Dey, who was plac'd upon the throne on the murder of Ibrahim Dey, ſurnam'd The Fool, ann. 1710, caus'd no leſs than ſeventeen hundred perſons to be murder'd the firſt month of his reign, whom he apprehended to be in a different intereſt: When the Dey happens to be kill'd, his women are plunder'd of all they have, and reduced to their primitive ſtate, and his children have nothing more allow'd them than the pay of a private ſoldier, and excluded from all preferment in the State: But if the Dey dies a natural death (which rarely happens) they ſuffer his women to remain poſſeſs'd of what he leaves them. Haly Dey had the good fortune to reign eight years, viz. from 1710 to 1718, and died in his bed at laſt: However, he was no ſooner given over by the Phyſicians, but a powerful faction made choice privately of a ſucceſſor before he was dead; and the moment Haly expired, proclaim'd Mahomet Dey, who was before High-Treaſurer, and he was immediately inveſted with the royal robes: And thereupon, all the officers of State and the ſoldiery kiſs'd his hand, and congratulated him on his acceſſion, knowing it would have been fatal to them to have inſiſted on another election; though it has happen'd, that a Dey has been no ſooner choſen and placed upon the throne, but he has been murder'd there by the oppoſite party. There were, it ſeems, ſome few years ſince, no leſs than ſix Deys aſſaſſinated in four and twenty hours, whoſe tomb ſtill form a circle without one of the gates of Algiers.

The war between the Engliſh and the Algerines.

The Engliſh Merchants, as well as thoſe of other nations, have ſuffer'd very much by the depredations of the Algerines. Sir William Monson, in the reign of King James I. burnt ſome few of their ſhips; Admiral Blake more in the year 1655; and Sir Thomas Allen, in 1668, lay before their town, 'till he compell'd them to make peace; but they broke it again in the following year. In 1670, Captain Beach forced ſeven of their frigates on ſhore, and burnt them. Sir Edward Spragge, in 1671, took and deſtroy'd nine of their ſhips of war; and at ſeveral times, 'tis computed, the Engliſh may have deſtroy'd forty or fifty of theſe rovers; but one ſhip is no ſooner loſt, than they fit out another; and, 'tis ſaid, not leſs than three or four hundred Engliſh veſſels fell into their hands in a few years. The Engliſh and Dutch had agreed, a little after the reſtoration of King Charles II. to fall upon the Algerines with their united fleets; and a ſquadron of each nation ſailed to the Streights for that purpoſe: But, when they arrived there, the Dutch Admiral treacherouſly ſeparated from the Engliſh, and went and deſtroyed their ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea and in the Weſt-Indies, without any provocation; whereby the Hollanders appear'd to be a more dangerous kind of Pirates than the Turks of Algiers, inaſmuch as the Dutch robb'd us, while the two nations were at peace, and at a time when they had juſt enter'd into a confederacy with us; while the Algerines were ſo fair, as to declare themſelves our enemies, giving us an opportunity to prepare for our defence. In 1682, the Algerines were ſo harraſs'd by the ſquadrons the Engliſh ſent from time to time into the Mediterranean, that they thought fit to make peace with us, which they have kept pretty well ever ſince: While the treacherous Hollander ſuffer'd ſufficiently many years after, by the depredations of the Algerines, who never kept any peace they made with the Dutch two years together, 'till very lately, and that they obtain'd by the mediation of the good-natured forgiving Engliſh, as has been obſerv'd already, or they had been in a ſtate of war with thoſe rovers to this day, and perhaps would have been forced to have relinquiſh'd their Turky trade; which, in that caſe, muſt have devolved upon us.

Articles of peace concluded with Algiers, ann. 1682.

The ſubſtance of the principal articles of peace, made by Admiral Herbert in the reign of King Charles II. anno 1682, with the Baſha and Dey of Algiers, were:

That the ſhips, belonging to Great-Britain, might come to any port in the kingdom of Algiers, and traffick there, paying the uſual cuſtom of ten per Cent.; and for powder, arms, ammunition, iron, timber and planks for ſhipping, cordage, and all other naval ſtores, no duty was to be paid.

That as well the ſhips belonging to Great-Britain, as thoſe of Algiers, might freely paſs the ſeas, and traffick, without any ſearch, hindrance or moleſtation from each other; and that all perſons and paſſengers, of what country ſoever, with their money, goods and moveables, to what people or nation ſoever belonging, on board the ſaid ſhips, ſhould be wholly free, and not be ſtopp'd, taken, or plunder'd, or receive any damage whatever from either party.

That the Algier ſhips of war, meeting any Britiſh merchant-ſhips out of the ſeas belonging to his Majeſty's dominions, might ſend on board one ſingle boat, with two ſitters only, beſides the ordinary crew of rovers: And that only the two ſitters ſhould enter ſuch ſhip without leave from the Commander thereof; who, upon producing a paſs under the ſeal of the Admiralty of England or Scotland, ſhould be permitted to proceed freely on his voyage, and the ſaid boat ſhould immediately depart: And, in caſe any Britiſh man of war ſhould meet with any ſhip of Algiers, if the Commander of ſuch ſhip ſhould produce a paſs firm'd by the Governors of Algiers, and a certificate from the Engliſh Conſul reſiding there, ſuch ſhip of Algiers ſhould be ſuffer'd to paſs freely.

That no Algerine Commander ſhould take out of any Britiſh ſhip any perſons whatever, to carry them to be examin'd, or on any other pretence; or ſhould uſe torture or violence to any perſons that ſhould be on board a Britiſh ſhip.

That no Britiſh ſhip, wreck'd on the coaſt of the kingdom of Algiers, ſhould be ſeiz'd, or its crew made ſlaves; but the Algerines ſhould uſe their beſt endeavour to ſave both men and goods.

That no ſhip of Algiers ſhould ſerve the Corſairs of Sallee, or any other power at war with Great-Britain, and be made uſe of againſt his Majeſty's ſubjects.

That no ſhip of Algiers ſhould cruiſe in ſight of Tangier, or any other country or place belonging to his Majeſty, or diſturb the peace or commerce of the ſame.

That if any ſhip of Tunis, Tripoli, or Sallee, or of any other place, ſhould bring any ſhips, or goods, belonging to his Majeſty's ſubjects, into the territories of Algiers, they ſhould not be permitted to be ſold there.

That if a Britiſh man of war ſhould bring a prize to any place on the coaſt of Algiers, it might be freely ſold or diſpoſed of there, without paying any cuſtom; and, if the Commander wanted any proviſions, or other things, he might buy them at the market-price.

When any Britiſh man of war ſhould appear before Algiers, proclamation ſhould be made to ſecure all Chriſtian captives; after which, if any Chriſtian whatever ſhould eſcape to ſuch ſhip of war, they ſhould not be requir'd: Nor the Britiſh Conſul, or the Commander of ſuch ſhip, or any other ſubject of Britain, be oblig'd to pay any thing for ſuch Chriſtians.

After the ratification of the ſaid treaty, no Britiſh Subject ſhould be bought or ſold, or made a ſlave in Algiers, on any pretence; and the King of England, or his ſubjects, might, at any time, redeem ſuch as were ſlaves at Algiers at the time of this treaty.

If any ſubject of Britain dies at Algiers, the Government ſhall not ſeize his money or effects, but ſuffer his heirs or executors to enjoy them; and if he die without will, the Engliſh Conſul ſhall poſſeſs himſelf of the goods and money of the deceas'd, for the uſe of his heirs and kindred.

That no Britiſh Merchants, trading to, or reſiding at Algiers, ſhall be oblig'd to buy any merchandize againſt their wills; nor ſhall any of their ſhips be oblig'd to carry goods, or make a voyage to any place, againſt their conſent: Nor ſhall the Engliſh Conſul, or any Britiſh Subject, be oblig'd to pay the debts of any other of his Majeſty's Subjects, unleſs bound for them by a publick Act.

That no Britiſh Subject, in the territories of Algiers, ſhall be liable to any other juriſdiction, but that of the Dey, or Divan, except differences between themſelves, which ſhall be determin'd by the Conſul only.

That if any Britiſh Subject happen to kill, wound or ſtrike a Turk or Moor, he ſhall be puniſh'd in the ſame manner, and with no greater ſeverity, than a Turk ought to be (guilty of the ſame offence); and, if he eſcape, neither the Britiſh Conſul, or any of his Majeſty's Subjects, ſhall be queſtion'd or troubled for it.

That the Engliſh Conſul ſhall enjoy entire freedom and ſafety in his perſon and eſtate; ſhall be permitted to chooſe his own Terjiman (Interpreter) and Broker, to go on board ſhips in the road; to have the liberty of the country, and be allow'd a place to pray in: And that no man ſhall do him any injury by word or deed.

That if any war ſhould happen between the King of Great Britain, and the kingdom of Algiers, the Engliſh Conſul, and all his Majeſty's Subjects reſiding there, ſhall, at all times, both in peace and war, have liberty to depart to their own country, or to any other, in any ſhip or veſſel of what nation ſoever, with their effects, families and ſervants.

That no ſubject of Britain, being a paſſenger, and coming or going with his baggage to or from any port, ſhall be moleſted, tho' he be on board a ſhip or veſſel in enmity with Algiers: Nor ſhall any Algerine paſſenger, on board any ſhip in enmity with Great-Britain, be moleſted in his perſon or goods he may have on board ſuch ſhip.

That when any Britiſh Man of War, with his Majeſty's flag at the main-top-maſt-head, ſhall come to an anchor in the road of Algiers, the Dey and Regency ſhall cauſe a Salute of twenty-one cannon, and ſuch ſhip ſhall anſwer it with the ſame number.

That, after the ſigning theſe articles, all injuries and damages, ſuſtain'd on either part, ſhall be forgotten, and this peace ſhall continue in force for ever; and, for all damages committed on either ſide, before notice of this peace, ſatisfaction ſhall be made, and whatever remains in kind ſhall be inſtantly reſtored.

In caſe any thing ſhall be committed hereafter, contrary to this treaty, it ſhall ſubſiſt notwithſtanding, and ſuch contraventions ſhall not occaſion a breach of the peace; and, if the fault was committed by private men, they alone ſhall be puniſh'd as breakers of the peace, and diſturbers of the publick quiet: And *our faith ſhall be our faith, and our word our word.*

Confirm'd and Seal'd, in the preſence of Almighty God, April the 10th; of Jesus, 1682; of the Heigira, 1093; Abrir, 11.

This treaty has been renew'd ſeveral times; in April 1686, by Sir William Soame, Bart. in his voyage to Conſtantinople, whither he went Ambaſſador, from King James II. to the Grand Signior. It was renew'd again, in 1691, by Thomas Baker, Eſq; and, in 1700, by Captain Munden, and Robert Cole, Eſq; then Conſul of Algiers, jointly with ſome additional Articles (viz.)

I. The peace, made in 1682, is confirm'd, and more particularly the eighth article; wherein it is expreſs'd, That no ſhip, belonging to Algiers, ſhould cruiſe in ſight of any port or place belonging to Great-Britain, or any way diſturb the peace or commerce of the ſame: Nor ſhall any Algerine veſſel enter the Engliſh channel.

II. No paſſes ſhall be requir'd from any Engliſh ſhip 'till the laſt of September 1701: But, after that time, if any Engliſh ſhip ſhall be ſeiz'd, not having a paſs, the goods in ſuch ſhip ſhall be prize: But the maſter, men and ſhip ſhall be reſtor'd, and the freight immediately paid to the maſter.

III. Whereas Captain Munden has complain'd, that he was affronted ſome years paſt by ſome rude ſailors at the Mole: It is promiſed, that at all times hereafter, when any Britiſh Man of War ſhall come to Algiers, order ſhall be given to an officer to attend at the Mole all day during their ſtay, to prevent any ſuch diſorder; and, if any diſorder ſhall happen, the offender ſhall be puniſh'd with the utmoſt ſeverity.

In the Reign of Queen Anne, anno 1703, Admiral Byng, the late Lord Viſcount Torrington, renew'd the ſaid peace with Mustafa Dey, and the two following articles were added (viz.)

I. That whereas the ſubjects of England, by the ſaid articles, were to pay ten per Cent. cuſtom for ſuch goods as they ſhould ſell at Algiers: That from thence-forwards they ſhould pay but five per Cent.; and for powder, arms, ammunition and naval ſtores, they ſhould pay nothing (as was ſtipulated by the firſt treaty.)

II. All prizes taken by any ſubject of Britain, and all ſhips built and fitted out in her Majeſty's plantations in America, that have not been in England, ſhall not be moleſted, tho' they have no paſſes: But a certificate, under the hand of the commanding Officer, that ſhall take ſuch prizes; and a certificate, under the hands of the Governors or Chiefs of ſuch American colonies or places where ſuch ſhips were built or fitted out, ſhall be ſufficient paſſes.

In the year 1716, Admiral Baker, being order'd to renew the treaties with Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers, viſited the two former in perſon; but deputed Captain Coningsby Norbury, Commander of the Argyll; and Captain Nicholas Eaton, Commander of the Cheſter, in conjunction with Mr. Thomas Thompson (who then acted as Conſul in the Abſence of his brother Samuel Thompson, Eſq;) to ratify the former treaties with Algiers, and conclude the following articles, (viz.)

I. If any demands or pretenſions ſhall be depending between the ſubjects of either party, they ſhall be amicably redreſs'd, and full ſatisfaction made.

II. That as the iſland of Minorca and city of Gibraltar have been yielded and annex'd to the Crown of Great Britain; from this time the ſaid iſland and city ſhall be deem'd, by the Government of Algiers, part of the Britiſh dominions, and the inhabitants thereof look'd upon as his Majeſty's natural ſubjects; and with their ſhips and veſſels, wearing Britiſh colours, and furniſh'd with proper paſſes, ſhall be permitted to trade freely in any part of the dominions of Algiers, and have the ſame liberties and privileges as any other ſubjects of the Britiſh nation: Nor ſhall any of the cruiſers of Algiers, cruiſe within ſight of the iſland of Minorca and city of Gibraltar.

III. That if any Engliſh ſhip ſhall receive paſſengers and goods on board belonging to the kingdom of Algiers, the Engliſh ſhall defend ſuch paſſengers and goods, as far as lies in their power, and not deliver them to their enemies, the ſaid paſſengers and goods being regiſter'd in the books of the Britiſh Conſul.

CHAP. X.

The preſent ſtate of Tunis *and* Tripoli.

CHAP. X.

Situation of Tunis.

THE kingdom of Tunis is bounded by the Mediterranean ſea, on the north; by the ſame ſea and Tripoli, on the eaſt; by mount Atlas, on the ſouth; and by the river Guadilbarbar, which ſeparates it from the kingdom of Algiers, on the weſt; lying between 30 and 37 degrees and a half north latitude, and extending about 200 miles from weſt to eaſt.

Rivers.

The chief rivers are, 1. The Guadilbarbar, already mention'd, which riſing in mount Atlas, runs northwards, and diſcharges itſelf into the Mediterranean near the iſland of Tabarca, ſeparating the kingdom of Tunis from that of Algiers.

2. The Capes, or Capitla, which riſes alſo in the mountains of Atlas, and runs north-eaſt, falling into the ſea near the town of Capes.

3. Megerada, which riſes in mount Atlas, and running northwards, divides the kingdom of Tunis almoſt in two equal parts, diſcharging itſelf into the Mediterranean near the town and iſland of Goletta.

Chief towns.

The chief towns are, 1. Cairoan, ſituated on the river Megerada, latitude 32, ſaid to be the firſt town the Saracens built in this country, and moſt remarkable at preſent for being the burying-place of the Mahometan Princes and Great men.

2. Urbs, ſituated in a fine plain, on a river that falls into the Guadilbarbar, latitude 35, about 150 miles ſouth-weſt of Tunis; chiefly remarkable at preſent for the marble pillars, images, and other Roman antiquities found here.

3. Africa, or El Melidia, ſituated on the Mediterranean, in latitude 35, 90 miles ſouth-eaſt of Tunis, ſaid to be the Adrumetum of the Romans.

4. Suſa, or Ruſpina, ſituated partly on a flat, and partly upon the aſcent of a rock on the Mediterranean, 25 miles to the eaſtward of Tunis: It lies in ruins at preſent, and is ſaid to contain more antiquities than any town in the kingdom: Here is a ſmall harbour, where the gallies and ſmall ſhips belonging to Tunis frequently lie.

Tunis city.

5. The city of Tunis, the capital of the kingdom, ſituated on a fine plain near a ſpacious lake, in 36 degrees and a half north latitude, almoſt overagainſt the iſland of Sicily, and but a few miles from the place where the famous city of Carthage ſtood. It is about three or four leagues diſtant from the Mediterranean, a large, populous city, and a place of ſome trade; the walls about a league in circumference, but of no great ſtrength. The Baſha's palace, the moſques and bagnio's are the moſt remarkable things in it. The houſes of the better ſort of people are built about little ſquares, adorn'd with pillars, galleries and fountains; but have no other light than what they receive from the doors that open into the ſquares; and the roofs of the houſes are flat and terraſs'd, as in other Mahometan countries. When CHARLES V. took it in the year 1535, it is ſaid to have contained an hundred thouſand men, beſides women and children; but this, I preſume, muſt comprehend all ſuch Moors as fled thither for protection on this invaſion of the Chriſtians: Certain it is, the numbers are not near ſo great at preſent.

6. Goletta, ſituate on a little iſland of the ſame name, three or four leagues to the eaſtward of Tunis, may be looked upon as the port-town to that capital. It is defended by two caſtles; one of them built by CHARLES V. who took Goletta before he advanced to Tunis. It was held by the Chriſtians till 1574, and was of great uſe for reſtraining the excurſions of the Turkiſh Corſairs or Rovers, after they made themſelves maſters of Tunis again.

7. Carthage, now a ſmall village, ſituate near Cape Carthage (a promontory in the Mediterranean) ſuppoſed to have obtained its name from being ſituated near, or on part of the ground whereon the city of Carthage ſtood, latitude 36 degrees 40 minutes, three or four leagues north-eaſt of Tunis. Here are ſtill ſome ruins of marble and other ſtones, and ſeveral arches of the Aqueduct ſtanding, that conveyed water to Old Carthage from a hill 30 miles diſtant: But I ſhall enlarge further on the deſcription of Ancient Carthage, when I come to give the hiſtory of that empire.

8. Byſerta, ſaid to be the Utica of the Antients, is ſituated in 37 degrees north latitude, on a fine lake near the ſea, about 30 miles to the northward of Carthage; ſaid to be one of the beſt harbours the Tuniſeens have for their galleys; but not capable at preſent, of receiving ſhips of any great burthen.

9. Porto Farino, ſituated on the Mediterranean, about the midway between Byſerta and Carthage; latitude 37.

Tripoli.

The kingdom of Tripoli, in which I ſhall include Barca (for if Barca be not ſubject to the Baſha of Tripoli, it is ſubject to no body) is bounded by the Mediterranean on the north, by Egypt on the eaſt, by Nubia and Beledulgerid on the ſouth, and by the kingdom of Tunis on the weſt; extending along the Mediterranean from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt (that is, from Tunis to Egypt) at leaſt 1000 miles, and is about 200 miles broad where broadeſt, but in others ſcarce 100, lying between latitude 30 and 33 and a half.

Chief towns.

There are no rivers in this country worth mentioning. That part of it contiguous to Tunis is tolerably fruitful; but all the reſt to the eaſtward, as far as Egypt, is only a parched barren deſart. The chief towns taken notice of by Geographers, are, 1. Old Tripoli; 2. New Tripoli; 3. Zaara; 4. Tachore; 5. Macellat; 6. Elhama; and 7. Mahara.

Tripoli city.

New Tripoli, however, is the only town of any note; which is ſituated in a ſandy plain near the Mediterranean ſea, latitude 33, about 60 leagues ſouth-eaſt of Tunis. It is a populous town, and ſurrounded with a wall and outworks; but the fortifications very mean. Its greateſt ſtrength are in the deſperate Pirates that inhabit it; conſiſting of the ſame ſort of people as inhabit Algiers and Tunis, very formidable to the honeſt trader by ſea and land. The Government of the country reſembles that of Tunis; the Dey being very much under the influence of the Baſha the Grand Signior ſends thither, who levies annually a very conſiderable tribute on the natives of this country (as the Baſha of Tunis does on the natives of that kingdom) which is remitted to the Porte: However, in all caſes where the Baſha does not interpoſe, the Dey may be looked upon as Sovereign of Tripoli.

And as the Government of Tunis and Tripoli is the ſame with that of Algiers (only in that one inſtance, that the Dey in the two former, is under ſome ſubjection to the Baſha; whereas the Dey of Algiers acknowledges no ſuperior:) So are the religion, laws, and cuſtoms of the people of Tunis and Tripoli the ſame with thoſe of Algiers. The governing part are Turks, natives of the Levant, and Renegadoes, cloathed like other Turks, in veſts and turbants; their veſts frequently made of Engliſh cloth, and their turbants of ſilk or linnen: Nor is the cloathing of the Moors, who live in towns, very different from theirs. But the Arabs have ſcarce any cloathing, more than a cloth about their waiſts, and ramble from place to place perpetually, to find herbage and water for their cattle: And therefore, not to trouble my readers with a repetition of theſe articles, I ſhall confine myſelf in treating of Tunis and Tripoli, to the three following particulars.

Bagnio's.

1. Their bagnio's, which were not mentioned in treating of Algiers; 2. The produce of their ſoil and their trade; and 3. The modern hiſtory of theſe countries.

1. As to their baths, there are in Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli, a great number of bagnio's mightily frequented by the Turks, as well upon a religious account, as for health and pleaſure; their religion obliging them to waſh before they enter their temples, or perform their devotions. And to theſe bagnio's foreigners alſo reſort, where they are well accommodated, ſweated and rubbed for a very moderate conſideration. Theſe bagnio's differ in their dimenſions, and the beauty of their building, according as they are frequented by the better, or lower rank of people; but their form and management are much the ſame in all. A gentleman is firſt brought into a handſome large room, where he is undreſſed, and a towel tied about him; from whence he is led into another room, moderately warm, and, after ſome little time, into the grand hall (covered with a cupola) in the middle whereof is the bath. The floor is paved with white marble, as are the little rooms or cloſets in the ſides of it, where people are waſhed and rubbed: The perſon who comes to be bathed, is firſt ſet down upon a marble bench that runs round the hall, and is ſoon ſenſible of an extraordinary heat, which makes him ſweat plentifully; then he is carried into one of the ſide rooms or cloſets of a moderate heat, where a linnen cloth being ſpread upon the floor, and his towel taken off, he lies down at his full length, perfectly naked; then two luſty ſlaves, as naked as the patient, come in, and kneeling down, waſh and rub his arms, legs, and every part of him with a fleſh-bruſh, taking off all the ſcurf and roughneſs of the ſkin; then they waſh him all over again, and after that dry him with clean towels. They alſo rub the hairy parts (if they are not directed otherwiſe) with the powder of a certain earth, which immediately fetches off all the hair; and this ſerves inſtead of ſhaving: Then they waſh and dry the party again, pair his nails, ſqueeze and mould his fleſh, and ſtretch and pull his limbs with that violence, that his bones crack again, and thoſe who are not uſed to it, would be apt to think them all diſlocated. This is looked upon to be exceeding wholeſome; but if a gentleman don't like this rough management, he may be more gently dealt with. The women have their ſeveral baths, where they are attended by ſhe-ſlaves, and no man is permitted to enter theſe, under the ſevereſt penalties, upon any pretence whatever: And indeed perſons of diſtinction always have bagnio's for themſelves and their women, in their own houſes.

Produce and traffick of the country.

As to the produce and traffick of Tunis and Tripoli: Theſe countries breed abundance of Camels and fine Horſes, and produce Corn and Olives plentifully. In Tripoli they have exceeding fine wool, and in Tunis a good manufacture of Soap; and as Mulberry-trees thrive prodigiouſly in both kingdoms, no country is more proper for ſilk, though very little cultivated; the reaſon whereof may be, that the Turks encourage ſcarce any manufactures, and can come by theſe a much eaſier way than by breeding Silk-worms; namely, by robbing honeſt Merchants that traffick in thoſe ſeas. However, the Europeans do trade with the people of Tunis and Tripoli for Corn, Oil, Wool, Soap, Dates, Oſtrich-feathers, ſkins of wild and tame Beaſts; but one of the beſt branches of their commerce here, is Slaves; the European Chriſtians, taken by their piratical ſhips, they ſet very high ranſoms upon, or force them to ſerve at ſea and land in all manner of employments and drudgery. They have alſo ſome traffick for Negroe-ſlaves to the ſouthward. The Camels they uſually ſell in Egypt, and their fine Horſes to the French: But they get much more by their piracies than by trade; and indeed this furniſhes them with every manufacture of Europe, as has been obſerved already, which the Jews, who are very numerous here as well as in the reſt of the towns of Barbary, know how to make their advantages of, by trafficking with ſuch goods in the country, or exporting them again to places where there is a demand for them.

Modern hiſtory of Tunis and Tripoli.

The Turks have been maſters of Tunis ever ſince the year 1532, when HEYRADIN BARBAROSSA, Dey of Algiers, a brother and ſucceſſor of BARBAROSSA I. obtained the dominion of this kingdom in much the ſame manner as his brother acquired that of Algiers. The people of Tunis, it ſeems, invited him thither to deliver them from the oppreſſion they ſuffered (or pretended to ſuffer) under the adminiſtration of their lawful Prince: Whereupon HEYRADIN having made a voyage to the Porte, and procured a large fleet and a ſtrong reinforcement of Janizaries, from thence made a deſcent near Goletta, the port-town to Tunis, and advancing towards the city MULEY HASSAN, their King thought fit to quit his capital without ſtriking a ſtroke, and ſuffer BARBAROSSA to take poſſeſſion of it. The uſurper remained pretty quiet in his new acquired dominion for about three years: But the depoſed Prince applying himſelf to the Emperor CHARLES V. imploring his aſſiſtance to reſtore him to his throne, and repreſenting alſo of what dangerous conſequence it would be, to ſuffer the Turks to ſettle at Tunis, which lay ſo near Italy and Sicily; his imperial Majeſty embarked in perſon, in the year 1535, with a conſiderable army, and make a deſcent on the coaſt of Tunis, where he took the caſtle of Goletta by ſtorm, and the city of Tunis thereupon open'd her gates to him, Barbarossa abandoning the town when he found himſelf too weak to reſiſt the numerous forces of the Chriſtians. Before the uſurper left Tunis, he had order'd ſome renegadoes to ſet fire to the gunpowder, and blow up all the Chriſtian ſlaves which were lodg'd near that magazine; but in this he was not obey'd, and the Emperor, 'tis ſaid, on taking of the city, ſet at liberty no leſs than twenty thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, which theſe pirates had carried into captivity during the three years they were maſters of the place.

His imperial Majeſty having reſtor'd Muley Hassan to his throne, reimbark'd his troops, leaving only a ſtrong garriſon of Chriſtians in the caſtle of Goletta: But Muley, it ſeems, was again depoſed by his rebellious ſubjects the Moors, and forced to take refuge a ſecond time in the Emperor's court. Some few years after, the Turks retook both Goletta and Tunis, and ſtill remain poſſeſs'd of them, the Tuniſeens being always in a ſtate of war with Spain and Italy: Thoſe coaſts have ever ſince been miſerably infeſted by them, and multitudes of the natives carried into captivity. They are alſo frequently at war with the reſt of the nations of Europe, and make prize of all they meet with; but the Engliſh had the good fortune to clap up a peace with them in the year 1682, which has been renew'd from time to time; and, in the year 1716, the following Articles were agreed on, which are ſtill in force.

Articles of peace and commerce between his moſt ſacred Majeſty George, *by the grace, &c. and the moſt excellent Lords* Ali *Baſha*, Hassan Ben Ali *Bey*, Cara Mustafa *Dey*, *the Aga and the Divan of the moſt noble city of Tunis, and the whole body of the Militia of the ſaid kingdom, renew'd and concluded anno Domini* 1716, *by* John Baker, *Eſq*; *Vice-Admiral, &c.*

Peace with Tunis.

I. THAT all former grievances and loſſes and other pretenſions between both parties, ſhall be void and of no effect, and from henceforward a firm peace for ever; free trade and commerce ſhall be, and continue between the ſubjects of his moſt ſacred Majeſty George, King of Great-Britain, &c. and the people of the kingdom of Tunis, and the dominions thereunto belonging: But that this article ſhall not cancel, or make void any juſt debt, either in commerce, or otherwiſe, that may be due, from any perſon or perſons, to others of either party; but that the ſame ſhall be liable to be demanded, and be recoverable as before.

II. That the ſhips of either party ſhall have free liberty to enter into any port or river belonging to the dominions of either party, paying the duties only for what they ſhall ſell, tranſporting the reſt without any trouble or moleſtation, and freely enjoy any other privileges accuſtom'd; and the late exaction, that has been upon the lading and unlading of goods at Goletta, and the Marine, ſhall be reduced to the ancient cuſtoms in thoſe caſes.

III. That there ſhall not be any ſeizure of any ſhips of either party at ſea, or in port; but that they ſhall quietly paſs, without any moleſtation or interruption, they diſplaying their colours: And, for prevention of all inconveniencies that may happen, the ſhips of Tunis are to have a certificate, under the hand and ſeal of the Britiſh Conſul, that they belong to Tunis; which, being produc'd, the Engliſh ſhip ſhall admit two men to come on board them, peaceably to ſatisfy themſelves they are Engliſh; and, altho' they have paſſengers of other nations on board, they ſhall be free, both they and their effects.

IV. That if an Engliſh ſhip ſhall receive on board any goods or paſſengers, belonging to the kingdom of Tunis, they ſhall be bound to defend them and their goods, ſo far as lies in their power, and not deliver them unto their enemies: And the better to prevent any unjuſt demands being made upon the Crown of Great-Britain, and to avoid diſputes and differences which may ariſe, all goods and merchandizes, that ſhall from henceforward be ſhipp'd by the ſubjects of this Government, either in this port, or any other whatſoever, on board the ſhips or veſſels belonging to Great-Britain, ſhall be firſt enter'd in the office of Cancellaria, before the Britiſh Conſul reſiding at the reſpective ports, expreſſing the quantity, quality and value of the goods ſo ſhipp'd, which the ſaid Conſul is to certify in the clearance given to the ſaid ſhip, or veſſel, before ſhe departs; to the end, that, if any cauſe of complaint ſhould happen hereafter, there may be no greater claim made on the Britiſh nation, than by this method ſhall be proved to be juſt and equitable.

V. That if any of the ſhips of either party ſhall, by accident of foul weather or otherwiſe, be caſt away upon any coaſt belonging to either party, the perſons ſhall be free, and the goods ſaved, and deliver'd to their lawful proprietors.

VI. That the Engliſh, which do at preſent, or ſhall at any time hereafter, inhabit in the city, or kingdom of Tunis, ſhall have free liberty, when they pleaſe, to tranſport themſelves with their families and children, tho' born in the country.

VII. That the people, belonging to the dominions of either party, ſhall not be abuſed with ill language, or otherwiſe ill-treated; but that the parties, ſo offending, ſhall be puniſh'd ſeverely according to their deſerts.

VIII. That the Conſul, or any other of the Engliſh nation reſiding in Tunis, ſhall not be forced to make their addreſſes, in any difference, unto any court of juſtice, but to the Bey himſelf, from whom only they ſhall receive judgment; this, in caſe the difference ſhould happen between a ſubject of Great-Britain, and another of this Government, or any other foreign nation: But, if it ſhould be between any two of his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects, then it is to be decided by the Britiſh Conſul only.

IX. That the Conſul, or any other of the Britiſh nation, ſhall not be liable to pay the debts of any particular perſon of the nation, unleſs obliged thereunto under his hand.

X. That as the iſland of Minorca in the Mediterranean ſea, and the city of Gibraltar in Spain, have been yielded and annex'd to the crown of Great-Britain, as well by the King of Spain, as by all the ſeveral Powers of Europe engag'd in the late war: Now it is hereby agreed, and fully concluded, that, from this time forward for ever, the ſaid iſland of Minorca, and city of Gibraltar, ſhall be eſteem'd, in every reſpect, by the Government of Tunis to be part of his Britannick Majeſty's own dominions, and the inhabitants thereof to be look'd upon as his Majeſty's natural ſubjects, in the ſame manner, as if they had been born in any part of Great-Britain; and they, with their ſhips and veſſels, wearing the Britiſh colours, ſhall be permitted freely to trade and traffick in any part of the kingdom of Tunis, and ſhall paſs without any moleſtation whatſoever, either on the ſeas, or elſewhere, in the ſame manner, and with the ſame freedom and privileges as have been ſtipulated in this and all former treaties, in behalf of the Britiſh nation and ſubjects.

XI. And the better and more firmly to maintain the good correſpondence and friendſhip, that hath been ſo long and happily eſtabliſh'd between the Crown of Great-Britain, and the Government of Tunis; it is hereby agreed and concluded by the parties before mention'd, that none of the ſhips or veſſels belonging to Tunis, or the dominions thereof, ſhall be permitted to cruiſe, or look for prizes of any nation whatſoever, before or in ſight of the aforeſaid city of Gibraltar, or any of the ports of the iſland of Minorca, to hinder or moleſt any veſſels, bringing proviſions and refreſhments for his Britannick Majeſty's troops and garriſons in thoſe places, or give any diſturbance to the trade or commerce thereof; and, if any prize ſhall be taken by the ſhips or veſſels of Tunis, within the ſpace of ten miles of the aforeſaid places, it ſhall be reſtored without any diſpute.

XII. That all the ſhips of war belonging to either party's dominions ſhall have free liberty to uſe each other's ports for waſhing, cleaning or repairing any of their defects, and to buy and to ſhip off any ſort of victuals alive or dead, or any other neceſſaries, at the price the natives buy at in the market, without paying cuſtom to any officer: And whereas his Britannick Majeſty's ſhips of war do frequently aſſemble and harbour in the port of Mahon in the iſland of Minorca; if at any time they, or his Majeſty's troops in garriſon there, ſhould be in want of proviſions, and ſhould ſend from thence to purchaſe ſupplies in any part of the dominions belonging to Tunis, they ſhall be permitted to buy cattle alive or dead, and all other kind of proviſion, at the prices they are ſold at in the market, and ſhall be ſuffer'd to carry them off without paying duty to any officer, in the ſame manner as if his Majeſty's ſhips were themſelves in the port.

XIII. That in caſe any ſhips of war, belonging to the kingdom of Tunis, ſhall take, in any of their enemy's ſhips, any Engliſhmen ſerving for wages, they are to be made ſlaves; but, if Merchants or Paſſengers, they are to enjoy their liberty and effects unmoleſted.

XIV. That in caſe any ſlave in the kingdom of Tunis, of any nation whatſoever, ſhall make his eſcape, and get on board any ſhip belonging to the dominions of his ſacred Majeſty the King of Great-Britain, &c. the Conſul ſhall not be liable to pay the ranſom, unleſs timely notice be given him to order that none ſuch be entertain'd; and then, if it appears that any ſlave has ſo got away, the ſaid Conſul is to pay to his patron the price for which he was ſold in the market; and, if no price be ſet, then to pay 300 dollars, and no more.

XV. And, the better to prevent any diſpute, that may hereafter ariſe between the two parties, about ſalutes and publick ceremonies, it is hereby agreed and concluded, that whenever any Flag-officer of Great-Britain ſhall arrive in the bay of Tunis, in any of his majeſty's ſhips of war, immediately upon notice given thereof, there ſhall be five and twenty cannon fir'd from the caſtles of Goletta, or other the neareſt fortification belonging to Tunis, according to cuſtom, as a royal ſalute to his Britannick Majeſty's colours, and the ſame number ſhall be return'd in anſwer thereto by his Majeſty's ſhips; and it is hereby ſtipulated and agreed, that all ceremonies of honour ſhall be allow'd to the Britiſh Conſul, who reſides here, to repreſent, in every reſpect, his Majeſty's perſon, equal to any other nation whatſoever, and no other Conſul in the kingdom to be admitted before him in precedency.

XVI. That the ſubjects of his ſacred Majeſty of Great-Britain, &c. either reſiding in, or trading to the dominions of Tunis, ſhall not for the time to come, pay any more than three per Cent. cuſtom, on the value of goods or merchandize, which they ſhall either bring into, or carry out of this ſaid kingdom of Tunis.

XVII. It is moreover agreed, concluded and eſtabliſh'd, that, at whatſoever time it ſhall pleaſe the Government of Tunis to reduce the cuſtoms of the French nation to leſs than they pay at preſent, it ſhall always be obſerv'd, that the Britiſh cuſtoms ſhall be two per Cent. leſs than any agreement that ſhall for the future be made with the ſaid French, or than ſhall be paid by the ſubjects of France.

XVIII. It is moreover agreed, concluded and eſtabliſh'd, that in caſe any Britiſh ſhip or ſhips, or any of the ſubjects of his Majeſty of Great-Britain, ſhall import, at the port of Tunis, or any other port of this kingdom, any warlike ſtores; as Cannons, Muſkets, Piſtols, Cannon-powder or Fine-powder, Bullets, Maſts, Anchors, Cables, Pitch, Tar, or the like; as alſo proviſions (viz.) Wheat, Barley, Beans, Oats, Oil, or the like; for the ſaid kinds of merchandize, they ſhall not pay any ſort of duty or cuſtom whatever.

We, the Parties before-mention'd, having ſeen and peruſed the preceding Articles, do hereby approve, ratify and confirm the ſeveral particulars therein mention'd, and they are to remain firm for ever, without any alteration: In teſtimony of which, we do hereunto ſet our hands and ſeals, in the preſence of Almighty God, in the noble city of Tunis, the 30th day of Auguſt, O. S. and in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1716, being the 26th day of the moon Ramadam, and the year of the Hejira 1128.

(*L. S.*) J. Baker (*L. S.*) (*L. S.*) (*L. S.*)

CHAP. XI.

The preſent ſtate of the African *iſlands.*

CHAP. XI.

Iſlands eaſt of Africa.

THE iſlands of Africa ſtill remain to be deſcrib'd; of which the principal are, 1. Badmandel; 2. Zocotara; 3. The iſlands of Comorro; 4. Prince Maurice's iſland, or the Mauritius; 5. The iſland of Bourbon; and, 6. Madagaſcar; all which lie in the Indian ocean, eaſtward of the continent of Africa.

Iſlands ſouth-weſt of Africa.

On the ſouth-weſt part of Africa lie, 1. The iſland of St. Helena; 2. Aſcenſion; 3. St. Matthew; 4. Annabon; 5. St. Thomas; 6. Princes iſland; and, 7. The iſland of Fernando Po.

Iſlands on the north-weſt part of Africa.

On the north-weſt part of Africa lie, 1. The iſlands of Cape Verd; 2. The Canary iſlands; 3. The iſlands of Madera; and, 4. The Azores.

Babmandel.

The iſland of Bab, or Babelmandel, olim Diodorus, lies at the entrance into the Red-ſea, and forms one ſide of the famous ſtreight of Babel, or Babmandel: It is ſituated in 13 degrees north latitude, and is about five miles in circumference. The Ethiopians and Arabians formerly contended with great fury for the poſſeſſion of it, being a place of the laſt importance, as it commanded the entrance into the Red-ſea, and preſerv'd a communication between Ethiopia and Arabia; but ſince the Turks have poſſeſs'd themſelves of both ſhores, the iſland is in a manner deſerted, being a ſandy barren ſoil, and affording ſcarce any ſuſtenance for man or beaſt.

Zocotora.

The iſland of Zocotora, or Socotra, is ſituated in the eaſtern ocean in 12 degrees north latitude, 30 leagues to the eaſtward of cape Gardefoy, being about 25 leagues long, and 18 broad. There is but one town in the iſland, where the Shiek, or Sovereign reſides; the reſt of the inhabitants live in cottages diſpers'd about the country. There are two pretty good harbours on the coaſt, where European ſhips formerly uſed to put in, when they were diſappointed of their paſſage to India by the monſons; but this ſeldom happens now, our Mariners are ſo well acquainted with the winds and ſeaſons in this part of the world. The people of this iſland are a mixture of Pagans and Mahometans, and have ſcarce any foreign traffick. Their uſual food is milk, dates, roots, and ſome fleſh: The country affords ſcarce any merchandize fit for exportation, unleſs it be Frankincenſe, Aloes, and the gum call'd Dragons-blood.

Comorro iſlands.

Johanna deſcrib'd.

The iſlands of Comorro are five in number, and lie between the coaſt of Zanguebar, and the north-end of the iſland of Madagaſcar, from 10 to 15 degrees of ſouth latitude: That which is moſt frequented, and conſequently beſt known to the Europeans, is the iſland of Johanna, where ſhips touch for refreſhments in their paſſage to Bombay, and the Malabar coaſts of India. This iſland lies in 12 degrees and an half north latitude, and is 30 miles long, and 15 broad. The people are Negroes of the Mahometan religion, extremely hoſpitable, eſpecially to the Engliſh. They live under a monarchical form of government; from which, it ſeems, the females are not excluded. They have great plenty of black Cattle and Goats; of Fowls, Rice, Potatoes, Yams, Honey, Wax, Bananoes, Tamarinds, Lemons, Oranges, Pine-apples, Cocoa-nuts, and other fruits. And I find the women, as in other parts of Africa, are employ'd in huſbandry, and other laborious works, while the men indulge their eaſe. They are a very plain, inoffenſive people; but do not abound in wealth, and ſcarce know the uſe of arms, or what war means. Neither do their Kings take ſtate upon them, but converſe familiarly both with their ſubjects, and foreigners. They have but two towns; to one whereof our Mariners have given the name of King's-Town, from its being the reſidence of their Kings; and to the other Queen's-Town, ſome of their Queens having made it the ſeat of their Government. Theſe towns are built with ſtone and timber; but the reſt of their houſes are only mean cottages diſpers'd all over the country: Their uſual food is Rice boil'd, Meat, Milk, Roots, and Cocoa-nuts; and the Milk of the young Cocoa-nuts ſerves them for drink, as the ſhells do for cups. They are under ſtrange apprehenſions of miſchief from the Devil, and burn him in effigy once a year, 'tis ſaid: They ſeem alſo to abhor the place where any one happens to die; either out of a dread of departed ſpirits, the univerſal foible of the common people; or, as others ſuggeſt, becauſe they look upon the place where any man dies to be polluted; but, after ſome time, they return to the place again, and inhabit the rooms where their friends happen'd to draw their laſt breath.

The reſt of the iſlands of Comorro are much about the ſame dimenſions, inhabited by the ſame kind of people, and produce the like plants and fruits; and therefore it is perfectly unneceſſary to enter upon a particular deſcription of them.

The iſland of Prince Maurice: or, the Mauritius.

The next iſland I am to deſcribe, is that of Prince Maurice, or the Mauritius, belonging to the Dutch, who gave it this name in honour of their Stadtholder Prince Maurice, under whoſe adminiſtration they made themſelves maſters of it. This iſland is ſituated in 20 degrees ſouth latitude, 100 leagues eaſt of Madagaſcar; being of an oval form, and about 50 leagues in circumference, abounding in woods of various kinds, particularly Ebony. There are alſo abundance of very high mountains, from whence their rivers fall in torrents. The Dutch have a fort, and a garriſon of 50 men in the iſland; beſides which, there may be three or fourſcore families of Hollanders, who keep abundance of Negroe ſlaves that are employ'd in huſbandry, and other laborious work. The Dutch found this iſland uninhabited, and conſequently uncultivated; nor was there any other cattle upon it but Deer and Goats; the Dutch have now introduc'd almoſt all the plants of Aſia and Europe, and well ſtock'd the iſland with cattle and poultry: Rice and Pulſe, Sugar-canes and Tobacco alſo are rais'd here, but in no great quantities; nor does the ſoil ſeem proper for corn or wine. The Hollanders touch here in their paſſage from the Cape to Batavia; and, as neither of theſe colonies abound in good timber, it is probable they are ſupplied with it from the Mauritius; for, 'tis ſaid, they have a great many ſaw-mills erected on the rivers in this iſland; but the reaſon the Dutch firſt poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Mauritius, was for a baiting-place between Europe and India, having no other place to touch at in that long voyage, before they were maſters of the Cape of Good Hope.

Bourbon iſland.

I come, in the next place, to treat of the iſland of Bourbon, call'd England's Foreſt by the Engliſh, who firſt diſcover'd it. This iſland is ſituated in 21 degrees ſouth latitude, about 40 leagues ſouth-weſt of Mauritius. It is of an oval figure, and about 30 leagues in circumference; finely diverſified with mountains and plains, foreſts, and champain-fields, has plenty of wood and water, and a fruitful ſoil, except one part of the iſland, which has been burnt up and render'd barren by a vulcano, or ſubterraneous fires. The Portugueſe firſt diſcover'd it, anno 1545, and ſtock'd it with Hogs and Goats, as if they intended to have made a ſettlement here; but afterwards deſerted it again. Captain CASTLETON, an Engliſh Commander, touch'd here in the year 1613, and was ſo taken with the beauty of the iſland, that he gave it the name of the Engliſh Foreſt: But our Eaſt-India Company did not think it worth while to fix a colony here. The French afterwards took poſſeſſion of it in the year 1654, and gave it the name of Bourbon, and left ſome few people and ſlaves there, who afterwards came away in an Engliſh ſhip; however, the French ſtill lay claim to the iſland, tho' they make little or no uſe of it, there being no harbour upon the coaſt, or any thing to induce them to viſit it, but the freſh proviſions they meet with here, on their voyage to and from India; ſuch as black Cattle, Hogs, Goats, Tortoiſes, tame and wild Fowls, Oranges, Lemons, and other fruits, roots and herbs.

Madagaſcar.

The largeſt of the African iſlands, and indeed of the whole world, except that of Borneo, is that of Madagaſcar, call'd by the Portugueſe St. Laurence, from its being diſcover'd on St. LAURENCE's day, anno 1506; tho' others ſay, it obtain'd this name from Laurence Almeida (ſon of Almeida, the Portugueſe Viceroy of the Eaſt-Indies) who diſcovered it: But however that be, Madagaſc, or Madagaſcar, is the name the natives give it, and by which it is moſt commonly known at this day.

The iſland of Madagaſcar is ſituated between the 12th and 26th degrees of ſouth latitude, 40 leagues eaſt of the continent of Africa, being about 1000 miles in length from north to ſouth, and generally between 2 and 300 miles broad; only towards the north it grows much narrower, and terminates in a point: It is a fruitful country, abounding in cattle, corn, fiſh, fowl, herbs, roots and flowers; and almoſt all manner of animals and vegetables, that are to be found on the neighbouring continent of Africa may be met with here; and there are ſcarce any plants of Aſia or Europe, except the fine ſpices, but will flouriſh here, as the French inform us, who made the experiment at their ſettlement of Fort Dauphin. As to the face of the country; it is univerſally agreed, that it affords a pleaſing variety of hills and valleys, woods and champain, and is well water'd with ſprings and rivers; and that there are ſeveral good harbours upon the coaſt: But ſtill it is found not to produce any kind of merchandize; which, for quantity and quality, can induce any one European nation to attempt the conqueſt of it, or fix any conſiderable colonies here. The Portugueſe, Engliſh, Dutch and French, have ſucceſſively endeavour'd to diſcover ſomething that might turn to account: They were long amuſed with hopes, that there were gold and ſilver mines in the iſland; but there ſeems now to be little hopes of finding theſe tempting minerals, or the precious ſtones that our voyage-writers talk ſo much of, in any quantity. We purchaſe ſcarce any thing here but Negroe ſlaves, which the natives barter with the European nations for cloathing, hard-ware, tools or toys; and here the ſhipping, bound to and from India, ſometimes furniſh themſelves with water, freſh proviſions and fruits: The natives, eſpecially in the inland country, are generally Negroes, like thoſe on the neighbouring continent; but there are both White men and Malatto's upon the coaſt, who ſpeak Arabick, and therefore are ſuppoſed to come from Arabia, as well as becauſe their religion is a mixture of Mahometiſm, Judaiſm and Paganiſm: But, tho' they retain circumciſion, and ſome other Mahometan rites, thoſe who have viſited the iſland, relate, they have no moſques or temples, or any regular publick worſhip, tho' they acknowledge a deity, and perform ſome acts of adoration.

The country is ſtill divided amongſt ſeveral petty princes or monarchs, which would make it an eaſy conqueſt, did their ſoil produce any thing to incite the avarice or ambition of the European powers to attempt it; and here, as on the continent, the ſeveral tribes being frequently at war with each other, make ſlaves of their priſoners, whom they barter away, and exchange, with ſuch merchants as viſit their coaſts, for cloathing, ſtrong liquors, and ſuch utenſils and neceſſaries as they want: But I don't find they wear any other cloathing, than a piece of Cotton, Calicoe, or Linnen cloth about their waiſts, adorning their arms with bracelets, their necks with necklaces, and their hair with ſome glittering trifles. Their arms are ſtill bows and arrows, darts and launces, with a ſhield for their defence: They ſeem terribly afraid of fire-arms: Their houſes are only round little huts, 30 or 40 of which form a village: There is not any thing that can be call'd a town in the whole country. They go a fiſhing in their ſeas and rivers in canoos, made of the bodies of large trees hollow'd; and they have alſo larger boats, 'tis ſaid, of boards ſew'd together with cordoage made of the Cocoa-nut-tree, but no ſhips.

The places where the Europeans have attempted to eſtabliſh ſettlements in Madagaſcar, are either at the bay of St. Auſtins, on the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland; or at Fort Dauphin, on the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland. The Portugueſe, Engliſh and Dutch, have ſucceſſively ſent detachments to the bay of St. Auſtins, to explore the country, and then abandon'd it again; and the French, on the other ſide of the iſland, built Fort Dauphin, placed a garriſon there, and penetrated far into the country, propoſing not only to make themſelves maſters of this iſland, but of the navigation of the Indian ſeas; but they ſeem at length to be convinc'd, that their project was impacticable, and only make uſe of Fort Dauphin at preſent, as a place of refreſhment, in their voyages to and from India.

Some account of Avery and the Pirates at Madagaſcar.

It was once expected, that the Pirates would have made a ſettlement in this iſland, and uſurp'd the dominion of it, having ſix or ſeven ſail of ſhips, with which they uſed to infeſt the Indian ſeas, and carry their prizes into a place of ſecurity, on the north-eaſt part of Madagaſcar, where they poſſeſs'd themſelves of a harbour of difficult acceſs, and defended from ſtorms by the little iſland of St. Mary's, which lies before it in 17 degrees ſouth latitude.

The Court of England, about the year 1700, ſent a ſquadron of four men of war, commanded by Commadore Warren, to drive the Pirates from thence; but he, finding it impoſſible to come at them, publiſh'd a proclamation, in purſuance of his inſtructions, offering a pardon to all that would come in (except Avery their leader); but not a man came over to him. The Commodore afterwards proceeded to Fort St. George in the Eaſt-Indies, where the writer of theſe papers ſaw him. This gentleman uſed his utmoſt diligence to meet with the Pirates in the ſeas of India, but to no purpoſe; and, having left one or two of his ſhips on the ſhoals near Malacca, return'd with the reſt to England: However, his expedition had this good effect, that the Pirates durſt not ſtir out from Madagaſcar; and, finding they were ſo narrowly watch'd, they agreed to divide what they had got, and diſperſe themſelves. Two of them were afterwards taken by the Dutch at Malacca; and, being ſent to Fort St. George, were brought over to England in the Fowland, being the ſame ſhip the author came home in the year 1701: What became of Avery himſelf I could never learn; but 'tis probable he is dead, or remains conceal'd in the iſland of Madagaſcar to this time; for he can expect no mercy from any of the Powers of Europe, if he ſhould fall into their hands; but, as for his being in ſuch circumſtances, as to lay the foundation of a new ſtate or kingdom in this iſland, this report poſſibly deſerves but little credit: We ſhould have heard more of him after ſo many years elaps'd, if he had made any figure there.

Iſlands ſouth-weſt of Africa.

St. Helena.

I ſhall now repaſs the Cape of Good Hope, and take a view of the iſlands on the ſouth-weſt part of Africa; and the firſt we meet with in the Atlantick ocean, in ſailing from the Cape, is St. Helena, ſo named by the Portugueſe, who diſcover'd it on St. Helen's day, in the year 1502. This iſland is ſituated in 16 degrees ſouth latitude, about 600 leagues north-weſt of the Cape of Good Hope, almoſt in the mid-way between the continents of Africa and America, but nearer to that of Africa, from whence it is diſtant about 1200 miles: The winds blowing always from the ſouth-eaſt a moderate gale, it is an exceeding pleaſant voyage from the Cape to St. Helena, and performed in leſs than three weeks, without handing a ſail, or giving the leaſt trouble to the ſeamen. But there is no ſailing to this iſland directly from the northward, the winds always blowing from the ſouth-eaſt in theſe ſeas. When a ſhip therefore is ſent from England to St. Helena, it firſt ſails as far ſouthward as the Cape of Good Hope, and then returns to St. Helena: I queſtion whether three ſhips ever made the iſland in going directly from Europe, ſince it has been diſcovered. The iſland is about 21 miles in circumference, and high land, for it may be diſcerned at ſea above 20 leagues diſtance: It conſiſts indeed of one vaſt rock, ſteep on every ſide as a church-ſteeple, and looks like a caſtle in the middle of the ocean, whoſe natural walls are of that height, that there is no ſcaling them, or indeed any landing on the iſland, but at a ſmall valley, called Chappel-valley, in a bay on the eaſt-ſide of it, which is defended by a battery of forty or fifty great guns, planted even with the water; and the waves daſhing perpetually on the ſhore, it is at all times difficult landing even here. There is alſo one little creek beſides, where two or three men may land at a time; but this is now defended by a battery of five or ſix guns, and rendered inacceſſible. There is no anchorage any where about the iſland, but at Chappel-valley bay; and as the wind always ſits from the ſouth-eaſt, if a ſhip over ſhoots the iſland never ſo little, ſhe cannot recover it again.

A little beyond the landing-place in Chappel-valley, is a fort, where the Governor reſides with the garriſon; and in the ſame valley there is a pretty town, conſiſting of forty or fifty houſes, built after the Engliſh way, whither the people of the iſland reſort when any ſhipping appears, as well to aſſiſt in the defence of the iſland, if they happen to be enemies, as to entertain the ſeamen, if they are friends: For the Governor has always ſentinels on the higheſt part of the iſland to the windward, who give notice of the approach of all ſhipping, and guns are thereupon fired, that every man may reſort to his poſt. It is impoſſible for any ſhip to come in the night-time, but what has been diſcovered the day before, and preparations made for her reception, if an enemy.

Notwithſtanding the iſland on every ſide appears to be a hard barren rock, yet on the top it is cover'd with a fine ſtaple of earth a foot or a foot and a half deep, which produces all manner of grain, graſs, fruits, herbs, roots, and garden-ſtuff: And the country, after we have aſcended the rock, is prettily diverſified with riſing hills and plains, adorned with plantations of fruit-trees, and kitchen-gardens, among which the houſes of the natives are interſperſed; and in the open fields are herds of cattle always grazing, ſome of which are fatted to ſupply the ſhipping that touches here, and the reſt furniſheth their daries with milk, butter, and cheeſe: They abound alſo in Hogs, Goats, Turkeys, and all manner of poultry; and their ſeas are well ſtored with fiſh. The greateſt misforune is, that amidſt all this affluence of other things, they have neither bread nor wine of their own growth; for tho' the ſoil is extremely proper for Wheat, yet the rats, which harbour in the rocks and cannot be deſtroyed, eat up all the ſeed before the grain is well out of the ground: And though the Vines flouriſh and afford them Grapes enough, yet the latitude is too hot for making wine: As I have obſerved already, there is no country within the Torrid Zone, where good wine is produced; neither cold nor very hot countries agree with this liquor.

All the wine they ſpend therefore, they have from the Canaries, the Madera's, or the Cape, which is brought to them in European ſhipping, as well as their flour and malt: And their very houſes are ſome of them brought ready framed from England, there being no timber on the iſland, trees not taking deep root here for the rock that lies ſo near the ſurface. However they have underwood enough for their neceſſary uſes, in this warm climate.

Beſides Grapes, they have Plantans, Bananas-figs, Lemons, and ſuch other fruits as hot countries uſually produce; and they make ſhift to raiſe Kidney-beans, and ſome other kinds of pulſe in their gardens; though they cannot preſerve their grain from the Rats: And, to ſupply the want of bread, they eat Potatoes or Yams.

There were upon the iſland, when I was on ſhore there, in the year 1701; about two hundred families, moſt of them Engliſh, or deſcended from Engliſh parents; though there were ſome French refugees amongſt them, brought thither to cultivate their vines, and teach them to make wine; but in this, it ſeems, the heat of the climate prevented their ſucceeding, as has been obſerved already. Every family has its houſe and plantation on the higher part of the iſland, where they look after their cattle, their Hogs, Goats, and poultry, fruits, and kitchen-gardens: They ſcarce ever come down to the town in Chappel-valley, unleſs it be once a week to church, or when the ſhipping arrives, when moſt of the houſes in the valley are converted into punch-houſes, or lodgings for their gueſts, to whom they ſell their cattle, poultry, fruits, or garden-ſtuff. But the inhabitants are not ſuffered to purchaſe any merchandize of the ſhips that touch here: Whatever they want of foreign growth or manufacture, they are obliged to buy at the Company's ware-houſe, where they may furniſh themſelves twice every month with Brandy, European, or Cape wines, Batavia Arrack, Malt, Beer, Sugar, Tea, Coffee, China and Japan ware; Linnen, Calicoes, Chints, Muſlins, Ribbands, Woollen-cloth and ſtuffs, and all manner of cloathing; for which they are allowed ſix months credit. The coin chiefly current here, is Spaniſh dollars, or Engliſh money.

Perſons of the natives of St. Helena.

There is no place out of England, where the natives have ſuch freſh ruddy complexions, and robuſt conſtitutions, as we meet with here. The children and deſcendants of white people, in any latitude among the Tropicks, look like a piece of dough-paſte, without any manner of colour: But the natives of St. Helena have generally a good mixture of red and white, attended with a good degree of health; which may be aſcribed to the following cauſes. They live on the top of a mountain always open to the ſea-breezes that conſtantly blow here: They are uſually employed in the moſt healthful exerciſes of gardening and huſbandry, and their iſland is frequently refreſhed with moderate cooling ſhowers, and there are no fens or ſalt-marſhes about it to annoy them. They are uſed alſo to climb the ſteep hill between the town in Chappel-valley and their plantation, which is ſo ſteep, that they are forced to have a ladder in the middle of it, from thence called Ladder-hill; and this cannot be avoided without going three or four miles about; ſo that they ſeldom want air or exerciſe, the great preſervers of health. As to the genius and tem-

The genius and temper of the people.

temper of the natives; they ſeem'd to me the honeſteſt, the moſt inoffenſive and hoſpitable people I had met with of Engliſh extraction, having ſcarce any tincture of avarice or ambition. I aſked ſome of them, if they had no curioſity to ſee the reſt of the world, of which they had heard ſo many fine things; and how they could confine themſelves to a ſpot of earth, ſcarce ſeven leagues in circumference, and ſeparated from the reſt of mankind? To which they anſwer'd: They enjoy'd all the neceſſaries of life in great plenty: They were neither parch'd with exceſſive heat, or pinch'd with cold: They lived in perfect ſecurity, in no danger of enemies, of robbers, wild beaſts, or rigorous ſeaſons, and were happy in a continued ſtate of health: That as there were no rich men amongſt them (ſcarce any Planter being worth more than a thouſand dollars) ſo there were no poor in the iſland; no man hardly worth leſs than four hundred dollars, and conſequently not oblig'd to undergo more labour than was neceſſary to keep him in health.

That, ſhould they tranſport themſelves to any other country, they underſtood their ſmall fortunes would ſcarce preſerve them from want, and they ſhould be liable to innumerable hazards and hardſhips, which they knew nothing of here, but from the report of their countrymen: And indeed there is but one inconvenience that I can conceive the natives of St. Helena are liable to; and that is, the oppreſſion of their Governor, which has ſometimes been their caſe; and this is not eaſy to be redreſs'd, as the inhabitants have no opportunity of making their grievances known to thoſe who are able to relieve them. However, as far as I could learn, they are generally govern'd with an equal and impartial hand; and while they are ſo, St. Helena to me is a paradiſe, compar'd with any other part of the world. The reader will pardon me, therefore, that I have dwelt ſo long upon this little ſpot of earth, and the rather as it is inhabited by one of the beſt colonies of our countrymen, who ſtill retain the old Engliſh hoſpitality and ſincerity, the unaffected ſimplicity and benevolence our country is ſo remarkable for; and yet are endow'd with courage and ſkill ſufficient to defend their natural fortification (whoſe walls are rocks of a ſurprizing height, and whoſe moat is the vaſt Atlantick ocean) againſt all the Powers of the known world.

A certain diminutive writer has indeed charg'd the females of that iſland with ſome gallantry with the officers of our Eaſt-Indians that go aſhore there; but, I believe, there is leſs of this practiſed at St. Helena, than in any other port-town whatever: Nor did any perſon ever ſuffer here by the ſharping and pilfering tricks of the inhabitants, as the ſea-faring men and paſſengers do in almoſt every other iſland belonging to foreigners; eſpecially thoſe of the Spaniards and Portugueſe, where thoſe that lie on ſhore, ſcarce ever eſcap'd being robb'd, and are ſometimes murder'd: On the contrary, I queſtion whether there be any town either in England or out of it, where there are fewer diſorders and outrages committed than at St. Helena. Here, tho' the people appear with an air of freedom not known in other governments, yet an exact order and diſcipline is obſerv'd, and an univerſal quiet and ſatisfaction ſeems to reign in this fortunate iſland.

The Portugueſe, who diſcover'd it in 1502, ſtor'd it with Hogs, Goats and Poultry, and uſed to touch at it for water and freſh proviſions in their return from India; but I don't find they ever planted a colony here; or if they did, having deſerted it afterwards, the Engliſh Eaſt-India company took poſſeſſion of the iſland in the year 1600, and held it 'till 1673, without interruption, when the Dutch took it by ſurprize. However, the Engliſh, commanded by Captain MUNDEN, recover'd it again within the ſpace of a year, and took three Dutch Eaſt-India ſhips that lay in the road at the ſame time. The Hollanders had fortified the landing-place, and planted batteries of great guns there to prevent a deſcent; but the Engliſh being acquainted with a ſmall creek where only two men could go a-breaſt, climb'd up to the top of the rocks in the night-time, and, appearing the next morning at the backs of the Dutch, they threw down their arms, and ſurrendred the iſland without ſtriking a ſtroke. But this creek has been ſince fortified, and a battery of great guns planted at the entrance of it; ſo that there is now no place where an enemy can make a deſcent with any probability of ſucceſs.

Aſcenſion iſland.

Theſe Tortoiſes have fins inſtead of feet, and are three times as big as a land Tortoiſe.

Dampier caſt away on this iſland.

The iſland of Aſcenſion lies in 8 degrees ſouth latitude, and 200 leagues and upwards north-weſt of St. Helena. This alſo was diſcover'd by the Portugueſe, on Aſcenſion-day, whereupon they gave it the name it bears: But I don't find that they, or any other nation, have yet thought it worth the planting. The iſland is 8 or 10 leagues in circumference, ſome of it pretty high land, but very barren. There is ſcarce any wood, fruit-trees, plants, or herbage upon it: However, the European ſhipping uſually call here in their way from India, and refreſh their half-ſtarv'd crew with the fleſh of Tortoiſes; for abundance of theſe animals frequent that iſland, and the Sailors going on ſhore in the night-time, will turn two or three hundred of them on their back before morning, and are ſo barbarous, ſometimes, as to turn a great many more than they uſe, leaving them to die and ſtink on the ſhore; for the creature can never get up again if he is once turn'd upon his back on level ground: The fleſh is white, and looks like veal, being a very great refreſhment to our Seamen, after they have fed a year or two upon ſalt meat, and perhaps have little or none of that left by that time they arrive here. The ſhip I came home in, had neither meat nor biſcuit for a conſiderable time before we made the iſland of Aſcenſion, nothing but Rice for the ſailors to eat, who were mightily rejoiced therefore when they approach'd that iſland. But the Captain however refuſed to come to an anchor here: He ſaw fires upon the ſhore, and fancied ſome Pirates had made them to draw us in, and therefore made the beſt of his way for England; where we had not been long arriv'd, but we heard it was the famous DAMPIER and his crew, that made thoſe fires upon the Aſcenſion, as a ſignal of their diſtreſs, having been caſt away upon that iſland, and loſt their ſhip; and they were, ſome few days after, taken up by an Engliſh man of war who came that way, and brought to London, after they had been out ſeveral years in attempting inſignificant diſcoveries; for I take DAMPIER to have been a man of no great judgment, and but meanly qualified for ſuch an enterprize, by the account he gave of his voyage; and indeed the charges the Government was at in equipping him out for this expedition was entirely thrown away, for want of ſome perſon of more ſkill and experience to conduct the deſign.

St. Matthew.

The iſland of St. Matthew is ſituated in two degrees of ſouth latitude, 100 leagues north-eaſt of Aſcenſion, and is about 8 leagues in circumference. This iſland alſo was diſcover'd by the Portugueſe, who planted it and kept poſſeſſion of it for ſome time, but have ſince deſerted the iſland, and it now remains uninhabited, having very little to invite other nations to ſettle there, unleſs it be a ſmall lake of freſh water.

Iſlands in the Gulph of Guinea.

The next four iſlands I propoſed to take notice of, viz. Annabon, St. Thomas, Princes Iſland, and Fernando Po, are ſituated in the Gulph of Guinea, between Congo and Benin, and having been all diſcover'd by the Portugueſe, are ſtill in poſſeſſion of that nation.

Annabon iſland.

Annabon is ſituated in 2 degrees of ſouth latitude, 200 miles to the weſtward of Congo, being about 10 leagues in circumference, and mountainous. The name of Annabon, or happy Year, was given it by the Portugueſe, who diſcover'd it on New-year's day, 1571. The Portugueſe have ſtill the government and propriety of the Iſland; but moſt of the inhabitants are Negroes, brought hither from the continent of Africa, and their deſcendants. There are alſo a mingled breed, call'd Malottos, and ſome Portugueſe: The iſland abounds in Cattle, Hogs, Poultry, Oranges, Cocoa-nuts, and ſuch other fruits as are uſually found in hot countries, with Indian Corn and Rice; and there is a convenient road for ſhips on the lee-ſide of the iſland.

St. Thomas's iſland.

The iſland of St. Thomas is ſituated juſt under the Equator, between 40 and 50 leagues to the weſtward of the continent of Africa, and 30 north-eaſt of Annabon, being of a round figure, and about 40 leagues in circumference; diſcover'd by the Portugueſe the ſame year 1571, on St. Thomas's day. This is the moſt conſiderable iſland in the Gulph of Guinea: It is well ſupplied with wood and water, and there is a high mountain in the middle of it, almoſt always cover'd with a cap of clouds. The heat and moiſture of the air render it extremely unhealthful to northern conſtitutions; but the Portugueſe Negroes and Malottos who inhabit it, 'tis ſaid, live to a good old age: They have plenty of Indian Corn, Rice and Fruits, and make a good deal of Sugar. And among other exotick plants the Portugueſe have introduced here, is that of the Cinnamon-tree; but, 'tis ſaid, they are afraid of planting this and the other fine ſpices in any quantity in theſe iſlands, leſt the Dutch ſhould come and take their country from them; for the Hollanders, it ſeems, would make the world believe, that no nation can have a right to the fine ſpices but themſelves; tho' they acquir'd them by treachery and violence, driving the Spaniards, Portugueſe and Engliſh from them by the moſt unjuſt and barbarous practices that ever any people were guilty of. The Spaniards, it ſeems, claim'd all the diſcoveries in the Weſt, by virtue of a grant from the Pope; and the Portugueſe thoſe of the Eaſt, by the like authority: But the Dutch, by an uncommon ſtrain of inſolence, piratically ſeiz'd the Spice-iſlands; and to this day, by high and mighty violence, actually exclude all other nations from them, to the everlaſting reproach of the Engliſh, and the reſt of the European nations, who tamely ſuffer'd themſelves to be expell'd by that encroaching people. The chief town upon the iſland, is call'd St. Thomas, and ſometimes Pavoſan; containing five or ſix hundred houſes, and is the See of Biſhop.

Princes iſland.

Princes iſland is ſituated in 2 degrees of north latitude about 40 leagues north-eaſt of St. Thomas, and as much to the weſtward of the continent of Africa, and is ſaid to be the leaſt of the iſlands in the Gulph of Guinea. It affords Rice, Indian-corn, plenty of fruits, roots and herbs; they have no want of Cattle, Hogs or Goats; but what they abound in moſt is Sugar-canes.

Fernando iſland.

The iſland of Fernando Po, is ſituated in three and a half degrees of north latitude, 10 leagues to the weſtward of the continent, being about 30 miles long and 20 broad; and as it is inhabited by the ſame ſort of people, ſo the ſoil produces much the ſame kind of plants, corn and fruits, as the reſt of the iſlands in the Gulph of Guinea do. The Portugueſe uſually call at ſome of them for refreſhments in their voyages to and from India, and in their paſſage from Brazil to Africa. The Dutch finding them conveniently ſituated for trade, and affording plenty of proviſions, twice attempted to drive the Portugueſe from St. Thomas, and eaſily made themſelves maſters of the iſland; but loſing almoſt all their Officers, Seamen and Soldiers, engag'd in thoſe expeditions, by malignant fevers, were oblig'd to abandon it again, and the Portugueſe ſtill remain in the peaceable poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands; the unhealthfulneſs of the climate being their beſt protection againſt the avarice and ambition of the greedy monopolizing Hollanders.

The Dutch twice attempted to drive the Portugueſe from theſe iſlands.

Cape Verd iſlands.

The iſlands of Cape Verd, ſo named from their being ſituated over-againſt that Cape in Negroeland, tho' they lie upwards of 120 leagues to the weſtward of it, were diſcover'd by Antony Noel, a Genoeſe, in the ſervice of Portugal, anno 1460, and are about twenty in number; but ſome of them only barren rocks uninhabited: The chief of them are Bravo, Fogo, St. Jago, Mago, Bonaviſſa, Sal, St. Nicholas, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, St. Cruz, and St. Antonio, ſituated between 14 and 19 degrees of north latitude. The largeſt of them, St. Jago, is of a triangular figure, 50 or 60 leagues in circumference, rocky and mountainous; but the valleys produce Indian-corn, Cocoa-nuts, Oranges, and ſuch other fruits, plants and roots as are common to hot countries: and here we are ſupplied, in our voyage to India, with Hogs, Goats and Poultry in great abundance. Their ſeas alſo ſo abound with fiſh, that I have ſeen as many dragg'd to ſhore at one haul, as would fill two boats. Hither the Engliſh ſhipping uſually reſort for water and freſh proviſions, in their voyages outward bound to the Eaſt Indies: They come to an anchor in a bay beneath a ruinous fort, ſituate on a high rock, near which there is a pretty large village of Portugueſe Malottos and Negroes; but the chief town, which is a Biſhop's ſee, and the reſidence of the Governor, or Viceroy, as ſome title him, is three or four leagues from thence. None of their towns or forts are of any great ſtrength: And tho' there are men enough upon the iſland, and particularly abundance of Negroes of a good ſtature, arm'd with ſwords, daggers, and lances, who look upon themſelves to be no ordinary Cavaliers; I queſtion if an hundred Grenadiers would not be a force ſufficient to ſubdue the whole iſland, if it was thought worth the while. The Portugueſe, who reſide here, are ſuch as neceſſity or poverty has driven hither, and live a lazy indolent life, ſubſiſting on the fruits and other produce of the country. Some have repreſented them as a treacherous and thieviſh generation; but from the uſage I met with amongſt them, I muſt ſay they do not ſeem to deſerve that character in general: for my part, I look'd upon the Portugueſe here, to be a harmleſs inoffenſive people, and, without any apprehenſion of danger, went aſhore, at St. Jago with two or three friends, and lay in one of their villages all night, where we were entertain'd with all the good humour and hoſpitality imaginable, at a private houſe. After we had ſupp'd, a carpet was ſpread for us to ſleep on: They ſung and play'd upon their

St. Jago, the chief of the Cape Verd iſlands.

country muſick, and in all things ſhew'd themſelves ſo ready to oblige us, that I could not help retaining the good opinion I at firſt conceiv'd of them; tho' Governor Pitts, and the Officers of the ſhip, reprov'd us very ſharply for lying on ſhore, telling us, it was a thouſand to one, but our throats had been cut before morning; and indeed, as to the Negroes, we had ſome inſtances afterwards of their being given to thieving and pilfering what they could get: but I look upon it, we were pretty ſafe under the protection of their maſters, the Portugueſe.

Great caution to be uſed when we go on ſhore in foreign countries.

'Tis true, our Seamen too often get drunk, and abuſe the inhabitants where they land; and then the next Europeans that come on ſhore are ill-treated, and perhaps made priſoners, or murder'd by way of retaliation. A friend of mine, Mr. Alexander, and a dozen more, were cut in pieces on going aſhore in another Eaſt-India voyage, without giving any offence to the people; but this was certainly to revenge ſome outrages that had been committed by others, or to defend themſelves againſt ſome miſchief they might apprehend from the boat's crew. I was myſelf in the extremeſt danger from the Negroes here, upon a difference that aroſe concerning a little matter we were trafficking for; twenty of them, at leaſt, drew their ponyards, and were about to ſtrike, when one, who ſeem'd to have ſome authority amongſt them, perſwaded them to deſiſt, and accommodated the matter, otherwiſe I had receiv'd as many wounds as Cæsar in the ſenate: But this made me very cautious ever after, of giving the natives, where we came, any provocation, or truſting myſelf too much in their power: And, indeed, it behoves every man to be very much upon his guard, that viſits diſtant countries: We may eſcape nineteen times, and miſcarry the twentieth: And there is no concluding, that people may be truſted in a ſecond voyage, becauſe we have met with good uſage from them in a former. We don't know what provocations they may have had from other travellers in the mean time; or in what light their Prieſts, or other deſigning people, may have repreſented us: We know there are Mahometans, that think they do honour to their Prophet, by inſulting and murdering of Chriſtians: And there are Roman catholick Prieſts that teach their votaries we are infidels, and deſerve to be extirpated from off the face of the earth. At theſe very iſlands of Cape Verd, the people were ſurpriz'd to find we believed in Jesus Christ; their Prieſts having aſſured them, we were as great enemies to Chriſtianity, as Turks or Jews: and, under ſuch prejudices, we muſt not wonder at any ill uſage we meet with from the natives.

Weſt-India ſhips take in Salt at Sal and Mago.

Grampus, or Whales, about Cape Verd iſlands.

The ſudden alteration of the weather and ſeaſons we perceiv'd here, in our voyage to India.

I have obſerv'd already, that our outward bound Eaſt India ſhips touch at the iſland of St. Jago for water and freſh proviſions: It may be proper to obſerve alſo, that abundance of Engliſh ſhips call at the iſlands of Sal and Mago, in their way to our plantations in America for Salt; but I don't know any thing elſe theſe iſlands are remarkable for, unleſs it be a vulcano in one of them; which from thence has obtain'd the name of Hogo: And I muſt not forget the great number of Grampus's, a ſpecies of Whales, we met with here, 70 or 80 foot in length. Theſe lay very quietly cloſe by our ſhips while we were at anchor under St. Jago, and might eaſily have been taken, if we had been prepared for ſuch ſport. Give me leave to mention another particular in this voyage to the Cape Verd iſlands, and that is, the ſudden alteration of the weather we experienc'd here. We ſail'd out of the Thames the 30th of January, 1698-9, being an extream cold winter, the river full of ice; and within the ſpace of a month arriv'd at St. Jago, in 15 degrees of north latitude, where we found it ſo warm, that the men all lay naked upon their cheſts, not being able to endure any cloaths on: And when we came aſhore, we found groves and gardens of ever-green and ripe fruits; a ſerene air; and every thing almoſt that could afford delight to people juſt arriv'd from a frozen region. The ſudden change from a cold to a warm country, from winter to ſummer, from naked trees deſtitute of leaves and fruit, and a land cover'd with ſnow and ice, to a place where Oranges and all the fruits of the earth diſplay'd their beauties, and were ready for gathering, was ſuch an agreeable change in a little more than the compaſs of three weeks, that it exceeded any metamorphoſis that is to be met with in the moſt romantick relations. An unuſual gaiety ſeem'd to poſſeſs all the ſhip's company; nothing but mirth and good-humour reign'd amongſt us; even our ſurly Tars ſeem'd transform'd into ſociable creatures.

The Canary iſlands.

I come in the next place to deſcribe the Canaries, anciently call'd the Fortunate Iſlands, being ſeven in number, and ſituated between the 27th and 29th degrees of northern latitude, and between the 12th and the 21ſt degrees of weſtern longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London; the moſt eaſterly of theſe iſlands lying about 50 leagues weſt of Cape Non, in the empire of Morocco.

Ferro.

They are ſaid, by ſome, to be call'd Canes, or Canaries, from the great number of Dogs found here when they were diſcover'd: Others derive the name from the Canaanites, the anceſtors of the Carthaginians, who are ſuppoſed to have firſt planted them, and given them the name of their mother country; but whether either of theſe ought to be accepted, is much to be doubted: I look upon them to be uncertain gueſſes, that we have very little foundation for; and therefore proceed to the deſcription of the particular iſlands. And firſt of Ferro, the moſt weſterly iſland of the Canaries, ſituate in 27 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and, 'till lately, made the firſt meridian by moſt nations. It is about ſeven or eight leagues in circumference and high land, but has ſome fruitful valleys that afford plenty of corn, good paſture, ſugar-canes and fruits, but there are no ſprings or rivers; all the freſh water the natives have, is preſerv'd in ciſterns, or fetch'd from the neighbouring iſlands: The romantick ſtory of a tree here, that ſheds incredible quantities of water, has been long exploded.

Palma.

2. The iſland of Palma, ſituated 10 or 12 leagues north-eaſt of Ferro, and about the ſame dimenſions, but remarkable for affording large quantities of the beſt wine of all the Canaries, uſually call'd Palm-Sack.

Gomera.

3. Gomera, another ſmall iſland, about 10 leagues to the eaſtward of Ferro, ſaid to abound in corn and delicious fruits, but affords very little wine.

Teneriffe.

The height of the Peak.

4. Teneriffe, ſituate in 28 degrees north latitude, about 20 leagues to the eaſtward of Ferro, and is about 40 leagues in circumference. This iſland affords corn, wine and fruits, in great abundance, tho' 'tis pretty much encumber'd with rocks and mountains; of which the moſt remarkable is, the famous Pico of Teneriffe, ſuppoſed to be one of the higheſt mountains in the world: Some writers have made it 15 miles, others 5 miles high perpendicular;

but thoſe, who make it about two miles in perpendicular height, ſeem to come neareſt the truth. Certain it is, that the upper part of it, which is in the form of a ſugar-loaf, and white, may be ſeen plainly above the clouds, at 120 miles diſtance. I think I can affirm, I have ſeen it thus far at leaſt, as diſtinctly as if I had been at the top of it. When the ſhip lay cloſe to the iſland, indeed the clouds intercepted our ſight of the top; but after more than four and twenty hours ſail from it, with a briſk gale of wind, whether it was from the purity of the air, or other cauſes, we all ſaw it with the naked eye, as plainly as if it had lain within half a mile of us.

Some Engliſh gentlemen, that had the curioſity to viſit this amazing mountain, relate, that they ſet out from Oratavia, one of the principal towns in the iſland; and that, having paſſed over ſeveral rugged hills and ſandy plains, they came at length to the foot of the Peak, where they found vaſt pieces of rocks and ſtones, that ſeemed to have tumbled down from the upper part of it: That having aſcended the mountain about a mile, they were obliged to quit their horſes, and climb up the hill on foot: And having traverſed a ſteep black rock about a mile, they found the top of the rock as flat as a pavement; and here the air was ſo cold, that they were forced to keep great fires all night. The next morning they travelled from the black rocks up that part of the mountain call'd the Sugar-loaf, which is exceeding ſteep, and the ſoil a deep white ſand, which made it very difficult travelling: That when they came near the top of the Peak, the wind was very high, and a continual breathing of a hot ſulphureous vapour iſſued from the hill, which ſcorched their faces, and made them ſore. That on the top of the Peak was a large baſon or caldron, as 'tis uſually called, about a muſket-ſhot over, and four yards deep; the brim whereof, on which they ſtood, not above a yard broad: That within this vaſe were ſmall looſe ſtones, mixed with ſulphur and ſand, that ſent out a hot ſuffocating ſteam: That from the Peak, they had a clear view of the Grand Canary, Palma, Gomera, and even of Ferro, which is 20 leagues diſtant from the Peak. They relate, that there was a great deal of ſnow and ice about two thirds of the way up, but at the very top none at all, which is aſcribed to the heat that iſſues from the caldron and adjacent earth. They met with no trees, ſhrubs or buſhes, in their paſſage, only ſome Pines. Others, who have had the curioſity to view the Peak, tell us, that in the firſt day's journey, they came to a lodge about two thirds up the hill, and reſted there all night: That the ſecond day, they went up to the top of the Peak, and returned to the ſame lodge; and that the third day, they came back to the city of Oratavia, from whence they ſet out, making the whole journey an adventure of three days ſpent in continual labour and fatigue, and no ſmall hazard, in paſſing ſo ſuddenly from exceſſive heat, at the bottom of the hill, to extreme cold on the black rock; and then again into the hot ſteams that iſſued from the top of the mountain.

The Peak ſuppoſed to be raiſed by an earthquake.

In Dr. Sprat's hiſtory of the *Royal Society*, he gives us an account of a Merchant, who was alſo a Phyſician, and had lived upon this iſland twenty years, who declared it as his opinion, that the whole iſland, being mightily impregnated with brimſtone, did formerly take fire, and blow up moſt part of it, there appearing ſeveral mountains of huge ſtones, calcined and burnt about the iſland, eſpecially in the ſouth-weſt part of it; and theſe, he thinks, were raiſed out of the bowels of the earth, at the time of that conflagration. He adds, that the greateſt quantity of ſulphur, lying about the centre of the iſland, occaſioned the raiſing of the Peak to the preſent height; for theſe calcined rocks lie 3 or 4 miles round the bottom of it: That from the Peak, to the ſouth-weſt, almoſt as far as the ſhore, are ſtill the tracts of the rivers of Brimſtone and melted oar that ran that way, and have ſo ruined the ſoil where they flowed, that it will produce nothing but Broom: That ſome of the calcined rocks reſemble Iron oar, ſome Silver, and others Copper oar: That in the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland are high mountains of a bluiſh earth, and ſtones which have a yellow ruſt on them, like that of Copper and Vitriol; and that there are ſeveral ſprings of vitriolate water here. This Phyſician relates alſo, that while he was at Teneriffe, a vulcano broke out in the iſland of Palma, which occaſioned a violent earthquake in Teneriffe, where they heard the noiſe of flaming Brimſtone, and that it reſembled thunder: That they ſaw the fire very plainly in the night-time for ſix weeks together. Certain it is, that about Chriſtmas 1704, ſeveral vulcano's burſt out in this iſland of Teneriffe, which did not only occaſion a moſt terrible earthquake, but whole towns were ſwallowed up, or overturned, with many thouſands of people in them, by thoſe torrents of ſulphur and metallick oar that iſſued from thoſe vulcano's, and the fineſt country in the world, great part of it by that means converted into a barren deſart.

Chief towns.

The chief towns in Teneriffe are, 1. St. Chriſtooal de la Laguna, or St. Chriſtopher's of the Lake; 2. Oratavia, already mentioned; and, 3. Santa Cruz.

St. Chriſtopher's.

St. Chriſtopher's is, by ſome ſtiled the capital of the Canary iſlands, and the ſeat of the Viceroy. It ſtands partly on the ſide of a hill, and partly on a plain, and is a pretty large compact town, having two pariſh-churches, and ſeveral convents, hoſpitals and chappels: The houſes of people of condition have large gardens and orchards of Palms, Oranges, and Citrons, and other fruits belonging to them, and the whole country about it abounds with vineyards: On one ſide of the town is a fine plain of 3 or 4 leagues in length; and on the eaſt a lake, from whence it receives its name, and it is conſtantly refreſhed with fine cooling breezes from the ſea.

Oratavia.

Oratavia is a port-town on the north-weſt part of the iſland, ſaid to be a place of the greateſt trade; and, on that account, the reſidence of the foreign Conſuls and Merchants: It has one pariſh-church, and ſeveral convents and chappels, and is a town of the beſt trade in the iſland.

Santa Cruz

Santa Cruz is a little town, ſituated in a bay on the eaſt-ſide of the iſland, defended by two forts, and ſeveral batteries of great guns; which could not, however, prevent Admiral Blake's deſtroying 16 Spaniſh galleons, lying here in the year 1657, then looked upon to be one of the moſt hardy enterprizes that ever was executed, no Sea-officer before him having attempted to attack a fleet under the protection of caſtles and batteries on ſhore, though nothing was more frequent in the late wars with France and Spain.

The Grand Canary.

5. The iſland, called the Grand Canary, lies about 13 or 14 leagues ſouth-eaſt of Teneriffe, between 27 and 28 degrees of north latitude, and is about 50 leagues in circumference, being a more level and a more fruitful country than that of Teneriffe. The chief town is called Palma, and by ſome

Chief town, Palma.

ſome Canaria, and is ſituated a little diſtance from the ſea, in the north part of the iſland, ſaid to be a large, clean, pleaſant town, and to enjoy a ſerene temperate air: It is the reſidence of the Governor, the ſee of a Biſhop, and has a beautiful cathedral, richly adorned, beſides ſeveral other churches and convents; the country about it abounding in corn, wine, fruits, cattle, game, fine paſtures, fiſh and fowl. Their fields alſo afford a great variety of flowers, and their groves eccho with the muſick of thoſe birds we ſo much admire here, and from this iſland called Canary-birds, being preferable to thoſe of the ſame kind in Germany, though the latter are more likely to live in England, as they come from a climate not ſo warm as that of the Canaries.

Forte Ventura.

6. Forte Ventura, or the iſland of Good Fortune, ſituated between the Grand Canary and the continent of Africa, a long iſland, ſtretching from weſt to eaſt, but very narrow. It abounds in corn, fruits, cattle, fiſh and fowl, but chiefly in Goats, which ſerve them for food, and they drive a great trade with their ſkins; but I find this iſland affords little or no wine.

Lancerota.

7. Lancerota lies a little to the northward of Forte Ventura, and is ſaid to produce plenty of all things but wine: It is one of the leaſt of the Canaries, and has no town of any note in it: That which is the moſt conſiderable, bears the ſame name with the iſland. Beſides theſe, there are ſome other ſmall iſlands in theſe ſeas, particularly one call'd the Salvages, in 30 degrees; but travellers have not thought them worth a particular deſcription.

Theſe iſlands a perfect paradiſe.

Theſe iſlands were very properly called, the Fortunate iſlands, by the antients; for, by the concurrent teſtimony of travellers, there never was a richer ſoil, or a more agreeable ſituation: There is nothing deſirable in life, but what is to be met with in the terreſtrial paradiſe; corn, wine, and oil, fleſh, fiſh and fowl, abound in them, and that the moſt exquiſite in every kind. As to the richneſs of their wines, they are not to be paralleled, as every one can teſtify, who has ever taſted of the genuine Canary and Palm-ſack; and of theſe, 'tis computed, they do not ſend leſs than ten thouſand hogſheads annually to Great-Britain.

But this is not all: The natives of theſe iſlands generally enjoy a clear ſerene ſky and temperate air; for, tho' they lie in a warm climate, they are ſo conſtantly refreſhed with breezes from the ſea, that the noon-day heats are very tolerable, and their evenings and mornings inexpreſſibly pleaſant. They are never ſenſible of pinching cold, or rigorous ſeaſons. The pooreſt people here know no want of cloathing, firing, fruits, or wine: And if fields, covered with a variety of beautiful and fragrant flowers, and the muſical notes of thoſe birds, which all the world admire, afford an agreeable pleaſure; theſe are what every native of the Canaries enjoy, and without any expence or trouble to procure them.

But ſtill it muſt be confeſſed, there are ſome things to be met with even here, that are a great alloy to this ſeeming happineſs. They that have ſeen or heard of thoſe terrible vulcano's and earthquakes, thoſe rivers of brimſtone, and melted oar, that have ſwallowed ſo many towns and villages, muſt ever live in dread of the direful cataſtrophe: The more pleaſant and delightful the preſent ſcene appears, the quicker muſt their apprehenſions be of the terrible deſtruction theſe iſlands are ever ſubject to: And, perhaps, there is no part of the earth that appears very deſirable, but has ſomething to balance the pleaſure it affords, and put us in mind that we are not to expect unmix'd or durable pleaſures on this ſide the grave. The beauties of the creation are ſufficient indeed to convince every man, that God can make us exquiſitely happy. But the uncertain tenure, by which we hold all we enjoy in this world, is alſo ſufficient to inform us, we muſt look for happineſs ſomewhere elſe.

The firſt diſcovery of theſe iſlands.

Theſe iſlands, it is generally believ'd, were firſt diſcover'd and planted by the Carthaginians; and it is held by ſome, that the Romans alſo were well acquainted with them: But of this I make ſome doubt; for certain it is, the people of theſe iſlands had no manner of communication with the continent for many hundred years; and it is evident the Romans, who never minded navigation or forcing commerce, neglected many of the Carthaginian plantations and ſettlements, even upon the continent of Africa, and much more thoſe in diſtant iſlands. The Romans either deſpiſed traffick, or had no genius for it. The diſtant parts of the world had not ſo long remain'd ſtrangers to each other, if the Romans had not unfortunately deſtroy'd the Carthaginian ſtate, and diſcouraged all remote diſcoveries. We are taught, indeed, to look upon the Romans as a great people; but what did their greatneſs conſiſt in? Was it not in carrying war and devaſtation into every country? in putting fetters upon the reſt of mankind, and deſtroying all manner of commerce? Inſtead of applying themſelves to the improvement of trade and manufacture, they enrich'd themſelves by rapine and robbery, plundering the induſtrious part of mankind of what they had acquir'd by their labour and ingenuity. But to return. It is a further argument, that the Romans were never acquainted with the Canary iſlands; that they lay conceal'd or unknown to the reſt of the world for ſeveral centuries after the decline of the Roman empire; and, on their being diſcover'd again in the 15th century, there were found no Roman antiquities: Nor had the cuſtoms and manners, or language of the inhabitants, any reſemblance to thoſe of the Romans. Their cuſtom of preſerving their dead friends in caves, and keeping them from generation to generation entire and uncorrupted, would much rather incline us to believe they deſcended from the Egyptians, or ſome other people of Africk: But however that be, John, King of Caſtile, having intelligence that there were ſuch iſlands, it ſeems, employed John de Betancour, a French gentleman in his ſervice, to take poſſeſſion of them, about the year 1405, who ſucceeding in this expedition, the propriety of three of them was conferr'd on Betancour by that King, and he reſided there all his life-time as Sovereign of the Canaries; but the poſterity of Betancour afterwards reconvey'd them to the Crown of Caſtile; and, when they were found to be of conſequence, the King of Caſtile procur'd a grant from the Pope of them, and the Spaniards remain in poſſeſſion of them to this day.

The Madera iſlands.

The Madera iſlands are ſituated between 32 and 33 degrees of north latitude, and in 16 degrees of weſtern longitude, about 100 leagues north of the Canaries, and as many to the weſtward of Sallee, in the kingdom of Fez.

The largeſt of them, call'd Madera by the Portugueſe, from its being cover'd with wood when it was diſcover'd, is about 40 leagues in circumference, conſiſting of fine riſing hills and fruitful valleys, well watered by the rivulets that fall from the mountains; tho' abounding much more in wine than corn; for of wine, they annually export to the Weſt-Indies, or Europe, ſeveral thouſand hogſheads; but of corn, they have frequently a very great ſcarcity: They make ſeveral ſorts of wine, one call'd Malmſey, a very rich wine; a white ſort; and a third like Tent, not fit to be drank unmix'd; but of theſe they have no great quantities. The Madera wine we uſually drink, and which this iſland yields moſt of, is a pale wine of the colour of Champaign, or good Small-beer, and is not very ſtrong. The climate here is more temperate than that of the Canaries; but they do not enjoy ſo clear a ſky, or that plenty of corn and fruits: However, in one reſpect they are to be preferr'd to the Canaries, that they are not ſo ſubject to vulcano's and earthquakes; and, 'tis ſaid, no venomous animal will live here.

Chief towns. Funchal.

The chief towns are Funchal, Santa Cruz, and Manchico. Funchal, the capital, is ſituated in a bay, at the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland: It is the ſeat of the Governor, a biſhoprick, and has a cathedral and three pariſh-churches in it, beſides ſeveral convents and chappels, of which the Jeſuits (who ſeem to influence all affairs in theſe iſlands) is much the moſt beautiful and magnificent: So bigotted are the Roman Catholicks here, that they will not allow a Proteſtant any burial, without paying very dear for the permiſſion, as our Merchants and Factors, who reſide here, have experienc'd: And however pleaſant the Canary iſlands and Madera may be, the Inquiſition, that reigns in both, muſt make them no very deſirable reſidence for any, but thoſe who can reſign their conſciences and underſtandings entirely to the direction of the Jeſuits. The vulcano's of the Canaries are not more terrible to the natives, than theſe Fathers, arm'd with the authority of the Inquiſition, are to the Proteſtants that reſide amongſt them. 'Tis certain, we meet with better quarter among Turks and Pagans, than we do amongſt bigotted Roman Catholicks: And 'tis obſerv'd, that the further they are removed from Rome, the more zealous and cruel they are. In Rome, and the great towns of Italy, we converſe with all manner of liberty and freedom, and are ſcarce in any danger of the Inquiſition; but where the Jeſuits find themſelves remote from the ſeat of the Government, and in a manner out of the eye of the world, there is not a more inſupportable tyranny upon the face of the earth than thoſe are ſubject to that refuſe to ſubmit to their uſurp'd dominion over the conſciences of men. But to return from this digreſſion.

Santa Cruz.

The town of Santa Cruz is ſituated on the north-eaſt part of the iſland, and that of Manchico on the ſouth-weſt; but I meet with no further deſcription of them: The reſt of the natives live at their plantations and vineyards, that are diſpers'd all over the country, and make it look like one continued garden.

Madera ſaid to be diſcovered by Captain Maſham of Briſtol.

This deſirable iſland, according to the moſt of our Engliſh writers, was diſcover'd by one ROBERT MANCHIN, or MASHAM, a native of Briſtol, and Captain of a merchant-ſhip of that port, in the year 1344; but the ſtory is told ſo many different ways, and has ſo much the air of a romance, that I cannot give much credit to it; tho' I could not avoid mentioning the tale, becauſe it is found in every author almoſt that has written of this country. Some relate that this Captain had a beautiful miſtreſs at Briſtol, whoſe relations being againſt his marrying of her, they agreed to go over to France together; but were driven by diſtreſs of weather to this iſland, where the Captain and his Miſtreſs being on ſhore, their ſhip was forc'd to ſea in a ſtorm, and taken by the Moors of Morocco, who made the crew ſlaves; and that ſome of the Engliſh Seamen giving an account of the adventures to a Portugueſe Pilot, who was then alſo a ſlave in Morocco, and afterwards redeem'd, the Court of Portugal, upon information, fitted out ſome ſhips, and took poſſeſſion of the iſland, where they found a tomb or monument that Captain MASHAM had erected to the memory of his Miſtreſs, who died before him: Others relate, that the Lady was the Captain's wife, that ſhe fell ſick and was buried here, and that afterwards the Captain himſelf, being taken priſoner by the Moors, acquainted a Portugueſe Pilot with the diſcovery he had made himſelf; who, upon his return home, put the Court of Portugal upon fitting out a fleet to take poſſeſſion of the iſland. But however that was, it ſeems to be agreed, that the Portugueſe did not plant this iſland, or ſend any colonies thither till the year 1425 (which was above fourſcore years after the pretended diſcovery of it by Captain MASHAM) and that when they came thither, they found the iſland cover'd with thick woods, and without inhabitants; but burning down the woods, the aſhes render'd the ſoil exceeding fruitful and proper for vineyards, which have been cultivated with great care and induſtry ever ſince: Corn alſo, 'tis ſaid, yielded at firſt an encreaſe of ſixty or ſeventy buſhels for one; but after the virtue of the aſhes, with which the ground was at firſt ſo well improv'd, was ſpent, it yielded but indifferent crops of grain, and of late years there is often a ſcarcity of it in the iſland.

Porto Sancto.

The next in magnitude, of the Madera iſlands, is that of Porto Sancto, ſituate 6 or 8 leagues N.E. of Madera Proper. It is about 5 or 6 leagues in circumference, abounds in the ſame kind of wine and fruits as the former. There are ſeveral other ſmall rocks or iſlands lie about it, which go under the name of the Madera's; but I don't find they are either inhabited or cultivated. The Madera's ſtill remain under the dominion of the Portugueſe.

The Azores.

The laſt iſlands I ſhall deſcribe here, are the Azores, or Weſtern Iſlands; not that they are properly African, but rather European iſlands; but, lying in the ſame ſea with the Madera's, and belonging to the Portugueſe as the former, they may very properly be deſcrib'd here, eſpecially ſince they were omitted in the ſecond volume of *Modern Hiſtory*, which treats of the preſent ſtate of Spain and Portugal.

Situation of the Azores.

The Azores, ſometimes call'd the Tercera's, and at others the Weſtern Iſlands, are nine in number, ſituated between the 36th and the 40th degrees of latitude, and between the 23d and 32d degrees of weſt longitude, 300 leagues to the weſtward of Portugal, and upwards of 300 leagues to the eaſtward of Newfoundland; and, conſequently, lie almoſt in the mid-way between Europe and America: They ſtretch from eaſt to weſt, St. Michael's and St. Mary's lying the moſt eaſterly.

St. Michael's.

St. Michael's is the largeſt of all the Azores, being about 30 leagues in circumference. This iſland, like the reſt, is pretty mountainous, but produces plenty of corn, fruits, cattel, fiſh and fowl, and they have a thin ſort of wine: Their greateſt wants are Oil and Salt. This iſland was plunder'd, and ſeveral Spaniſh and Portugueſe ſhips taken here, in the wars between England and Spain, in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, particularly by the Earl of CUMBERLAND, and afterwards by the Earl of ESSEX, in the year 1589, when the latter plunder'd the enemy of four thouſand dollars, beſides a great deal of rich merchandize; and Sir WALTER RALEIGH alſo brought home a conſiderable booty from hence in the ſame war.

CHAP. XI.

St. Mary's.

St. Mary's is a ſmall iſland to the ſouthward of St. Michael's, and produces much the ſame animals and vegetables.

Tercera.

Chief town. Angra.

Gratioſa, S. George, Pico, Fayall.

Tercera, ſaid to be ſo named from its being the third iſland in the paſſage from Portugal to America, is eſteemed the chief of all the iſlands, on account of its having a tolerable good harbour, and being the ſeat of the Governor, tho' it is not ſo large as that of St. Michael's, being not more than 18 or 20 leagues in circumference: It is pretty much encumber'd with rocks and mountains; but affords, however, plenty of good corn, paſture, and an excellent breed of cattel; and has alſo pretty many vineyards. The chief town, the capital of all the iſlands, is call'd Angra, and ſituated on a bay of the ſea, that forms the harbour on the ſouth-ſide of the iſland, being defended by a caſtle ſituated on a rock at the entrance of the bay. This is ſaid to be the only tolerable harbour in theſe iſlands; and here the Portugueſe fleets conſtantly call, in their paſſage to and from their plantations in Brazil, Africa and India, and meet with plentiful ſupplies of proviſions, which is the only reaſon of their keeping them; for I don't find they have any kind of merchandize to export, but corn or cattel, which they barter with their countrymen, that call here for cloathing and other neceſſaries. Angra is a Biſhop's ſee, as well as the ſeat of the Viceroy or Governor. The iſlands of Gratioſa, St. George, Pico and Fayall, lie ſouth-weſt of Tercera; but have nothing in them that deſerves a particular deſcription, unleſs it be, that Pico received its name from ſuch another peak or pyramidal mountain as has been deſcrib'd in Teneriffe, and is ſuppoſed to have been rais'd by the like means, namely by earthquakes, to which theſe iſlands are ſubject, as well as the Canaries.

Flores and Corvo.

Thoſe who come from India very ſenſible of cold in the latitude of 40.

The miſtakes of the moſt ſkilful Seamen in long voyages.

The moſt weſterly of all the Azores, and the leaſt, are the two iſlands of Flores and Corvo, which were long uninhabited after the reſt were planted: Nor would the Portugueſe ever have poſſeſ'd them, but to prevent other nations getting them into their power, and diſturbing their enjoyment of the reſt; for there is very little upon theſe iſlands to invite any nation to ſettle there, unleſs a fine ſurface, adorn'd with a variety of beautiful flowers, from whence the moſt ſoutherly of them obtained the name of Flores. The air of theſe iſlands is ſaid to be very warm by ſome, and by others very ſharp. If I may judge of it, from what it ſeemed to be the latter end of April, in our return from the Eaſt-Indies, it is exceeding cool. The cold blaſts that came off of them, had a very extraordinary effect upon our ſhip's company: They ſhiver'd, and wrapp'd themſelves up, as in the depth of winter; and, tho' a little before our Seamen appeared to have freſh hale complexions, they loſt them on a ſudden, and appeared of a dead yellowiſh caſt, as if they had the jaundize: But poſſibly the having ſailed ſo long in the Torrid Zone, made us the more ſenſible of the alteration of the air; and indeed we were ſo ſoftened by living in a hot climate, that we never enjoyed ourſelves after we came into the latitude 40. It was the middle of May, when we arrived in England; and tho' every body had left off fires, and began to complain of heat, we were ready to ſtarve with cold: Nor did this extreme tenderneſs wear off for ſeveral years. Give me leave to make another obſervation on my voyage to and from India; and that is on the uncertainty our beſt Seamen are under in long voyages: We had ſome of the moſt ſkilful artiſts on board, and thoſe that had gone the ſame voyage ſeveral times; and yet it was common with them to be miſtaken 100 miles and more in their accounts. We had not been out much above a fortnight, when one morning, to our great ſurprize, we found ourſelves between the Grand Canary and Teneriffe; and we might as well have been caſt away on one of thoſe iſlands, for no-body dream'd we had been within 40 leagues of them: Indeed, we had been driven over the Bay of Biſcay in a ſtorm, and it continued dark weather, with hard gales of wind afterwards, ſo that we could take no obſervation by the ſun; and nothing is ſo deceitful, as the log, in ſtormy weather; for the wind drives it after the ſhip, and there is no gueſſing what way ſhe makes. But we were ſtill more miſtaken, when we came near the coaſt of India: Thoſe, who pretended to moſt ſkill in navigation, aſſured us, we were not within 100 leagues of the iſland of Ceylon, when we plainly ſmelt the Cinnamon groves upon it in the night-time, and the next morning ſaw the iſland with the naked eye; but this alſo happened at a time when we had cloudy weather, and could have no obſervation, and we had ſeen no land after we had paſs'd the Cape of Good Hope, from whence we took our departure for India. This the reader, I hope, will not look upon as a uſeleſs digreſſion in treating of the African iſlands, which lie ſo much in our way to and from the Eaſt-Indies.

CHAP. XII.

The ancient Hiſtory of Africa.

CHAP. XII.

I Proceed in the next place, to give an abſtract of the ancient hiſtory of Africa, according to my method in treating of other parts of the world.

Egypt firſt planted, and from thence the reſt of Africa.

The ancient hiſtory of Egypt has been already given in the firſt volume of *Modern Hiſtory*. The next people that made a figure in Africa, were the Phenicians or Canaanites: There is no doubt but all the north coaſt of the Mediterranean, as far as the Atlantick ocean, was firſt peopled from Egypt, to which it lay contiguous; for it is agreed by all, that when the Phenicians arriv'd on the African coaſt, after they were driven out of their country by JOSHUA and the Iſraelites, they found inhabitants there before them, and entered into treaties with that people, obtaining leave of them to traffick and ſettle in that part of the country where Carthage afterwards ſtood, now call'd the kingdom of Tunis, and by the Romans Africa Proper.

Hither the Tyrians or Phenicians firſt ſent a colony, that built the town of Utica. The foundation of Carthage, by another colony of Tyrians or Phenicians, is ſuppoſed to be much later (viz.) about the year of the world 3120; 135 years before the building of Rome, and 883 before CHRIST.

Utica and Carthage built by the Tyrians and Phenicians.

The ſtory of Dido.

Carthage is generally held to have been built by DIDO, or ELISHA, a Tyrian Princeſs, who fled from her brother PYGMALION, King of Tyrus, to Africa, on the following occaſion: She had married a near relation, call'd ACERBAS, and ſometimes SICHÆUS, who was very rich; and PYGMALION, as the ſtory goes, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of his great wealth: But his ſiſter DIDO defeated his principal deſign; for, having provided ſeveral ſhips to carry her off, ſhe fled, with all her late huſband's effects, to Africa, before PYGMALION had an opportunity of getting them into his hands; and very probably made choice of this part of Africa to reſide in, becauſe there was a colony of Tyrians ſettled at Utica already. But, however that was, ſhe purchaſed lands here of the natives, on which ſhe built a city, calling it Carthada, Carthage, or the New town (as the word ſignifies in the Phenician or Hebrew languages) in oppoſition to Utica, which had been built ſome time before by her countrymen, and in this reſpect might be called, the Old town. The remaining part of the ſtory (in which I doubt there is a mixture of romance) informs us, that JARBAS, King of Getulia, afterwards made love to DIDO, and threaten'd war in caſe ſhe refuſed to marry him: But ſhe, having made a vow to SICHÆUS, her firſt huſband, never to marry again, prepared her funeral pile; and aſcending it, when JARBAS came again to make his addreſſes to her, ſhe drew a ponyard, and gave herſelf a mortal wound, as the only means ſhe had left to put an end to his deteſted courtſhip. But whatever of novel there may be in this, there is no doubt to be made, that VIRGIL exerciſed his poetical vein, when he made his hero ÆNEAS cotemporary with DIDO; the deſtruction of Troy being generally held to have happened three hundred years before the building of Carthage.

The firſt wars of Carthage.

With the Africans.

The firſt wars Carthage was engaged in, 'tis ſaid, were occaſioned by their refuſing the annual tribute they had agreed to pay the Prince of the country, when they obtained leave to build their city; but in this they had ſuch ill ſucceſs, that the Africans obliged them to enter into new engagements to pay it: However, upon receiving freſh ſupplies and reinforcements from Tyre, their mother-country, they were not only enabled to diſpute the tribute again with the Africans, but to carry their arms ſtill farther.

With the Cyrenians.

Their next wars were with the city of Cyrene, which ſtood between Carthage and Egypt, in that part of the country now called Barca. Carthage and Cyrene, it ſeems, were at a variance about the limits of their reſpective territories, which occaſion'd a war between the two ſtates; till at length both ſides agreed, that their bounds ſhould be aſcertain'd in the following manner; viz. That two men ſhould ſet out at the ſame hour from either city, and wherever they happened to meet, that ſhould be the boundary of their ſeveral States: The two Carthaginians, pitched upon for this ſervice, were brothers, named PHILÆNI, who being ſwifter of foot than their adverſaries, the Cyrenians pretended there was foul play, and would not ſtand to the agreement, unleſs the two brothers, as an evidence of their fair dealing, would be content to be buried alive in the place where they met; which, 'tis ſaid, they conſented to, and the Carthaginians erected a pillar upon the ſpot, and two altars, on which they ſacrificed and paid divine honours to the heroic brothers: But whether we are to give entire credit to this ſtory or not, certain it is, two altars were erected and remained many years on the borders of the two ſtates, which were called "The altars of the PHILÆNI:" And we may obſerve, both from ſacred and prophane hiſtory, that nothing was more common among the ancients than the erecting altars, and ſacrificing upon them at the concluſion of a treaty, or on any memorable event; and therefore 'tis probable the ſubſtance of the ſtory is true, whatever foundation there may be for that part of it relating to the burying the two brothers alive near theſe altars.

Their wars with the Mauritianians and Numidians.

This war being ended, the Carthaginians carried their arms to the weſt-ward, and ſubdued all the nations as far as the Atlantick ocean, or made them tributary to their ſtate; ſo that they were in reality Sovereigns of all the northern coaſt of Africa, to the weſtward of Cyrene or Barca; and, in the opinion of ſome writers, of the weſt coaſt of Africa, as far as Cape Verd, which lies in 15 degrees north latitude: Nor were the conqueſts of the Carthaginians confined to the continent of Africa; they made themſelves maſters of Sardinia, and the Baleares, or the iſlands of Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, from whence they found an eaſy paſſage into Spain, where they were firſt invited by the city of Cadiz, an ancient colony of the Tyrians their countrymen. This city, it ſeems, was at war with the Spaniards, and, being hard preſſed, called in the Carthaginians to their aſſiſtance, who not only defended their allies, but carried on an offenſive war in the Spaniſh territories; and that people, being divided into ſeveral little kingdoms and ſtates, became an eaſy conqueſt to their enemies; great part of South Spain became ſubject to the Carthaginians, and even the city of Cadiz, that call'd them in, was obliged to ſubmit to their dominion; the uſual fate of thoſe who introduce armies of foreigners into their country.

They conquer Sardinia, and the iſlands of Baleares.

They carry their arms into Spain.

Their wars in Sicily.

The time when the Carthaginians firſt attempted to make conqueſts in Sicily, is not exactly known: But it appears from a treaty they made with the Romans, the ſame year Kings were excluded from that Government, and Conſuls inſtituted, that the Carthaginians were then in poſſeſſion of part of Sicily, as well as of Africa and Sardinia; and, by this treaty, the Romans agreed not to ſail further weſtward than the fair promontory near Carthage, which the Carthaginians, even then, inſiſted on, as being under an apprehenſion the Romans might one day encroach upon their territories, and give them ſome diſturbance.

Their confederacy with Xerxes againſt Greece.

About 264 years after the building of Rome, and 484 years before CHRIST, the Carthaginians enter'd into an alliance with XERXES, King of Perſia, againſt Greece. And while XERXES marched with a prodigious army to attack the Greeks upon the continent, the Carthaginians tranſported an army of three hundred thouſand men into Sicily (if the numbers ben't enlarged) in expectation of reducing the remainder of the Grecian cities in that iſland under their dominion: But this great army was defeated and cut to pieces, 'tis ſaid, on the ſame day that memorable action happened at Thermopylæ, where three hundred Spartans diſputed the paſſage into Greece, with that numerous army of Perſians commanded by XERXES, and put a ſtop to his progreſs, tho' moſt of them loſt their lives in the defence of that paſs.

The Carthaginians made another attempt to ſubdue the Grecian cities in Sicily, in the 336th year of Rome, and met with great ſucceſs, being upon the point of taking Syracuſe, the capital of the Grecian cities in Sicily, when the plague broke into their army, and deſtroyed the greateſt part of them, the remainder periſhed by the ſwords of the Syracuſians; which occaſioned an inſurrection in Africa; no leſs than two hundred thouſand of the malecontents laid ſiege to Carthage itſelf; but the rebels being deſtitute of proviſions, and diſagreeing about the command of this body, ſoon diſperſed, and deliver'd the Government from the ruin that threatened them.

An inſurrection of the Africans ſuppreſſed.

Carthage and Rome in alliance.

In the year 400, after the foundation of Rome, we meet with another treaty between that city and the Carthaginians, for their mutual defence: And about the ſame time the Carthaginians made further attempts to reduce the Grecian cities in Sicily; but TIMOLEON coming with a body of Corinthians to their aſſiſtance, obtained a victory over them, and again defeated their deſign: After which, AGATHOCLES, the Syracuſian General, carried the

A further attempt to reduce the Grecian cities in Sicily.

war

The Greeks carry the war into Africa.

Tyre deſtroy'd by Alexander the Great.

The Carthaginians ſacrifice their children to Saturn in their diſtreſs.

A rebellion in Carthage ſuppreſs'd.

war into Africa, and, in confederacy with ſome of the African Princes, laid ſiege to Carthage, and bid fair for the total ſubverſion of their State. While the Carthaginians were in this diſtreſs, it was that an Ambaſſador arriv'd from Tyre, to negotiate for a reinforcement of troops, to enable them to defend themſelves againſt ALEXANDER the Great, who not long after laid that city in aſhes, and deſtroy'd every man in the place; and all that the Carthaginians was to do for their mother city, was to remove the women and children, ſend them from Tyre, and afford them a refuge in their country. In the mean time, the Carthaginians looking upon the calamities that befel them to proceed from the wrath of heaven, for ſome omiſſions in their religious worſhip, and particularly in not ſacrificing a certain number of children of the beſt quality annually to SATURN, as their ſuperſtition requir'd, and ſubſtituting the children of ſlaves and poor people, purchaſed for that end, in their ſtead: To appeaſe the anger of that god, therefore, they ſacrificed two hundred children of the beſt rank; and three hundred perſons more, 'tis ſaid, offer'd themſelves voluntarily to be ſacrificed, to atone for the pretended neglect. This is a farther evidence, that the Carthaginians were deſcended from the Canaanites or Phenicians, who uſed to ſacrifice their children to MOLOCH, particularly in their diſtreſs; ſacred hiſtory taking notice of a King that ſacrificed his eldeſt ſon upon the walls, when the city he was Sovereign of, was in danger of being taken. But to return to the hiſtory. Notwithſtanding this bloody ſacrifice of ſo many children and innocent men, the affairs of the Carthaginians grew ſtill more deſperate; BOMILCAR their General, taking advantage of the diſtreſs of the State, in order to raiſe himſelf to the Sovereign power, fomented an inſurrection within the city while their enemies preſs'd them from without: But they had, at length, the good fortune to diſperſe the rebels by offering a pardon to all that would return to their duty; and BOMILCAR being thereupon deſerted, was crucified, and put to the moſt exquiſite torture: And while he hung upon the croſs, 'tis ſaid, he reproach'd the Government with breach of faith, in puniſhing him after they had proclaim'd an indemnity; and with ingratitude, in putting to death many of their braveſt Generals, after a long ſeries of eminent ſervices; which, it ſeems, was frequently done, if ſucceſs did not attend their arms, unleſs the General prevented the diſgrace by being his own executioner; of which there are alſo ſeveral inſtances in the hiſtory of Carthage.

The Greeks abandon Africa.

An alliance between Carthage and Rome, againſt Pyrrhus.

Pyrrhus oblig'd to abandon both Italy and Sicily.

This rebellion being fortunately ſuppreſs'd, a miſunderſtanding happen'd about the ſame time, between AGATHOCLES the Grecian General, and his African allies: Whereupon he rais'd the ſiege of Carthage, and tranſported himſelf to Sicily; after which, the Carthaginians recover'd all the places they had loſt, and eſtabliſh'd their empire again over the African Princes. And now Sicily, as well as Italy, being threaten'd with an invaſion by PYRRHUS, King of Epirus, the Carthaginians renew'd their confederacy with the Romans for the preſervation of their territories in that iſland. PYRRHUS, however, made a deſcent with his forces in Sicily, and reduc'd all the towns belonging to the Carthaginians, except Lilybæum; but this place making a vigorous defence, and the Romans gaining ſome advantages over the force of PYRRHUS in Italy, he was forced to abandon all his conqueſts in Sicily, and return thither: Nor was he able to reſtore his affairs on the continent, being afterwards defeated in ſeveral engagements there by the Romans, and oblig'd to quit that country alſo.

The Romans aſſiſt the Sicilian rebels againſt the Carthagians.

The firſt Punick war.

And now the Romans, having no enemies in Italy, began to think of enlarging their empire by foreign conqueſts. It is very probable they had for ſome time caſt their eyes on the fruitful iſland of Sicily, ſeparated from the continent by a narrow ſtrait, and only waited for a pretence to invade it; when ſome Sicilian rebels ſeizing on the important city of Meſſina, and offering to deliver it up to the Romans, that people, notwithſtanding their mighty pretences to honour and juſtice, did not ſcruple to break through their alliance with the Carthaginians, and ſend over a reinforcement of troops to ſupport thoſe rebels which occaſion'd that war between the Romans and Carthaginians, uſually call'd "The firſt "Punick war," begun Ann. M. 3738; after the building of Rome, 488; and before CHRIST, 266 Years.

As the Roman people made arms their profeſſion, and, from the infancy of their State, had been engaged in warlike conteſts with their neighbours, they are univerſally acknowledg'd to have been excellent Soldiers. We find, in the Sicilian war, the Carthaginians were not able to keep the field againſt them, but retir'd into ſuch ſtrong towns as were ſituated near the ſea, which they could relieve from time to time with their fleets, the Romans having yet no ſhipping to oppoſe them; and thus the war was like to prove endleſs. The Carthaginians abounded in wealth as well as ſhipping, and were able to defend the maritime places againſt the whole power of the Romans, who found themſelves exhauſted both of men and money by the continuance of the war, while Carthage rather grew rich by trafficking with every nation.

The Romans build a fleet.

Their machine for grappling with the enemy's ſhips.

The Romans, therefore, ſaw it abſolutely neceſſary to diſpute the dominion of the ſea with Carthage; without which, they found their foreign conqueſts muſt remain at a ſtand; and, collecting naval ſtores from every quarter, offer'd the higheſt rewards and encouragements to ſuch Ship-builders as would afford them their aſſiſtance: And, as they were at that time poſſeſs'd of ſeveral cities and port-towns in Sicily, and in alliance with many Grecian States, ſuch crowds of workmen offer'd their ſervice, and their own people uſed ſuch application and diligence, that within a very few months, they built or hired a fleet almoſt as numerous as that of the Carthaginians, and engaged abundance of foreign Mariners in their ſervice: But, ſtill conſcious that the Carthaginians muſt have a conſiderable advantage of them by their ſkill and dexterity in ſailing, whenever they came to an engagement they contriv'd a machine or engine, by which they might grapple with the enemy's ſhips, and deprive them of all advantages of their ſails. This, it ſeems, was a great piece of timber, arm'd with hooks and chains, which they let down with pullies into the enemy's ſhips on approaching them, and which it was impoſſible for a veſſel to diſengage itſelf from, without maſtering the ſhip's crew that attack'd her.

Thus prepar'd, the Romans, under the Command of DUILLUS, put to ſea with an hundred and twenty gallies (the only ſhipping of thoſe days) and being met by the Carthaginian fleet, conſiſting of an hundred and thirty veſſels, commanded by HANNIBAL their Admiral, near Myla, they ſoon came to a cloſe engagement; for the Carthaginians looking upon the Romans as a very contemptible enemy at ſea, advanc'd towards them with an aſſurance of victory: And the Romans, on the other hand, having no hopes but in their new invented grapples, made equal haſte to join battle.

The Carthaginians were a little ſurprized to ſee the Romans advance ſo reſolutely, and ſtill more when they began to play their engines; but when they found themſelves ſo faſtened to the enemy's ſhips, that they could make no uſe either of oars or ſails, but were forced to fight as upon firm land; they were confounded and diſpirited, and the Romans gain'd an eaſy victory over them, taking no leſs than fourſcore ſail, and among them the Admiral's galley, HANNIBAL himſelf narrowly eſcaping in his Boat.

Their firſt naval victory over the Carthaginians.

This victory was the more acceptable to the Romans, as it was in a manner unexpected. They were overjoy'd at the ſucceſs of their fleet, and immediately decreed their Admiral DUILLUS a naval triumph; which was the firſt of that kind that had been ſeen in Rome. They alſo erected a Roſtral pillar to his honour, with an inſcription containing the particulars of the engagement. (Theſe pillars were ſtyl'd Roſtratæ, from the heads or beaks of ſhips that adorn'd them.) But to return to our hiſtory. The Carthaginians were ſo diſcourag'd by this defeat, that they ſuffer'd the Romans to lord it in the Mediterranean for two years without controul: But being informed, that their enemies were about to bring the war home to their own doors, and make a deſcent on the coaſt of Africa, they exerted themſelves once more, and equip'd a fleet conſiſting of an hundred and fifty galleys, mann'd by an hundred and fifty thouſand men, with which they put to ſea in order to recover the dominion of the Mediterranean: But being met by the Romans, who, according to their accounts, had not ſo many galleys by twenty, they received another memorable defeat; no leſs than ſixty of their veſſels being taken by the Romans, who, on their ſide, had twenty-four galleys deſtroy'd; which ſhews, that this victory was not obtain'd ſo eaſily as the former; tho' the Romans had now more experience in maritime affairs, and probably had more Grecian Mariners in their ſervice. The Carthaginians were better provided againſt the grappling-irons of the enemy in this fight than in the laſt, which made their loſs the leſs; for no ſtratagem in war, has that effect the ſecond time as it has the firſt: The novelty and ſurprize the engine gave on the firſt trial, contributed, no doubt, in a great meaſure, to the defeat of the Carthaginians.

The Romans obtain a ſecond naval victory over the Carthaginians.

Before I proceed further in this hiſtory, give me leave to take notice of the partiality of the Roman Hiſtorians, and of ſuch Grecians romaniz'd, as have wrote the hiſtory of theſe wars; who inſinuate, that the Romans themſelves, without foreign aſſiſtance, in the ſpace of a few months, built and mann'd that fleet with which they obtain'd the firſt victory over the Carthaginians; when it is evident, from their own writings, that the Romans were then in poſſeſſion of the beſt part of the iſland of Sicily, and in alliance with ſeveral Grecian States, that would, no doubt did, furniſh them with great part of the Ships and Mariners in their ſervice. It is pretended, indeed, to ſerve a turn, and reflect the greater honour on the Roman State, that there was at that time no other naval power but that of Carthage: But the very ſame writers, in other parts of their works, take notice, that the Greeks in Sicily, aſſiſted by their countrymen on the continent, had often engaged the Carthaginians at ſea with ſucceſs, before the wars happen'd between them and Rome. It does not ſeem ſo ſtrange and miraculous, therefore, that the Romans, in confederacy with the Syracuſians and other Grecian cities (who were alone a match for the Carthaginians) ſhould, when united with them, gain an advantage of the Carthaginian fleet. But to proceed. The Romans, after their ſecond naval victory, embark'd a numerous army under the command of M. ATILIUS REGULUS, and L. MANLIUS their Conſuls, who had commanded as Admirals in the laſt ſea engagement, and made a deſcent on the coaſt of Africa: Whereupon the Carthaginians quitting the field, and retiring into their ſtrong towns, the Romans laid ſiege to Clypea, one of their ſea-ports, and took it; after which, they ravag'd all the open country, and took twenty thouſand priſoners, beſides vaſt flocks and herds of cattle; of which, advice being ſent to Rome, the Senate order'd, that REGULUS ſhould remain in Africa with a body of fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, with forty galleys to attend his motion, and that the reſt of the fleet and army, with the other Conſul, ſhould return to Italy: Such a contempt did the Romans entertain for the Carthaginians at this time, that they thought an army of fifteen thouſand men ſufficient to make head againſt all the forces of that State: And with theſe, did REGULUS venture to form the ſiege of Adis, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in Africa, and actually defeated an army ſent to the relief of the place. He afterwards made himſelf maſter of near two hundred towns, and among the reſt, of Tunis, ſituated within 2 or 3 leagues of Carthage; and the Numidians invading the Carthaginian territories at the ſame time, they were reduc'd to the laſt extremity, and offer'd the Roman General very advantageous terms of peace: But he, puff'd up with his ſucceſs, 'tis ſaid, would hear of no other conditions than their being made a province of Rome; inſolently telling their Ambaſſadors (as 'tis ſaid) That they "ought "either to conquer like brave men, or learn to ſubmit to the victor."

Remarks on this ſucceſs of the Romans.

The Romans invade Africa.

The Romans over-run that country.

Carthage deſires peace.

Regulus rejects their offers.

During this treaty, according to LIVY, the Roman army encountered a monſter of a Serpent in paſſing a river, which terrified them more than all the forces of the Carthaginians; ſeveral Soldiers being devour'd by this terrible animal, whoſe ſkin, 'tis ſaid, no dart could penetrate; and it was long before they could deſtroy him with ſtones thrown from their military engines; adding, that the river was dy'd with the blood of this Serpent when he was kill'd; and that the ſtench of his dead carcaſe ſo infected the air, that the army was oblig'd to remove their camp; and that the ſkin of the creature being ſent to Rome, was 120 foot long: A relation which it is impoſſible for any man to give entire credit to; and yet, perhaps, we ought not to reject every part of the ſtory. It is very probable from the creature's being found on the banks of a river, and having an impenetrable ſkin, that, inſtead of being a Serpent, it was a Crocodile; which is an amphibious animal, and his ſcales impenetrable by darts or arrows: But inſtead of being 120 foot in length, I muſt beg leave to reduce it to 20 foot, the uſual length of a full-grown Crocodile, and omit the Figure of 1, which was very probably inſerted by miſtake: Beſides there are ſeveral undeniable inſtances of a Crocodile's devouring a perſon whole, but not one of a man's being ſwallow'd by a Snake; which has the leaſt throat, in proportion, of any animal whatever, except a Whale.

The fable of a monſtrous Serpent.

To return to our hiſtory. REGULUS refuſing to grant Carthage any other terms than thoſe of an abſolute ſubmiſſion to Rome; they prepared for a vigorous defence, and, having received a ſmall reinforcement of troops from Greece, under the com-

Regulus defeated and made priſoner by the Carthaginians.

command of Xantippus, a celebrated Spartan General, they took the field, and, giving battle to the Romans, entirely defeated them: Regulus, with five hundred more, were made priſoners; about two thouſand eſcaped to Clypea, and all the reſt were killed on the ſpot; the greateſt execution being done by the Elephants, of which the Carthaginians had an hundred in their army.

The Romans, having received this defeat in Africa, ſent no more forces thither, notwithſtanding they obtain'd a third victory over the Carthaginians at ſea, and took an hundred and fourteen of their ſhips: They contented themſelves with bringing off the two thouſand Romans that had retired out of the battle to Clypea. In the mean time the Carthaginians permitted Regulus to go to Rome and propoſe an exchange of priſoners, upon his taking an oath to return and ſurrender himſelf again if he did not meet with ſucceſs. And here the Roman hiſtorians take an opportunity of applauding the courage and ſincerity of Regulus beyond meaſure; and, from him, would have us make an eſtimate of the reſolution and veracity of his countrymen. They tell us, that notwithſtanding Regulus knew he muſt undergo the greateſt torments on his return to Carthage, if he did not ſucced in this negotiation, and muſt never ſee his family or his country more; he adviſed the Senate not to conſent to an exchange of priſoners; for that it would be an ill example to ſhew ſo much favour to their troops, who had cowardly ſurrender'd themſelves priſoners to the enemy; that they were unworthy the compaſſion of their country: And for himſelf, who was in the decline of life, his loſs was nothing, if compar'd with the number of the Carthaginian Generals and Officers, in the flower of their age, who were in their hands, and might be capable of doing Rome abundance of miſchief if they were permitted to return home. And the Senate agreeing with him in that opinion, Regulus return'd to Carthage, where he was crucified, and underwent the moſt exquiſite tortures, if we may credit ſome writers.

The ſtory of the cruelties exerciſed on Regulus very doubful.

But I find it is very much doubted, whether the facts on which the Roman hiſtorians lay the greateſt ſtreſs in this relation are true; for that Polybius, eſteemed the beſt author that writes of theſe wars, ſays not one word of the ſufferings of Regulus after his return to Carthage: And Diodorus Siculus, another hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the captivity and death of Regulus, only ſays, that his wife was incens'd when ſhe heard of his death, becauſe ſhe thought it might be occaſioned by ill uſage, and therefore incited her ſons to revenge their father's fate on two noble Carthaginian captives the Senate had put into her hands to exchange againſt her huſband: And that one of them was actually kill'd by the ſeverities exercis'd upon him; which the Senate expreſs'd their abhorrence of, and took the ſurvivor out of her cuſtody, which, it is preſumed, they would not have done, if Regulus had ſuffer'd thoſe tortures which their hiſtorians and poets feign: And indeed, 'tis conjectur'd by ſome, that the wife of Regulus invented theſe ſtories, to excuſe her cruelty to the captives under her power; and that they obtain'd credit on very ſlender evidence, ſince they tended to aſperſe the Carthaginians, with whom the Romans had a perpetual national quarrel. Another thing that weighs with me, is, that Regulus is made to ſay in his ſpeech to the Senate, That "the Roman captives did not deſerve " their compaſſion, becauſe they had ſurrender'd " cowardly to their enemies"; whereas it appears, that the Romans fought it out to the laſt, and did not ſurrender 'till all but five hundred of them were cut in pieces, and theſe in the company, and very probably by the command, of that very General, when he found all further reſiſtance vain, and to no purpoſe. Beſides, it muſt be the moſt impolitick thing in the world, to torture their priſoners, while ſo many priſoners of the firſt quality of their own people remain'd in the hands of the Romans, on whom their enemies might have gratified their revenge. But this is not the only partial relation we meet with in the Roman hiſtorians, framed to calumniate their enemies, and reflect honour on their nation.

The war in Sicily was ſtill carried on with great vigour on both ſides; notwithſtanding the Romans obtain'd a great victory there, and took above an hundred and twenty Elephants from the Carthaginians in one engagement. They defended Lilybæum, and ſome other port-towns for ſeveral years; but finding themſelves at length over-power'd, Amilcar, ſurnamed Barcas, the Carthaginian General in that iſland, was order'd to make the beſt terms he could; and accordingly he concluded a peace with Rome, A.M. 3762, upon the following terms, (viz.) "That the Carthaginians ſhould evacuate Sicily, and no more make war upon the " Syracuſians, or their allies: that they ſhould re" leaſe all the Roman priſoners that they had taken, " without ranſom, and pay them three thouſand " two hundred Euboic talents of ſilver (ſomething " more than half a million ſterling) within the ſpace " of ten years." And thus ended the firſt Punick or Carthaginian war, which had laſted four and twenty years.

Articles of peace between the Romans and Carthaginians.

The wars of the Carthaginians with their mercenary forces in Africa.

The Carthaginians treaſure being pretty much exhauſted by ſo many years expence, and the vaſt loſſes they had ſuſtain'd, and being ſtill oblig'd to pay prodigious ſums to the Romans, they were very backward in paying and diſbanding the mercenary troops in their ſervice; but, putting them into quarters of refreſhment on their return from Sicily, deſired they would be content with a bare ſubſiſtence, 'till the State was in a condition to diſcharge them; and even propoſed, 'tis ſaid, their accepting a part of their pay inſtead of the whole; which incenſed the Soldiery to that degree, who expected to have been diſmiſs'd with honour, and to have return'd to their reſpective countries after ſo many years of hard ſervice, that it occaſion'd a general mutiny amongſt them: They aſſembled to the number of twenty thouſand men, and, having taken poſſeſſion of Tunis, invited the reſt of their brethren to join them. The States of Carthage, now too late ſeeing their error, deputed Gisco, one of their moſt popular Generals, to offer the male-contents any manner of ſatiſfaction; and, tho' their demands appear'd very high, he was upon the point of concluding a treaty with them, when Spendius and Matho, two of the moſt active mutineers, deſpairing of a pardon, repreſented to the multitude, that there was no truſting to their Governors on theſe occaſions: If they once laid down their arms, they muſt expect to be called to a ſevere account: There was no medium between death and victory, as the caſe ſtood. Which ſeditious harangue, had ſuch an effect upon the multitude, that they immediately broke off the treaty, choſe Spendius and Matho their Generals, and, having ſeiz'd the treaſure that Gisco brought with him to pay off the army, made him and his attendants priſoners: And, not long after, all the towns in Africa, except Utica and Hippacra, declared for the rebels; to which they were provok'd by the heavy taxes they had long borne, and of which they could not hope to ſee an end, while the ſtate was obliged to make ſuch large payments to foreigners as well as other domeſtick creditors.

The Carthaginians, on the other hand, having ſtill a reſerve of treaſure, armed all their citizens, and took other mercenaries into their pay; and, conſtituting the celebrated AMILCAR (BARCAS) their General, compell'd the rebels to raiſe the ſiege of Utica, which they had inveſted: AMILCAR, afterwards, defeated a conſiderable body of the rebels forces, making great numbers of them priſoners; but inſtead of exerciſing the ſeverity that was expected upon the captives, he endeavoured to reclaim them by an unexampled clemency, liſting many of them in his own troops, and ſuffering the reſt to return to their dwellings. The Chiefs of the rebels fearing this gentle uſage might occaſion a general deſertion of their forces, incited them to commit ſuch barbarous actions as might make them deſpair of ever being reconciled to the State; and particularly upon torturing GISCO the General, and the reſt of the priſoners they had in their hands, whom they put to the moſt cruel deaths, under pretence of their holding a correſpondence with Carthage. Utica and Hippacra alſo revolted at the ſame time, and ſacrificed their Governors to their fury, which encourag'd the rebels to lay ſiege to Carthage; but they were forced to raiſe it by AMILCAR, who alſo defeated a great body of their forces, and, cutting off their proviſions, reduced them to the fatal neceſſity of eating one another: Whereupon the multitude compelled their Chiefs to enter into a treaty with AMILCAR, who agreed, That upon ſurrendering their arms, they ſhould be ſuffered to return home, except ten of them, who were to be left to the mercy of the State. But the Carthaginians refuſing to confirm the treaty, the rebels reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as they could, and a battle enſuing, moſt of them were cut in pieces, or trodden under foot by the Elephants: Part of the rebels, however, made good their retreat to Tunis, which they determined to defend to the laſt extremity. Whereupon AMILCAR inveſting the place, cauſed SPENDIUS, one of their Chiefs, and ſeveral other priſoners he had taken, to be crucified in ſight of the town: On the other hand MATHO, the other Rebel Chief, who commanded in Tunis, having in a ſally ſurpriz'd HANNIBAL, one of the Carthaginian Generals, and ſeveral of his men, ordered them to be crucified on the walls, by way of retaliation, in the ſight of AMILCAR and his army. But MATHO himſelf being ſoon after taken, together with the town of Tunis, he paid dear for all the treachery and barbarity he had been the occaſion of, ſuffering the moſt exquiſite torments before he was put to death. Thus an end was put to the African war, one of the crueleſt that ever was known in any age, after it had laſted three years and upwards: This war was not finiſhed, when the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia mutined alſo for their pay, and calling in the Romans to their aſſiſtance, actually expelled their maſters from that iſland. And when the Carthaginians ſent forces thither to recover it again, the Romans declared, they ſhould look upon ſuch acts of hoſtility as a declaration of war againſt their State; and, taking advantage of the low circumſtances the Carthaginians were then in, compelled them not only to make a ceſſion of that iſland to Rome, but to pay them two hundred talents for a confirmation of the peace, which the Carthaginians, on their part, had never violated. This is another notorious inſtance, that the Roman faith was no more to be relied on than Punick honour, when intereſt prompted them to break through their treaties.

The Romans ſeize Sardinia,

And compel the Carthaginians to confirm it to them.

Nor were the Carthaginians inſenſible of the outrage that was done them by the Romans, in protecting their rebel troops, and taking their country from them: From this time, therefore, they made preparations to recover the loſſes they had ſuſtain'd, and revenge the repeated affronts they had receiv'd from that haughty nation.

Who meditate revenge.

And, as it was neceſſary in the firſt place to ſecure their territories in Spain, and form alliances with the Princes in Gaul as well as Spain, before they could think of attacking the Romans, AMILCAR, father of the celebrated HANNIBAL, was conſtituted Viceroy of the European dominions, who ſubdued ſeveral Princes that had entered into an alliance with the Romans, and brought over others to the ſide of Carthage by his inſinuating addreſs: But while he was thus employed in promoting the intereſt of Carthage, he was unfortunately killed in an engagement with the enemy. To him ſucceeded ASDRUBAL, his ſon-in-law, who was no leſs ſucceſsful in enlarging the Carthaginian territories in Spain than his predeceſſor; and built the town of New Carthage, or Carthagena, in Spain, almoſt over-againſt Old Carthage: Nor were the Romans idle all this time, but endeavoured to draw over the Gauls and the Spaniards to their party; and, in a manner, ſecured all that part of Spain to the eaſtward of the river Ebro in their intereſt. At length the two States of Rome and Carthage came to the following agreement, (viz.) That the river Iberus, or Ebro, in Catalonia, ſhould be the boundary between the Carthaginians and Romans, and their reſpective allies; only the city of Saguntum, on the weſt-ſide of the Ebro, being in alliance with the Romans, was included in this treaty.

Amilcar makes great additions to the Carthaginian territories in Spain.

He is killed, and ſucceeded by Aſdrubal.

ASDRUBAL, having acted as General in Spain with great honour eight years, was aſſaſſinated by one of the Gauls, who had received ſome affront from him. Whereupon HANNIBAL, the ſon of AMILCAR, now about three and twenty years of age, having ſerv'd in Spain ſome years under ASDRUBAL, was conſtituted General on that ſide. This great man, for ſome time, kept his army in perpetual action by invading and reducing ſuch of the Spaniſh Princes as were not in alliance with Rome: But having formed a deſign of humbling that proud State, he afterwards laid ſiege to Saguntum, on pretence of their encroaching on the Carthaginian allies.

Hannibal made General in Spain.

Succeſsful in his wars with the Spaniſh Princes.

Beſieges Saguntum.

The Saguntines, apprehenſive of their danger, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to Rome, imploring ſpeedy ſuccour; but the Romans contented themſelves with ſending a deputation to HANNIBAL, requiring him to raiſe the ſiege, and, in caſe he refuſed, ordered their Ambaſſadors to go to Carthage and complain of this hoſtility: But while they ſpent their time in fruitleſs negotiations, HANNIBAL took the city by ſtorm, and gave the plunder of it to his ſoldiers, which was very conſiderable: However, ſome writers relate, that the principal inhabitants, before the enemy entered the town, burnt themſelves, their wives and children, together with all the rich effects, in one common fire, rather than fall into the hands of the Carthaginians. But however that was, the Romans immediately demanded that HANNIBAL might be delivered up to them, for having violated the peace between the two nations. And when the Senate of Carthage juſtified the conduct of their General, the Romans de-

Saguntum taken by ſtorm.

The ſecond Punick war.

declar'd war againſt them: And thus began the ſecond Punick war, in the year of Rome 535, being 201 years before CHRIST.

Hannibal begins his march for Italy.

He paſſes the Alps.

His army mightily diminiſh'd.

He takes Turin by ſtorm.

The Gauls join him.

HANNIBAL aſſembled an army of an hundred thouſand men the following ſpring, and declar'd his intentions of marching through Gaul directly to Italy; and accordingly, leaving his brother ASDRUBAL with fifteen thouſand men in Spain, he began his march from Carthagena; but ſpent moſt part of this ſummer, in making alliances with the Princes of Gaul, or ſubduing ſuch of them as oppoſed the enterprize, and did not arrive at the foot of the Alps, which divides France from Italy, 'till the middle of October, when his army appears to have been ſo leſſen'd by the detachments he had made, or the loſſes he had ſuſtain'd, that it ſcarce amounted to forty thouſand men; tho' it does not appear that the Romans once attempted to obſtruct his march, no not at the paſſage of the Alps, which took him up fifteen days. Perhaps they imagin'd, that HANNIBAL had no further view than to enlarge the Carthaginian empire, by adding to it that part of Spain to the eaſtward of the Ebro, or perhaps ſome part of Gaul. And this ſeems the more probable, becauſe they made great preparations to diſpute Eaſt-Spain with him; and were ſurpriz'd when they heard he had paſs'd the Rhone. It is ſaid alſo, that the marching an army over the Alps was, 'till that time, held to be impracticable; which might be a further reaſon for their making no proviſion to receive him on that ſide. But to return to the hiſtory. HANNIBAL, having paſs'd the Alps, and muſter'd his army in the plains of Piedmont, found it ſtill more diminiſh'd. He had here but twelve thouſand African foot, eight thouſand Spaniards, and ſix thouſand horſe, moſt of them Numidians, in all, ſix and twenty thouſand men; a ſmall army to invade the moſt powerful nation then in being. Having given his army ſome refreſhment after their fatigues in paſſing the Alps, he propoſed an alliance with the Gauls, who then inhabited Piedmont, which being ſlighted, he laid ſiege to their capital city (Turin) and took it by ſtorm in three days, giving the plunder of it to his ſoldiers. Whereupon all the neighbouring Gauls came in and made their ſubmiſſion, and ſeveral of their Princes enter'd into a confederacy with the State of Carthage, which gave him an opportunity of recruiting and encreaſing his army to forty thouſand men and upwards, and proviſions were afterwards brought to his camp in great plenty. The Romans, finding the Carthaginian army daily encreaſed by the addition of freſh forces from Gaul, order'd P. SCIPIO the Conſul to advance with all diligence, and give the enemy battle; and the other Conſul SEMPRONIUS, was commanded to return from Sicily, whither he had tranſported his army with an intention to have made a deſcent in Africa from thence.

Hannibal defeats P. Scipio.

P. SCIPIO hereupon paſs'd the Po, and advanc'd within ſight of the Carthaginian army, which lay encamp'd on the banks of the Teſin: And as both ſides had their reaſons for coming to a ſpeedy engagement; the Carthaginians, to encourage their new allies, and confirm them in their intereſt; and the Romans, to prevent the enemy's penetrating into their country, and making it the ſeat of war; a battle ſoon after was fought, wherein P. SCIPIO receiv'd a dangerous wound, and his army was defeated; which the Romans imputed chiefly to the ſuperiority and dexterity of the Numidian horſe, which ſurrounded their troops, and fell upon them in flank and rear. SCIPIO, however, made good his retreat over the Po, and, by breaking down the bridges on that river, put a ſtop to the purſuit of the enemy for ſome time. SCIPIO, it ſeems, was once taken priſoner in this battle, but releaſed by the bravery of his ſon SCIPIO, afterwards ſurnamed AFRICANUS, then ſeventeen years of age.

He gains another victory over Sempronius.

Hannibal loſes his Elephants and ſome Horſes.

And now SEMPRONIUS, the other Conſul, having join'd SCIPIO, and their united army amounting to about forty thouſand men, another battle was fought in the middle of winter near Placentia, in which the Romans were again defeated by falling into an ambuſcade which the enemy had prepar'd for them, and the Conſuls, with their broken troops, conſiſting of about ten thouſand men, retreated into Placentia; but, by the hardſhips of this winter's campaign, HANNIBAL, 'tis ſaid, loſt great numbers of his Horſes, and all his Elephants but one, on which he himſelf uſually rode. HANNIBAL alſo loſt one of his eyes about this time, occaſion'd, as 'tis ſaid, by the conſtant fatigue and hardſhips he underwent night and day in this rigorous ſeaſon.

He is prevented paſſing the Appennine by ſtorms.

A third battle.

Hannibal obtains another victory.

Early the next ſpring, HANNIBAL attempted to paſs the Appennine mountains, with a deſign to have penetrated as far as Rome, before his enemies were recover'd from their conſternation; but the ſnows were yet ſo deep, and the weather ſo tempeſtuous on thoſe mountains, that he was compell'd to return with his army to Placentia, where he fought another battle with SEMPRONIUS, in which neither ſide gain'd any great advantage; tho', 'tis probable, the Carthaginians had the advantage; for CN. SERVILIUS and C. FLAMINIUS being choſen Conſuls, HANNIBAL ſoon after advanced into Tuſcany, and having drawn the Conſul FLAMINIUS into an ambuſcade near the lake of Thraſymene, obtain'd another victory over the enemy, the Conſul, FLAMINIUS, being kill'd upon the ſpot with the greateſt part of his forces; only ſix thouſand of them made their retreat in a body, and theſe were oblig'd to ſurrender priſoners the next day. In this battle ſixteen thouſand Romans were ſlain, and only ten thouſand run-aways made a ſhift to eſcape by different ways to Rome.

He courts the Latins.

As to the Latins, who were made priſoners in this battle, HANNIBAL gave them their liberty, and was ſo happy in cultivating a friendſhip with this people, and the reſt of the allies of Rome, that he was enabled to ſupport himſelf many years in Italy, when ſcarce any ſupplies or reinforcements were ſent him from Carthage.

Hannibal ſurrounded by Fabius

Extricates himſelf by a ſtratagem.

HANNIBAL, after the victory of Thraſymene, march'd his troops into that fine country, call'd the Campania of Rome, which he plunder'd from one end to the other, and laid in a good ſtock of proviſions againſt the enſuing winter; but, as he was retiring with his booty, the celebrated FABIUS, now conſtituted Dictator (a General of the moſt conſummate prudence and conduct, who would never engage an enemy, but where he had a manifeſt advantage) ſurrounded the Carthaginians in an encloſed country, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the paſſes, ſo that it appear'd almoſt impoſſible for them to extricate themſelves. But HANNIBAL ſurmounted this difficulty, 'tis ſaid, by the following ſtratagem: He cauſed torches and firebrands to be faſtened to the horns of two hundred Oxen, and ordering them to be driven up the adjacent mountains in the night-time; the Romans imagin'd, that the enemy's army was making their retreat that way; and quitting the paſſes to follow them, HANNIBAL gain'd an opportunity of getting out of thoſe defiles.

The Romans raiſe great forces to drive Hannibal out of Italy.

The battle of Cannæ.

The great loſs of the Romans.

The next year, being the third campaign after HANNIBAL's entering Italy, the Romans determin'd to make one grand effort to drive the enemy out of their country; when (TERENTIUS VARRO and L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS being Conſuls) they raiſed eight legions inſtead of four, their uſual number, conſiſting of five thouſand foot and four hundred horſe each: To which were added about ten thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot of their allies, making in all near an hundred thouſand men; whereas the Carthaginians were not computed to amount to more than forty thouſand men: Which ſuperiority, 'tis ſaid, gave VARRO, one of the Conſuls, ſuch an aſſurance of victory, that he declared, before he left Rome, he would fall upon the enemy wherever he found him, and put an end to the war at once. Accordingly, on a day when it was his turn to command (for the Conſuls commanded alternately) coming up with HANNIBAL's army, which he found drawn up in battalia, on a fine plain near Cannæ, he gave the ſignal of battle, and a very fierce encounter followed, in which the Romans received a memorable defeat; which is generally aſcrib'd to two cauſes, the goodneſs of the Carthaginian horſe, and the duſt that drove in clouds in the faces of the Romans: For the ſagacious HANNIBAL, 'tis ſaid, obſerving that the wind Vulturnus roſe from the ſouth-eaſt conſtantly at a certain hour every day, and that the plain, on which the engagement happen'd, was a deep ſand, he drew up his forces in ſuch a manner, as to have the wind in his back, and conſequently in the faces of his enemies, who were blinded and diſorder'd by the duſt, not being able to diſcern friends from foes. But to whatever cauſe this important victory is to be aſcrib'd, Rome never received ſo great an overthrow: For ÆMILIUS, one of the Conſuls, was kill'd on the ſpot; as were two Quæſtors, one and twenty Military Tribunes, ſeveral others that had been Conſuls or Prætors, fourſcore Senators, and between forty and fifty thouſand Officers and Soldiers beſides, according to thoſe who ſpeak moſt modeſtly of the loſs; and above ten thouſand more, that had been left to guard the camp, ſurrender'd themſelves priſoners immediately after the battle. 'Tis related, that HANNIBAL ſent to Carthage a buſhel (ſome ſay three buſhels) of gold rings, which were taken off the fingers of the Roman Nobility and Knights that fell in this engagement: Nor was this victory obtained without loſs, there being kill'd of HANNIBAL's infantry ſix thouſand five hundred, of which four thouſand were Gauls, and fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans; but he did not loſe above two hundred horſe. VARRO, the ſurviving Conſul, fled with ſeventy horſe only to Venuſia, and about four thouſand more eſcaped to other towns.

Hannibal cenſur'd for not purſuing his victory.

HANNIBAL is cenſur'd by ſome writers, for not advancing immediately to Rome on the obtaining this victory, it being ſuggeſted that that city would probably have ſurrender'd in the conſternation they were in on the loſs of this battle. But HANNIBAL was certainly a better judge of the matter, than any of thoſe that take upon them to cenſure him: Nor is it to be conceived how any man, who was not upon the ſpot, and acquainted with the circumſtances of the caſe, ſhould be able to paſs judgment on his conduct, eſpecially if it be conſider'd, that few Generals (much leſs Hiſtorians) are qualified to correct ſo great a proficient in the art of war.

But his conduct ſeems rather to deſerve applauſe.

And indeed, at this diſtance of time, a man of ordinary ſenſe may ſuggeſt a great many things, that will ſufficiently juſtify the conduct of that General in this particular: As that his army required ſome reſt and refreſhment after ſo obſtinate an engagement: That, as between ſix and ſeven thouſand of his men were killed in the battle, according to the uſual way of computation, there muſt be twice as many wounded; and conſequently he had not above twenty thouſand effective men remaining, with which it was ſcarce practicable to inveſt a city of that magnitude, and ſo compleatly fortified as Rome then was, eſpecially if we reflect, that its inhabitants are ſuppoſed to amount to above a million of ſouls; That their Nobility, Gentry, and Citizens, were all bred to arms from their infancy, and moſt of them had no other profeſſion. If we conſider Rome in this light, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that they would have been ſo terrified at the approach of twenty thouſand men, as to have ſurrendered immediately; and, if they had not, it is ſtill more abſurd to ſuppoſe, that twenty thouſand men could have reduced ſuch a city.

Hannibal treats with the towns of Naples and Sicily.

He quarters his army in the Campania of Rome and Naples.

For which he is alſo unjuſtly cenſured.

HANNIBAL therefore, inſtead of attempting what he knew to be impracticable, made uſe of his preſent good fortune to influence the allies of Rome to join him; and marching to the ſouthward, Capua, and moſt part of what is now called Naples, with ſeveral towns of Sicily, declared for him, and renounced their alliance with the Romans; which gave him an opportunity of importing corn, and other proviſions from Sicily, for the uſe of his army during the winter, which would otherwiſe have been reduced to great diſtreſs, all the country about Rome having been deſtroyed: HANNIBAL alſo diſpatched his brother MAGO to Carthage with the news of his victory, and to deſire a further reinforcement of troops to compleat the conqueſt of Italy. In the mean time, he ſent his army into winter-quarters in the Campania of Rome and Naples, taking up his own reſidence in the city of Capua; which is ſeverely cenſured alſo by ſome writers, who tell us, that his army was ſo ſoftened and enervated, by living luxuriouſly this winter in that charming country, that they had no longer the air or reſolution of ſoldiers, but became perfectly effeminate, and unfit for the fatigues of war; which is ſurely the moſt ridiculous charge that ever was brought againſt a General, and ſhews how unqualified ſtudious men ſometimes are to paſs a judgment on military affairs.

Can any man believe, that a Soldier's lying in a warm lodging, and eating and drinking well two or three months in the winter ſeaſon, ſhould make him leſs fit for ſervice than he was before? Did not the Officers and Soldiers of the Allies, as well as thoſe of France, do the ſame thing every winter during the two laſt long wars? And yet I believe no man will pretend they were the leſs fit for action the enſuing campaign: Want and hardſhip frequently deſtroy the Soldiers in a rigorous winter; but 'tis very ſeldom they are hurt by too great plenty.

Beſides, we find HANNIBAL had a double reaſon to quarter his army in the Campania of Rome and Naples; firſt, to keep both Naples and Sicily firm to his intereſt; and, ſecondly, that he might receive ſupplies from thoſe countries, which were not exhauſted by the marches and countermarches of the reſpective armies, as the more northern parts of Italy had been. The reader will forgive my dwelling on theſe particulars, when he reflects how gentlemen are taught to declaim againſt this great man, for quartering his army in a plentiful country, and not ſtorming Rome immediately after the battle of Cannæ.

Both the Scipios defeated, and killed in Spain.

Aſdrubal marches into Italy.

Aſdrubal defeated, and killed in Italy.

The Romans encreaſe their forces in Spain.

I ſhall not relate every action between the Romans and the Carthaginians; only obſerve, that as Hannibal expected his brother Asdrubal with a greater reinforcement from Spain, to enable him to finiſh the conqueſt of Italy; ſo the Romans ſent large detachments thither under the command of Cneius and Publius Scipio, to put a ſtop to Asdrubal's march; which they did for ſome years, but were afterwards both defeated by the Carthaginians, and loſt their lives in that ſervice: Whereupon Asdrubal, in the eleventh year of the war, marched with an army of ſeventy thouſand men and upwards, through France into Italy, paſſed the Alps, and advanced as far as Placentia, in order to join Hannibal; but, while he was engaged in the ſiege of that city, the Romans intercepted an expreſs he had ſent to that General; and being thereby fully acquainted with the number and condition of Asdrubal's troops, the two Conſuls ſuddenly united their forces, and fell upon him before Hannibal had any notice of their motions. Asdrubal was killed in the battle, with upwards of fifty thouſand of his men, according to the Romans account of the action; and Hannibal, who juſt before expected to have finiſhed the conqueſt of Italy this campaign, now found it difficult to maintain his ground in that country: However, he did not yet deſpair; but, ſending for freſh reinforcements from Spain and Africa, ſo diſpoſed of his troops, that he might be able to wait their arrival: And, it ſeems, he took care to poſt his army in ſuch a manner, and was ſo much ſuperior to any of the Roman Generals in point of military ſkill, that, though their forces were double the number of the Carthaginians, they found the driving him out of Italy impracticable. Whereupon they determined to increaſe their army in Spain, and appointed Publius Cornelius Scipio (the ſon of Publius Scipio, who loſt his life there a little before) General of their forces on that ſide, propoſing by that means to put a ſtop to the Carthaginians making any further levies there, and recruiting Hannibal's army from thence.

Syphax enters into alliance with the Romans.

Deſerts them again.

Maſiniſſa enters into alliance with the Romans. Scipio reduces Spain.

Syphax, an African Prince, apprehending himſelf ill uſed by the Carthaginians, about this time, offered to enter into an alliance with the Romans; whereupon Scipio went over to Africa, and ſigned a treaty with him, and he proved very uſeful to this General in the Spaniſh war for ſome time: But the Carthaginians finding means to reconcile Syphax to them, he afterwards became one of the moſt formidable enemies the Romans had; however, this loſs was amply made up by the revolt of Masinissa (a much more potent Numidian Prince) to the Romans, by whoſe aſſiſtance Scipio reduced all the places belonging to the Carthaginians in Spain.

Magô marches into Italy.

Scipio carries the war into Africa; and, by the aſſiſt. of Maſiniſſa, gains a great victory. Syphax taken by the Romans.

A truce between Rome and Carthage.

Hannibal commanded to evacuate Italy.

That which gave Scipio the greateſt advantage in Spain, I perceive, was Mago's marching from thence to Italy, in the 13th year of the war, with a great reinforcement of troops, to join Hannibal; for that General foreſaw, if he ſubdued Rome, that Spain, and all other places the Romans poſſeſſed themſelves of, muſt return again to the obedience of Carthage. Scipio, on the other hand, believing, that the readieſt way to relieve his country, was to make Africa the ſeat of war, tranſported his army thither; and, being joined by Masinissa and his Numidians, gained a memorable victory over the Carthaginians, and Syphax their confederate, who was made priſoner in the engagement. Scipio afterwards took the important town of Utica: Whereupon the Carthaginians thought fit to make the Roman General ſome overtures of peace. But Scipio, elated with his ſucceſſes, would grant them no other terms, but thoſe of withdrawing their forces out of Italy; never intermedling again in the affairs of Spain; delivering up all their ſhipping, except twenty veſſels, to the Romans; paying down fifteen thouſand talents, with ſome leſs material articles. And the Carthaginians ſeemed to acquieſce in them, only deſiring they might have a truce, 'till they could ſend to Rome, and try to get ſome alteration of the terms in their favour; and in the mean time ſent orders to Hannibal to evacuate Italy, and return home: Which, it ſeems, he received with the utmoſt regret; for, being joined by Mago, he looked upon himſelf, at this time, to have been in a condition to have compleated the conqueſt of Italy, and probably had effected it, if the Carthaginian army in Africa had ſtood upon the defenſive, and not received that terrible defeat, when Syphax was made priſoner. Hannibal, however, thought fit to obey his maſters, and return, quitting that fine country he had been contending for near ſixteen years, and abandoning his allies, the Gauls, as well as the Italians who had joined him, to the mercy of the Romans, which gave him a moſt ſenſible mortification; inſomuch that, 'tis ſaid, he was ſcarce maſter of himſelf, when he embarked his troops.

The Carthaginians break the truce.

Scipio obtains a victory over Hannibal.

The Carthaginians make freſh overtures of peace.

During the ceſſation of arms (as the Romans relate) a great fleet of theirs happening to be driven on the coaſt of Carthage, many of their ſhips were taken by the enemy, and carried into that port; which being reclaim'd by Scipio (after the arrival of Hannibal) that State refuſed to reſtore them. Whereupon hoſtilities were again renewed; and a battle being fought not long after, Scipio obtain'd a complete victory by the aſſiſtance of Masinissa: Hannibal, however, made good his retreat to Carthage, having loſt twenty thouſand men in the engagement. The Romans afterwards continued their march to inveſt that capital, and in their way were met by Deputies from Carthage with freſh overtures of peace; and were content, after ſome debate, to ſubmit to the following mortifying terms.

The mortifying terms impoſed on them.

That they ſhould deliver up all their ſhips to the Romans, except ten: That they ſhould deliver up all their allies that were in Carthage, as well as all deſerters and priſoners: That they ſhould deliver up their Elephants, and tame no more: That they ſhould not make war out of Africa, nor in it, without the leave of the Romans: That they ſhould reſtore to Masinissa all that he, or his anceſtors had been poſſeſſed of: That they ſhould pay ten thouſand Euboic talents of ſilver at fifty annual payments, and give an hundred hoſtages for performance of theſe conditions; in conſideration whereof, the Romans granted they ſhould remain a free people, governed by their own laws, and enjoy all the towns and territories they poſſeſſed in Africa before the war.

The Carthaginian fleet burnt.

The end of the ſecond Punick war.

Upon the concluſion of this treaty, the Carthaginians deliver'd up five hundred ſhips to Scipio, which he burnt in view of the town. He alſo ſtruck off the heads of the Chiefs of their Italian allies, and hang'd up all the deſerters: After which, he return'd to Rome with his army, where a moſt magnificent triumph was decreed him, together with the ſurname of Africanus. And thus ended the ſecond Punick war, after it had laſted ſeventeen years. On the concluſion of this peace, Hannibal was employ'd in reducing ſome parts of Africa that had revolted from Carthage: But the Romans, ſtill jealous of his being at the head of an army, requir'd he ſhould be recall'd, and not inter-

Hannibal reforms the civil government of Carthage. He is charged with correſponding with the enemies of Rome. Takes refuge in the Court of Antiochus.

Who engaging to deliver him up to Rome, he eſcapes to Crete. Where he is in danger of being murdered.

meddle with military affairs. Whereupon returning to Carthage, he was conſtituted Prætor; and the reformation of the civil government, and of the treaſury, was committed to his care: In which charges he acquitted himſelf no with leſs honour than he had obtain'd in the field. But his enemies charging him with holding a correſpondence with ANTIOCHUS, King of Syria, againſt the Romans, the Senate of Rome ſent a deputation to Carthage, requiring that General ſhould be deliver'd up to them: Whereupon he embarked ſuddenly for Phœnicia, from thence he went to the Court of ANTIOCHUS, and prevented his being ſeiz'd; for the Carthaginians would have delivered up HANNIBAL and half their Nobility, rather than have hazarded another war with the Romans. HANNIBAL was at firſt received with great marks of eſteem by ANTIOCHUS, who was then entering into a war with the Romans; but he afterwards entertain'd a jealouſy of this great man, and meeting with ill ſucceſs in that war, in order to procure the better peace of Rome, he ſtipulated to deliver up his gueſt to the Romans; which HANNIBAL receiving timely notice of, retir'd to the iſland of Crete; and carrying a conſiderable treaſure with him, was in danger there of being murder'd for it by thoſe unhoſpitable iſlanders, from whom he made his eſcape by an ingenious ſtratagem.

He reſorts to the Court of Pruſias. Who promiſing to deliver him to the Romans, he takes a glaſs of poiſon. Scipio dies in baniſhment the ſame year. The wars of Carthage with Maſiniſſa.

He is ſupported by the Romans.

Carthage begins to revive.

The Romans reſolve to deſtroy their State.

Make a deſcent in Africa with a great army.

Perſuade the Carthaginians to deliver up all their arms, then declare they would deſtroy their city.

Which occaſions the third Punick war.

He afterwards fled for refuge to the Court of PRUSIAS, King of Bithynia, who being then engag'd in a war with EUMENES, King of Pergamos, HANNIBAL was exceeding uſeful to him: However, upon the application of the Romans, PRUSIAS promiſed to deliver up HANNIBAL to them; which, when the old General underſtood, he put an end to his life by drinking a glaſs of poiſon, being then ſeventy years of age. The ſame year alſo died his great rival SCIPIO, in a kind of voluntary baniſhment; being obliged to fly his country, to avoid malicious impeachments, notwithſtanding the important ſervices he had done the Roman State. But to return to Carthage: The Romans not only obliged that State to reſtore to MASINISSA all the territories he poſſeſſed before the war, but conferred on him alſo thoſe of SYPHAX, with which, however, his ambition was not ſatisfy'd, but he ſeiz'd ſeveral cities belonging to the Carthaginians: Whereupon they appeal'd to the Romans, who promiſed to redreſs the injury; but under-hand encourag'd MASINISSA in his encroachments, in order to keep the Carthaginians low, and prevent that State's riſing to its former grandeur; and obſerving, at length, that notwithſtanding all oppreſſions and diſcouragements, Carthage ſtill encreas'd in wealth and power, it was determin'd by the Romans, abſolutely to deſtroy their State, and raze the city, they ſo much dreaded, to the ground: They remember'd, with horror, how HANNIBAL, for ſixteen years, had ravag'd their country, and brought them to the brink of ruin, and could not be eaſy while Carthage was in being. For many years were ſpeeches made in the Roman Senate againſt the imprudence of ſuffering that State to riſe again; and it is obſerv'd of CATO, that he ſcarce ended a ſpeech in relation to that debate for many years, without theſe memorable words, *Delenda eſt Carthago:* Carthage muſt be deſtroy'd. Nor was that State ignorant of what was intended againſt them. They endeavour'd, therefore, by the moſt abject ſubmiſſions to avert their ruin; but all to no purpoſe: The Romans aſſembled a numerous army, which was tranſported to Africa, under the command of L. MARTIUS and M. MANLIUS NEPOS, their Conſuls; who having wheadled them to deliver up all their arms and engines of war, under pretence of granting them the peace they demanded, the Roman Generals then informed them, That it was the pleaſure of the Senate they ſhould evacuate Carthage, and remove to ſome other part of their territories, at a diſtance from the ſea, for they were commanded to deſtroy their city; which throwing the Carthaginian Ambaſſadors into the utmoſt conſternation, they only deſired they might return to the city and conſult their principals, before they gave a peremptory anſwer. This requeſt the Roman Generals thought fit to indulge them in, not imagining, after they had parted with their arms, they would think of defending themſelves: But the Carthaginians, being now reduced to deſpair, and reſolving to hazard their lives, and all that was dear to them, rather than ſee their city deſtroy'd, fell immediately to forging of new arms, and providing all manner of inſtruments of war; inſomuch, that when the Romans approach'd the city, they found it would be a work of ſome time to reduce it: And indeed, the firſt year very little was done towards taking the town, ſeveral briſk ſallies being made, in which the Romans ſuffer'd much.

Scipio takes Carthage by ſtorm, and burns it.

Rebuilt by Julius, or Auguſtus Cæſar.

The following year SCIPIO, grandſon, by adoption, of the celebrated SCIPIO AFRICANUS, who put an end to the ſecond Punick war, being elected Conſul, and commanding the Roman army before Carthage, batter'd the town with great fury, and gave the beſieged little reſt. However, they held out two years more againſt all the power of the Romans, and the ſtratagems of their ableſt Generals; but the third year, the city was taken by ſtorm, when SCIPIO reſign'd every thing to the plunder of the Soldiers, except the plate and ornaments of the temples; and afterwards commanding it to be ſet on fire in ſeveral places, it continued burning for ſeventeen days, and orders were given by the Senate of Rome, that it ſhould never be built or inhabited again; and that the cities alſo ſhould be razed that had continued in the intereſt of Carthage during this war. Dreadful imprecations alſo were made againſt thoſe who ſhould rebuild Carthage; to avoid which, 'tis ſaid, when AUGUSTUS CÆSAR erected the new town, to which was given the name of Carthage, it was built upon another ſpot of ground near the former; and this afterwards arriv'd to be a noble populous city, the capital of Africa, and ſo remained for 700 years, till deſtroy'd by the Saracens; but not comparable either in dimenſions, ſtrength, or beauty, to the old town; of which we meet with the following particulars relating to the deſcription of it.

Some deſcription of Old Carthage. Three towns in one.

Byrſa.

Megara.

Cothon.

That it was ſituated on three hills in a peninſula, almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea, and was in reality three towns united in one; the whole 22 miles in circumference, and contained two harbours within its works; one for their men of war, and another for the merchant-ſhips; and that it was on all ſides ſurrounded by rocks: That on the iſthmus, towards the continent, ſtood the citadel, called Byrſa, defended by a triple wall, and towers at proper diſtances: That the walls were two ſtories high, built upon arches, and that in the lower arches were kept three hundred Elephants, with their proviſions and warlike accoutrements: In the upper arches were ſtore-houſes and ſtables for four thouſand horſe, and barracks for twenty thouſand foot: That the city, properly ſo called, lay almoſt round the citadel, and was named Megara; and the harbour, which was a double one, as has been obſerved already, being didivided by a little iſland, called Cothon, was inhabited chiefly by Seamen: That the whole town contained ſeven hundred thouſand ſouls, when the Romans inveſted it; and that there was found in the place, when it was taken, four hundred and ſeventy thouſand pound weight of ſilver, beſides what was plunder'd by private ſoldiers, and conſumed in the fire. Carthage was deſtroy'd 609 years after the building of Rome, and before CHRIST 146 years.

Carthage deſtroyed about 146 years before Chriſt.

The genius and temper of the Carthaginians.

And now, before I diſmiſs the hiſtory of the Carthaginians, it may be proper to enquire into the genius and temper, the religion and policy, of that once famous nation.

The character which the Romans, their enemies, give of them, is not to their advantage; nor can it be expected it ſhould: They charge them with craft, covetouſneſs and treachery; inſomuch, that Punick faith was become a proverbial phraſe at Rome: They will not allow this people one good quality, except induſtry. But it appears, however, that they had a mighty genius for navigation and foreign countries, made more diſcoveries, and ſettled more colonies, than all the nations in the world beſides; and one would think the Romans might have allowed them courage in military ſkill, when they ſuffered ſo much from theſe talents, and could never think themſelves ſafe, till Carthage was deſtroy'd: As they were a trading people, they might put up many affronts, rather than engage in war, which muſt interrupt their commerce; but, when they found themſelves oppreſſed, and did exert themſelves, Spain, Italy, and Sicily, as well as Africa, were witneſſes of the bravery and conduct of their Generals; and the noble defence of their capital for three years after the Romans had treacherouſly ſeiz'd their arms, ſufficiently manifeſts, that they were not ſo diſpirited upon every misfortune, as to neglect their defence, as the Roman authors inſinuate: And indeed they appear to me to have been a brave, wiſe, frugal and diligent people. 'Tis true, their great commerce, and active genius, render'd them the moſt powerful nation in Africa; and they had an ambition of keeping the neighbouring powers under their ſubjection; but this is no more than what all other people in the like circumſtances have done, eſpecially the Romans: And this may be obſerved in favour of the Carthaginians, which cannot be ſaid of the former, that they improved the trade and manufactures of every country where they came, and ſupplied one part of the world with what the other wanted; whereas the Romans deſtroy'd all trade and commerce, and ſubſiſted chiefly on the ſpoils of others.

Religion of the Carthaginians.

They ſacrifice their children to Saturn.

The religion of the Carthaginians appears to have been the ſame with that of the Canaanites or Phœnicians, from whom they deſcended: They worſhipped a multitude of deities, as Monſieur ROLLIN obſerves from the preamble of a treaty they concluded with PHILIP of Macedon; wherein it is recited to be made, In the preſence of JUPITER, JUNO and APOLLO: In the preſence of the Demon or Genius of Carthage: In the preſence of HERCULES, MARS, TRITON and NEPTUNE, and all the confederate gods of Carthage: In the preſence of the ſun, moon, and earth, rivers, meadows, waters, &c. But the gods chiefly invoked by them, were the MOON (called Cæleſtis, and ſometimes Urania) and SATURN, called Molock in ſacred hiſtory; to which laſt they ſacrificed their children, ſometimes burning them in fires, and at others in a brazen ſtatue of SATURN, heated for that purpoſe, ſounding at the ſame time drums and trumpets, that they might not hear their cries; and it was looked upon as a piece of heroiſm in their mothers to aſſiſt at theſe ſacrifices with dry eyes, and even without a groan or ſigh, the ſacrifice not being thought acceptable to SATURN, if offered with any reluctance. But, as the longeſt cuſtom could not perfectly erradicate the horror theſe unnatural rites created, they were uſually contented with making their children paſs through the fire; in which, however, they ſometimes periſhed: And ſtill, in any great diſtreſs, they actually burnt them, making choice of the fineſt and nobleſt youths their nation bred.

In a dubious battle, or in expectation of a city's being taken and ſtormed, they have ſacrificed children, to this infernal fury, from morning 'till evening; a cruelty ſo deteſted by the reſt of mankind, that we find Princes, in their treaties with this nation, inſiſting, they ſhould offer no more human ſacrifices: And this was probably one of thoſe horrid crimes for which the Canaanites, their anceſtors, were extirpated; and which brought down that terrible ruin on the Carthaginian State.

The government of Carthage.

The Suffetes.

The chief Magiſtrates in this common-wealth, were the two Suffetes, ſaid to reſemble the Roman Conſuls, and ſometimes ſtiled Kings: They were elected annually, it ſeems; but it does not appear by whom. Theſe aſſembled the Senate, and preſided in it, and had ſometimes the ſupreme command in military, as well as civil affairs; and, when they reſigned that office, they were Prætors of courſe, and thereby retained a very great authority, even that of calling both the Judges and Officers of the publick revenues to an account, and of propoſing new laws. The Senate conſiſted of men of the firſt quality; but whether they ſat there by election or inheritance, or what their numbers were, does not appear any further, than that ſeveral hundreds enjoyed this dignity. The Senate was the laſt reſort in all appeals; here laws were framed; Ambaſſadors had their audience, and reſolutions taken as to peace and war: But, when the Senate could not agree, the matter was brought before the People, or rather a repreſentative of the people; but by whom appointed or elected does not appear.

The Senate.

The People.

The council of one hundred.

There was alſo another member of this State, called the tribunal of one hundred, though it conſiſted of an hundred and four perſons elected out of the Senate. Theſe were empowered to call their Generals to account, whoſe power for a great while was almoſt unlimited; and of theſe hundred, were five that formed a kind of ſecret committee, and acted very arbitrarily. They had alſo a power to fill up all vacancies that happened in the council of an hundred, or in their own number.

Of five.

Qualifications for poſts.

No perſon was admitted to any poſt in this Government, who had not an eſtate that might be ſuppoſed ſufficient to ſet him above all temptations to do a mean thing, or betray his truſt: Nor was any one ſuffered to purchaſe a place, it being preſumed, that thoſe that bought would ſell again, and reimburſe themſelves perhaps by ſome failure in their duty. As to the reſt of the Powers of Africa, who had been tributaries to Carthage, namely MASINISSA, SYPHAX, and their ſucceſſors, Kings of Numidia, and JUBA, and the reſt of the Princes of Mauritania, who had called in, and aſſiſted the Romans in deſtroying Carthage; theſe were for ſome time ſuffered to enjoy a kind of independency; but at length, with the reſt of the then known parts of Africa, became ſubject to Rome, and received the Chriſtian religion very early. There were ſeveral hundred biſhopricks in Africa in the 3d and 4th centuries, of which the Archbiſhop of Carthage was Primate; the celebrated ST. AUSTIN, TERTUL-

The reſt of the Powers of Africa made ſubject to Rome.

Chriſtianity flouriſhes here.

LIAN,

The Vandals ſubdue the Roman territories in Africa.

Of the ſect of the Arrians.

The Romans recover Africa from the Vandals.

The Saracens conquer Africa and Spain.

The north of Africa now under the dominion of the Emperor of Morocco, the Dey of Algiers, and the Beys of Tunis and Tripoli.

LIAN and St. Cyprian, with many other Prelates renowned in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, adorned this church: But the Vandals, a barbarous northern people, with their neighbours the Suevi and Alans, having forced their way into France and Spain, and being afterwards driven from thence by the Goths, another northern nation, tranſported themſelves from Spain into Africa, about the year of our Lord 427 (Genseriras being their King) and ſubdued great part of the country poſſeſſed by the Romans. The Vandals appear to have been Chriſtians indeed, but of the Arrian ſect; and therefore expelled all the orthodox Chriſtians. They had the dominion of this part of Africa 'till the year 534, when Belisarius, the Emperor Justinian's General, obtained a compleat victory over Gilimar their laſt King, and thereby recovered all the Roman provinces. Whereupon Justinian made Africa a Præfecture; whereas formerly it uſed to be ſubject to the Præfectus Prætorio of Italy, and it remained united to the Roman empire. Othman, the third Caliph of the Saracens, in the year 1647, ſubdued all the north of Africa from the Red ſea to the Atlantick ocean. The Saracens afterwards conquered almoſt all Spain; and both there, and in Africa, erected abundance of petty kingdoms. Thoſe in Africa were at length almoſt all reduced under the dominion of the Emperor of Morocco, the moſt potent of all the Saracen Sovereigns in Africa: But ſince the erecting the kingdom of Algiers by the Turks, in the manner already related, the empire of Morocco is reduced into very narrow bounds, extending no farther along the Mediterranean, than from the ſtreights of Gibralter, to the river Mulvia: All the reſt of the Barbary coaſt, from thence to Egypt, is ſubject to the Turks of Algiers, Tunis or Tripoli.

A further continuation of the hiſtory of Africa.

Guinea.

THE next grand diviſion of Africa, I am to review, is that of Guinea, which is generally held to extend from the mouth of the river Senegal, ſituate in 15 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and 16 degrees weſt longitude, to the ſouth-eaſt as far as Cape Negro, ſituate in 18 degrees ſouth latitude, and 11 degrees eaſt longitude: but then we muſt include Congo and Angola. In the former edition of this work, indeed, I extended the coaſt of Guinea but from 10 degrees north latitude to 4 degrees north latitude; but obſerving ſince, that the ſame merchants trade both to the north and ſouth of thoſe limits, and deal in almoſt the ſame articles, it ſeems very proper to ſtile the whole coaſt, from the river Senegal in the north, to Cape Negro in the ſouth, the Guinea Coaſt. The moſt northerly ſettlements the Europeans have in this tract, are thoſe of the French, ſituate near, or in the river Senegal, in 15 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. The next are thoſe of the Engliſh, in the river Gambia, ſituate in 13 degrees 20 minutes north latitude; and further ſouth were heretofore other ſettlements belonging to the royal African company, in the river Sherbro, ſituate in 7 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. The coaſt from the river Sherbro, round Cape Palmas, to the river Ancober, near Axim, is about 250 leagues in length, and commonly called the Windward Coaſt, on which there is no ſettlement or factory of any European nation. From the river Ancober eaſtward to Acra, is about 50 leagues: this part is uſually called the Gold Coaſt, on which are ſeveral Engliſh and Dutch forts and factories. From Acra eaſtward, to Jaqueen, is about 60 leagues, in which the only places where the Engliſh, French, and Dutch, had factories, were Whidaw and Jaqueen; and this is called the Slave Coaſt. From Jaqueen to the bay of Benin, and ſo round to the Callibars, Camarone, and Cape Lopez, 1 minute ſouth of the line, is 300 leagues, in which long tract is no ſettlement of any European nation. The coaſts of Congo and Angola, to the ſouthward of Cape Lopez, extend to Cape Negro, in 18 degrees ſouth latitude, as has been obſerved already. I proceed now to review the ſtate of the ſaid ſeveral countries on the ſouth-weſt of Africa, to which the Europeans trade.

The French are abſolute maſters of the mouth of the river Senegal, which lies in 15 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, in which they have ſeveral forts and factories, as they have alſo on the ſea-coaſt to the north and ſouth of that river, and for a great while monopolized the trade of that gum, which from the river Senegal obtained that name; but the Engliſh royal African company begin now to ſhare the gum trade with them, having found a way to the woods where it is produced, from their ſettlements in the river Gambia.

And here it is neceſſary to obſerve in the firſt place, that the river Gambia, in moſt of our maps, is called the river Niger; and the Senegal ſeems to be a branch of that river; and that the ſource of the river Niger is placed upwards of two thouſand miles eaſt of the mouth of it; whereas it is evident to me, that the Senegal and Gambia are two diſtinct rivers, running from eaſt to weſt almoſt parallel to each other, and that neither of them are navigable above 600 miles, which is not more than 300 miles by land, if we make the uſual allowances for the winding of rivers: from whence we may very well conclude, that thoſe who pretend to have penetrated into the heart of Africa by theſe rivers, have never travelled above three or four hundred miles from the ſea-coaſt.

River Gambia.

Mr. Moor relates, that ſailing into the mouth of the river Gambia, the ſhores appeared very beautiful, being for the moſt parts clothed with woods, and between the woods pleaſant green rice grounds: that James Iſland, the chief ſettlement belonging to the royal African company, lies ten leagues up the river, almoſt in the middle of it, being three miles from the neareſt ſhore: that at low-water, the iſland is about three quarters of a mile in circumference, upon which there is a ſquare fort of ſtone, regularly built, with four baſtions, upon each whereof are ſeven cannon mounted, which command the river all round. Under the walls of the fort, facing the ſea, are two round batteries, and on each of them four large cannon mounted; and between thoſe are nine ſmall guns mounted for ſalutes.

In the fort are ſome very good apartments, in which the governor, chief merchants, factors, writers, and enſign, lie; and under ſome of theſe apartments are very good ſtorehouſes.

One officer, one ſerjeant, two corporals, one gunner and gunner's mate, and thirty ſoldiers, are by eſtabliſhment the garriſon of this fort: but ſickneſs, occaſioned chiefly by the exceſſive drinking of diſtill'd liquors, often reduces it to a very weak condition, till ſuch time as recruits can be raiſed in England, and by the company ſent over hither. The ſoldiers, and tradeſmen, and other ſervants, lie out of the fort in barracks, built as the fort is, with ſtone and mortar. The whole is ſurrounded with palliſadoes, and the river forms an excellent mote, being three miles wide in the narroweſt part. There are alſo other barracks, built oppoſite to thoſe of the ſoldiers, for the uſe of the company's caſtle-ſlaves and black ſervants. Under them are ſtore-houſes, and under thoſe of the ſoldiers are ſlave-houſes.

This fort preſerves the right of trading to the river Gambia for the company, and conſequently for the ſubjects of England.

Beſides the fort, there are ſeveral factories up the river, ſettled for the conveniency of trade. They are all under the direction of the governor and chief merchants at this fort, to whom the factors remit all their trade. For this purpoſe the company have here 3 or 4 ſloops, of about thirty tun each, and about the ſame number of long-boats: ſome of them are conſtantly employed in fetching proviſions and water from the main, for the uſe of the garriſon, and the reſt are employed in carrying goods up to the factories, and bringing from them ſlaves, elephants teeth, wax, or whatever trade they have, down to James Fort, from whence moſt of it, except ſlaves, is ſent home by the governor and chief merchants to the company in England.

According to the ſame writer, the mouth of the river Gambia lies in 13 degrees 20 minutes north latitude, and 15 degrees 20 minutes weſt longitude, and is formed by ſome broken iſlands on the north, and by Cape St. Mary's on the ſouth. On the north-ſide of the river, the firſt kingdom is that of Barrah, which extends twenty leagues along the river; and in this country the African company have two factories, one at Gillifree, over againſt James Fort, and the other at Colar, upon a river of the ſame name, which diſcharges itſelf into the Gambia, eight leagues above James iſland.

The next kingdom is Gadibu, which extends twenty leagues. Further eaſt, on the north-ſide of the river, is the kingdom of Sanjally, which extends fourteen leagues. In this kingdom the African company have their chief factory of Joar, being about two miles diſtant from the river.

Next to Sanjally lies the kingdom of Barſally, extending about fifteen leagues along the river, to which moſt of the other kingdoms are tributary; and beyond Barſally lies the kingdom of Yany, which extends eighty leagues further up the river. And the laſt kingdom on the north-ſide of the river, to which our author travelled, is that of Wolly, which extends ſeven leagues beyond Yany. In this kingdom the company have the Factory of Fatatenda, which is about five hundred miles from the mouth of the Gambia. Here the river is as wide as the Thames at London-bridge; and hither ſloops of forty tuns come up with their cargoes, and the tides riſe three or four foot.

On the ſouth-ſide of the river, the firſt kingdom we meet with is that of Cumbo, which commences at Cape St. Mary's, and extends eleven leagues to the eaſt-ward of it, affording plenty of neats, cattle, goats, and fowls; and here the company have a ſmall factory, which purchaſes proviſions for the garriſon at James Fort.

The next kingdom on the ſouth-ſide is Fonia, extending ſeven leagues, in which the company have two factories employed in buying up elephants teeth and bees-wax. The next country to Fonia is Caen, extending twenty three leagues along the river, in which is a large town called Tancrowall, where the company have a factory, near which lives SIGNIOR ANTONIO VOSS, a famous black Portugueſe, who trades largely with the Engliſh ſeparate traders, and ſometimes with the company. He is reckoned to be worth 10,000 l. ſterling; he has got a vaſt number of houſe-ſlaves (viz. ſlaves who live with him as ſervants, a grandeur much uſed both by the Portugueſe and Spaniards) which he keeps for ſervice and breed, and are eſteemed by him almoſt as much as his own children. And, as he has got a great many canoes, he ſends his own men-ſlaves with them to all ports of trade up the river, and by that means engroſſes a great deal of trade, inſomuch that he has commonly a great many ſlaves, and good quantities of elephants-teeth, and bees-wax, by him, by which he turns a penny with the ſeparate ſhipping, and is well ſkilled in his way of bartering, he being thoroughly maſter of the prime-coſt in England of all ſorts of goods, taking always care to keep his warehouſe well ſtock'd with goods, and has the upper-hand vaſtly of ſome of his neighbours, who are ſometimes obliged to ſtand ſtill half a year together, for want of goods to trade with.

Tancrowall is divided into two parts; one belonging to the Portugueſe, and the other to the Mundingoes; the former living always in large ſquare houſes, the latter in round huts made of a good fat binding clay, which ſoon hardens: they are twenty feet diameter, and about eight feet high; over them there is a covering like a bee-hive, made either of ſtraw or palmetto leaves, ſo well fitted that the rain cannot penetrate them, nor the heat of the ſun ſtrike through them: they very much reſemble ſome ice-houſes in England.

This town of Tancrowall is the reſidence of a prieſt, who is yearly ſent over from St. Jago. Here is alſo a church, where, during the prieſt's ſtay, is maſs almoſt every day. Here are a great many other Portugueſe, who have among them ſeveral canoes, which they ſend up the river to trade once or twice a year, by which means they have made this town a place of great reſort, and the richeſt in the whole river. It is pleaſantly ſituated by the water-ſide, about half a mile in length, with a woody hill behind, that runs ſome miles along the river-ſide, about half a mile from it; between which and the river is pleaſant walking in a dry ſeaſon.

Next to Caen lies the country of Jagra, famous for huſbandmen and laborious people, by which means it abounds with corn and rice. In this country is Elephants-Iſland, being four or five miles long, full of trees and marſhy. This kingdom extends itſelf above twelve leagues; and then begins the country of Yamina, which abounds in corn and fowls; in it is a large pleaſant iſland, and another ſmall iſland, almoſt in the middle of the Gambia, called Sea-Horſe-Iſland, full of trees and marſhy ground, and abounding in ſea-horſes, from whence it takes its name. This country extends about fourteen leagues; and then we come to Eropina, a petty kingdom, extending about fourteen leagues along the river ſide: after which begins Jemarrow, governed by an Emperor, who is a Mundingo; here the company have a ſettlement near a large town called Brucoe, which is inhabited by people of the Mundingo race, but ſtrict followers of Mahomet. About half a mile below this town is a ledge of rocks dry at low-water, which reaches from the northern ſhore five ſixths of the way over the river, and leaves ſo narrow a channel under the ſouth ſhore, that it is very dangerous for large ſhips to paſs it; and our ſloops are obliged to take the opportunity of ſlack-water to go through this place, which is called Pholey's Paſs. In the ſame Empire, about nine miles above Pholey's Paſs, are a great many rocks, near a town called Dubocunda, which reach from the ſouth-ſide two thirds acroſs the river; and about three miles above this is another ledge of rocks, dry at low-water; but there is a deep channel on the north-ſide. This country runs about thirty-two leagues along the river, and then begins Tomany, which is a very large country, conſiſting of more towns than any other which I have known on the whole river. The company have a factory at a ſmall town called Yamyamacunda, which makes a conſiderable trade in dry goods, provided it is well ſupplied: a little below the town, in the middle of the river, are ſome rocks, but never dry; and over-againſt the factory, on the north-ſide the river, about half a mile from it, is a ſtanding lake about two miles long, which abounds in fiſh. This country extends up the river-ſide about twenty-ſix leagues, and is governed by a Mundingo, by name HUME BADGY.

Above Tomany begins Cantore, in which is a town called Colar, ſix miles beyond which is the fartheſt I have been; all beyond is little known to white people. Colar I believe is about five hundred miles from Cape St. Mary's, the ſouth part of the entrance into the Gambia river.

The ſea-horſe, the crocodile, and other animals, for which the Nile is famous, abound in the river Gambia, which overflows its banks alſo every year, as the Nile does, but ſome months later.

The nations on the banks of the river Gambia. Mundingoes. Their ſtature.

Their complexion.

Creoles.

Theſe countries, on the banks of the Gambia, are inhabited by ſeveral races of people, viz. Mundingoes, Jolloiffs, Pholeys, Floops and Portugueze: the moſt numerous are called Mundingoes, as is likewiſe the country where they inhabit: they are generally of a black colour, and well ſet. When this country was conquered by the Portugueſe, which was about the year fourteen hundred and twenty, ſome of that nation ſettled in it, who have cohabited with the Mundingoes, till they are now very near as black as they are; but, as they retain a ſort of baſtard Portugueſe language, called Creole, and as they chriſten, and marry, by the help of a prieſt, ſent yearly over hither from St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Iſlands; they reckon themſelves ſtill as well as if they were actually white, and nothing angers them more than to call them negroes, that being a term lately appropriated to ſlaves.

Jolloiffs.

Floops.

On the north ſide of the river Gambia, and from thence in-land, are a people called Jolloiffs, whoſe country is vaſtly large, and extends even to the river Senegal. Theſe people are much blacker, and much handſomer than the Mundingoes; for they have not the broad noſes and thick lips, peculiar to the Mundingoes and Floops. In ſhort, all the countries hereabout, ſays the ſame writer, (and I have ſeen vaſt numbers of people from each) cannot come up to the Jolloiffs for blackneſs of ſkin, and beauty of features.

Pholeys.

Government.

In every kingdom and country on each ſide of the river, there are ſome people of a tawny colour, called Pholeys, much like the Arabs, which language moſt of them ſpeak; tho' they have a vulgar tongue beſides, called Pholey. They live in hoards, or clans, and built towns, but are not ſubject to any Kings of the country, tho' they live in their territories; and, if they are ill treated in one nation, they break up their towns, and remove to another. They have chiefs of their own, who rule with ſo much moderation, that every act of government ſeems rather an act of the people than of one man. This form of government goes on eaſily, becauſe the people are of a quiet diſpoſition, and ſo well inſtructed in what is juſt and right, that a man who does ill is the abomination of all, and none will ſupport him againſt the chief.

Huſbandry.

Indian corn.

In theſe countries the natives are not fond of lands, they deſire no more than what they uſe; and as they do not plough with horſes or cattle, they can uſe but very little: therefore the Kings are willing to give the Pholeys leave to cultivate lands, and live in their countries. They plant near their houſes tobacco and cotton, which they fence in together; beyond that are their corn fields, of which they raiſe the four kinds, uſual all over this country; that is to ſay, Indian corn, or maiſe, which grows in a great head, and is the food of the natives of America, as well as Africa: beſides which, they have rice, and the larger and the leſſer Guinea corn. In Gambia is no wheat, barley, rye, oats, or any other European grain; but there is a kind of pulſe between the kidney-bean and pea, and potatoes, and yams. The larger Guinea corn is round, and about the ſize of the ſmalleſt peaſe: they ſow it by hand, as we do wheat and barley; it grows to nine or ten foot high, upon a ſmall reed; the grain is at the top, in a large tuft. The leſſer Guinea corn is called by the Portugueze, manſaroke: this likewiſe is ſowed by hand, and ſhoots to the ſame height upon a large reed, on the top of which the corn grows on the head like a bulruſh: the grain itſelf is very ſmall, and like canary ſeed in ſhape, only larger. --- Theſe are all the bread-kind that are uſed in Gambia; and, indeed, the natives make no bread, but eat the flour of the various grains, as thickners, to liquids. The Indian corn they moſtly uſe when green, parching the ear upon coals, and then it eats like green peaſe: they boil their rice chiefly as the Turks do: by beating the Guinea corn in wooden mortars, they make flour, as they do ſometimes of rice and Indian corn. The natives never bake cakes or bread for themſelves (as I ſaid before) but thoſe women, who wait on the Europeans, have learned to do both.

Pholeys further deſcribed.

The Pholeys are the greateſt planters in the country, tho' they are ſtrangers in it. They are very induſtrious and frugal, and raiſe much more corn and cotton than they conſume, which they ſell at reaſonable rates, and are very hoſpitable, and kind to all; ſo that a Pholey town in the neighbourhood, is by the natives reckoned a bleſſing: and their behaviour has gained them ſuch general reputation, that it is univerſally looked upon infamous to violate the laws of hoſpitality towards them. As their humanity extends to all, they are doubly kind to people of their own race; inſomuch, that if they know of one of them being made a ſlave, all the Pholeys will redeem him. And as they have plenty of food, they never ſuffer any of their own nation to want, but ſupport the old. The blind and the lame, equal with the others, and as far as their ability goes, aſſiſt the wants of the Mundingoes, great numbers of whom they have maintained in famines. The ſame writer adds, they are very rarely angry, and I never heard them abuſe each other; yet this mildneſs does not proceed from want of courage, for they are as brave as any people of Africa; and the Jolloiffs, nay even the King of Barſally, does not dare to meddle with them. They uſe their arms very dextrouſly, which are the launce, a ſagay, or dart, bows and arrows, ſhort cutlaſhes, which they call ſongs, and guns upon occaſion. They ſettle commonly near ſome Mundingo town, there being ſcarce one of any note or bigneſs (eſpecially up the river) but what there is another of theſe Pholeys not far from it. They are ſtrict Mahometans; none of them (unleſs here and there one) will drink brandy, or any thing ſtronger than water and ſugar.

They breed cattle, and are very dextrous in managing them; ſo that the Mundingoes leave theirs to their care: The whole herd belonging to towns feed all the day in the ſavannahs, and after the crop is off in the rice grounds. They are watched by ſome herdſmen, who prevent their going into the corn, or running into the woods. They have a place near each town for the cattle, in the middle of which they raiſe a ſtage about eight foot high from the ground, and eight or ten foot wide: and over it a roof of thatch, with the ſides all open. They drive great numbers of ſtakes in rings round the ſtage, and every night they duly bring up the cattle, who are ſo tame, and well accuſtomed to it, that they come up with eaſe: Each beaſt is tied ſeparate to a ſtake with a ſtrong rope, which they make of the bark of trees. After the cattle are tied they milk the cows, and four or five men ſtay upon the ſtage all night, with their arms, to guard them from the lions, and other wild beaſts. The calves they wean from the cows, and keep in a common pen, which is made with ſo ſtrong and high a fence round it, that no wild beaſt can paſs it. In the morning they again milk the cows, and then let them go into the ſavannahs, as uſual.

They are great huntſmen; they kill lions, tygers, and other wild beaſts, and often go twenty or thirty in a company to hunt elephants, whoſe teeth they ſell, and whoſe fleſh they ſmoke dry, and eat, keeping it ſeveral months together. The elephants (as they ſay) generally go a hundred or two hundred in a drove, and do great miſchief; not only to the ſmall trees, which they pull up by the roots, with their trunks, but likewiſe to the corn: To prevent which, the natives, on notice or ſuſpicion of their coming, make fires all round their corn to keep them out; for if they get once in, they will with their broad feet trample it down for perhaps half a mile together.

The Pholeys are very particular in their dreſs, and never wear any other than white cotton clothes, which they make themſelves: They are always clean, eſpecially the women; their houſes are built in a regular method, a good way diſtant from each other, to avoid fire, forming very good ſtreets and paſſages, a thing which the Mundingoes do not regard. They are great admirers of large white and yellow beads, which laſt are called by their own name, viz. Pholey beads.

Theſe are almoſt the only people, high up the river, of whom beaſts are purchaſed: We uſed to purchaſe a cow for an iron bar; but of late ſome of the maſters of the ſloops in this river have raiſed the prices; ſo that now we are obliged to give ſometimes two iron bars for one beaſt.

Floops deſcribed.

On the ſouth-ſide of this river, over-againſt James-Fort, in the empire of Fonia, and but a little way inland, are a ſort of people called Floops, who are in a manner wild: They border cloſe upon the Mundingoes, and are bitter enemies to each other. Their country is of a vaſt extent; but they have no King among them. Each of their towns is defended by ſtakes drove all round, and filled up with clay: They are independent of each other, and under the government of no one chief; notwithſtanding which they unite ſo firmly, that all the force of the Mundingoes (though very numerous) cannot get the better of them.

River Gambia deſcribed.

Face of the country.

Soil.

Gambia river is navigable for ſloops two hundred leagues, the tides reaching ſo far from the mouth of it. The ſides of the river are for the moſt part flat and woody for about a quarter of a mile inland, in ſome places not ſo much; and within that are pleaſant open grounds, which they uſe for their rice, and in the dry ſeaſon it ſerves their cattle for paſture. Inland it is generally very woody; but near the towns there is always a good large ſpace of cleared ground for corn. The ſoil is moſtly ſandy, with ſome clay, and a great deal of rocky ground. Near the ſea, and the lower part of the river, are no hills to be ſeen; but high up the river are ſome lofty mountains, from the top of which are pleaſant proſpects. The hills are of iron-ſtone; and though they are ſometimes little elſe but a continued hard rock, yet are they full of trees. In every kingdom there are ſeveral lords of ſoils, commonly called Kings of the towns where they dwell. It is their privilege to have all the palm-trees and ciboa-trees, inſomuch that no one durſt cut any leaves, or draw any wine from them, without their previous knowledge and conſent. The men who have the liberty of drawing wine, give two days produce in a week to the lord of the ſoil, as an acknowledgement; and white men are obliged to make a ſmall preſent to them before they can have liberty to cut ciboa-leaves, or graſs, to cover a houſe.

The moſt general language is Mundingo, by which name the country people are called. If you can ſpeak that language, you may travel from the river's mouth up to the country of Joncoes (alias merchants) ſo called from their buying every year a vaſt number of ſlaves there, and bringing them down to the lower part of this river, to ſell to the white people: Which country I believe cannot, by all report, be leſs than ſix weeks journey from James-Fort.

Language.

The next language moſtly uſed here, is called Creole, a baſtard ſort of Portugueſe, ſcarce underſtood in Liſbon; but it is ſooner learnt by Engliſhmen than any other language in this river, and is always ſpoken by the linguiſts, which ſerve both the ſeparate traders and the company.

The Arabick is ſpoken by the Pholeys, and by moſt of the Mahometans of the river, though they are Mundingoes.

Produce and traffick.

Gold.

The chief trade of this country is gold, ſlaves, elephants-teeth, and bees-wax. The gold is of a very good quality, and finer than the ſterling gold. They bring it in ſmall bars, big in the middle, and turned round into rings, from ten to forty ſhillings each. The merchants, who bring this and other inland commodities, are blacks of the Mundingo race, and are called in Mundingo Joncoes. They are very unwilling to tell much of the inland countries; all that I could gather from them concerning their gold, was, that it is not waſhed out of the ſand, but dug out of mines in the mountains, the neareſt twenty days journey from Cower.

Slaves.

The ſame merchants bring down elephants-teeth; and in ſome years ſlaves, to the amount of two thouſand, moſt of which they ſay are priſoners taken in war: they buy them from different princes, who take them: many of them are Bumbrongs and Petcharies, nations each of them of different languages, and are brought from a vaſt way inland. Their way of bringing them is tying them by the neck with leather thongs, at about a yard diſtance from each other, thirty or forty in a ſtring, having generally a bundle of corn, or an elephant's tooth, upon each of their heads. In their way from the mountains they travel through very great woods, where they cannot for ſome days get water; ſo they carry in ſkin-bags enough to ſupport them for that time. I cannot be certain of the number of merchants who follow this trade; but there may be perhaps about an hundred, who go up into the inland country with the goods which they buy from the white men, and with them purchaſing in various countries, gold, ſlaves, and elephants teeth. They uſe aſſes as well as ſlaves in carrying their goods; but no camels nor horſes.

Beſides the ſlaves which the merchants bring down, there are many brought along the river. Theſe are either taken in war, as the former are, or men condemned for crimes, or elſe people ſtolen, which is very frequent. The companies ſervants never buy any of the laſt, if they ſuſpect it, without ſending for the alcade, or chief men of the place, and conſulting with them about the matter. Since this ſlave-trade has been uſed, all puniſhments are changed into ſlavery: there being an advantage on ſuch condemnations, they ſtrain for crimes very hard, in order to get the benefit of ſelling the criminal. Not only murder, theft, and adultery, are puniſhed by ſelling the criminal for a ſlave, but every trifling crime is puniſhed in the ſame manner.

Several of the natives have many of their ſlaves born in their families: there is a whole village near Brucoe of two hundred people, who are all the wives, ſlaves, or children of one man. And tho' in ſome parts of Africa they ſell their ſlaves born in the family, yet in the river Gambia they think it a very wicked thing; and I never heard of but one that ever ſold a family ſlave, except for ſuch crimes as would have made them to be ſold had they been free. If there are many family ſlaves, and one of them commits a crime, the maſter cannot ſell him without the joint conſent of the reſt; for if he does, they will all run away, and be protected by the next kingdom to which they fly. The ſlaves ſold in the river, beſides thoſe brought by the merchants, may amount in a year to above one thouſand, more or leſs, according to the wars upon the river.

Ivory.

The third great merchandize of the river is ivory, or elephants-teeth, got either by hunting or killing the beaſts, or pick'd up in the woods. It is a trade uſed by all nations hereabouts; for whoever kills an elephant, has liberty to ſell him and his teeth: but thoſe traded for in this river, are generally brought from a good way inland, and a great many of them by the merchants. I never ſaw a full-grown elephant, ſo ſhall not ſpeak concerning them; but the teeth I have had ſome experience in. Some are found in the woods; but whether they are of elephants long dead, or whether the elephants ſhed their teeth, I have not been able to learn: but I have known men bring in teeth which they have found in the woods, without any ſkull or bones fixed to them. The biggeſt tooth I ever ſaw, weighed 130 lb. The larger they are, the more valuable by the pound. One tooth which weighs an hundred pounds, is worth more than three teeth which weigh 140 pounds. Many of them are broken pointed; theſe are conſiderably leſs in their value. Some are white, others are yellow; but the difference of colour makes no difference in price.

Wax.

The fourth branch of trade is bees wax, which may be much increaſed. The Mundingoes make bee-hives of ſtraw in the ſhape of ours, and fix a bottom-board into the hive, thro' which there is a hole for the bees to go in at; they then ſling them by wyths to boughs of trees.

A bar defined.

A bar is a denomination given to a certain quantity of goods of any kind, which quantity was of equal value among the natives to a bar of iron when this river was firſt traded to. Thus a pound of fringe is a bar, two pounds of gunpowder is a bar, an ounce of ſilver is but a bar, and one hundred gun-flints is a bar; and each ſpecies of trading goods has a quantity in it called a bar; therefore their way of reckoning is by bars, or crowns, one of which does not ſometimes amount to one ſhilling ſterling; but that happens according to the goods they are in want of, ſometimes dear, ſometimes cheap. Theſe five articles, viz. ſpread-eagle dollars, chryſtal beads, iron bars, braſs pans, and arrangoes, are called the heads of the goods, becauſe they are deareſt. When you agree with the merchants for ſlaves, you always agree how many of the heads of the goods you ſhall give him upon each ſlave, which is three or four, if the ſlaves are worth forty or fifty; but when ſlaves are dearer, as they oftentimes are at eighty bars per head, then you muſt give five, and ſometimes ſix, of the heads upon every ſlave; and there is an aſſortment made of the goods by bars of different ſpecies, which come out to the price of the ſlaves. The men and women uſed to be much dearer than boys and girls; but there have been ſo many veſſels in the river of late years for young ſlaves, to carry to Cadiz and Liſbon, that there is ſcarce any difference between the price of young ſlaves and grown ones.

Young ſlaves as dear as full-grown here.

French factory.

The French have a factory at Albreda, on the north-ſide of the river Gambia, a mile or two below James-Fort. Whenever their factors want to go up the river above James-Fort for wood, or any thing elſe, which they cannot ſo well be provided for below, they are obliged to aſk leave of our governor, who ſeldom or never denies them, but puts a man on board, to ſee that they do not make any trade; neither are they allowed to go above Elephants Iſland, which is about thirty leagues above James-Fort.

Air and ſeaſons.

The rainy ſeaſon commonly begins with the month of June, and continues till the latter end of September, and ſometimes the beginning of October: the firſt and laſt are the moſt violent generally. The wind comes firſt, and blows exceſſive hard for the ſpace of half an hour or more, before any rain falls; inſomuch that a veſſel may be ſuddenly ſurprized and overſet by it; but then a perſon may ſee it a good while before it comes; for it looks diſmal, and very black, and the lightening breaking out of the black clouds as they move ſlowly towards you, makes it appear awful. During the rainy ſeaſons, the ſea-breezes ſeldom blow, but inſtead of them, eaſterly winds right down the river, which in the months of November, December, January, and February, do generally blow very freſh, eſpecially in the day-time.

Four months in the year are unhealthy, and very tedious to thoſe who are come out of a colder climate; but the perpetual ſpring, where you commonly ſee ripe fruit and bloſſoms on the ſame tree, makes ſome amends for that inconvenience. The air is very pleaſant and refreſhing, but it has ſomething ſo very peculiar in it, that the keys in your pockets will ruſt.

The moſt exceſſive heat is generally about the latter end of May, a fortnight or three weeks before the rainy ſeaſon begins.

The Jolloiffs make the fineſt cotton cloths, and that in large quantities: Their pieces are generally twenty-ſeven yards long, and never above nine inches wide: they cut them to what length they pleaſe, and ſew them together very neatly, to make them ſerve the uſe of broader cloths: They make them up into pairs, one about three yards long, and one and a half wide, to cover their ſhoulders and body; the other almoſt of the ſame width, and but two yards long, to cover from their waiſt downwards. Such a pair is the clothing either for a man or woman; they only differing in the manner of wearing. I have ſeen a pair of cloths ſo fine and ſo bright died, as to be worth thirty-nine ſhillings ſterling. Their colours are either blue or yellow, ſome very lively; the firſt is dyed with indico, the latter with barks of trees.

Clothing.

The common people wear a cloth round their middles, which comes down about their knees, and another cloth over their right ſhoulder (the men having generally one arm bare, which the women have not) and the women's clothes are generally down as low as the ſmall of their legs. They are very proud of their hair; ſome wear it in tufts and bunches, and others cut in croſſes quite over their heads: The men commonly wear caps made of cotton-cloth, ſome plain, and ſome with feathers and goats-tails. The women generally wear handkerchiefs tied round their heads, leaving their crowns bare; and for want of handkerchiefs, they uſe ſlips of blue and white cotton-cloth. Others will let their hair hang down on each ſide of their heads, plaited like horſes manes, on which they ſtring coral, and for want of it pipe-beads. A great many of them (eſpecially up the river) wear on the crowns of their heads, a good number of ſmall horſe-bells.

Towns.

Their towns are numbers of houſes ſtanding together without any order: The huts are generally fourteen or fifteen yards in circumference, built with mud and binding clay, and covered with long graſs or ciboa-leaves, commonly called palmetto. Their doors are very ſmall, and do not go upon hinges, but are let into the houſe-wall. They generally keep their houſes very clean; but I cannot ſay ſweet, by reaſon of their ſtinking fiſh and other things which they keep in them.

Furniture.

Their furniture conſiſts in a ſmall cheſt for clothes, a mat raiſed upon ſticks from the ground to lie on, a jar to hold water, a ſmall calabaſh to drink it, with two or three wooden mortars, in which they pound their corn and rice, a baſket or two to ſift it in when beat, and two or three large calabaſhes, out of which they eat it with their hands. They are not very careful of laying up a ſtore againſt a time of ſcarcity, but chuſe rather to ſell what they can, and in the time of famine they can faſt two or three days without eating (which I myſelf know to be true, there being a very great famine in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-two, eſpecially high up the river, where I then was;) but then they are always ſmoking tobacco, which ſerves to amuſe them.

Food.

A diſh of crocodiles eggs is much admired by them; but their uſual food is crooſcooſh, being corn beaten in a wooden mortar, and ſifted thro' a fine baſket, till it is about as fine as coarſe flour: Then they put it into an earthen pot full of holes like a cullender, which is luted to the top of an earthen pot, in which is boiling water, and ſometimes broth in it, the ſteam of which cures and hardens the flour; and when it is done, they mix them together, and eat them with their hands. Fiſh dried in the ſun, or ſmoaked, is a favourite diſh of theirs; but the more it ſtinks, the more they like it. There is ſcarce any thing which they do not eat; large ſnakes, guanas, monkeys, pelicans, bald-eagles, alligators, and ſea-horſes, are excellent food. And their liquor is palm-wine, ciboa-wine, honey-wine (which is not unlike our mead) brandy, and rum: But when they can get the two laſt, they drink but a ſmall quantity of the others.

Religion of Barſally.

Habits of their Kings.

The King of Barſally and his ſubjects are Mahometans; notwithſtanding which both the King and his officers drink to very great exceſs when he viſits the Engliſh factories; but when he is ſober, and not quite fuddled, he frequently prays; and ſome of his people will ſooner die than drink ſtrong liquors. His habit reſembles that of other Kings in this country, being a garment like a ſurplice, which comes no lower than the knees; a pair of breeches of the ſame ſort of cloth, about ſeven yards wide, gathered round the middle: He wears no ſtockings, but always a pair of ſlippers (except when he rides) a ſmall white cotton-cap, and commonly a pair of gold earings. His people, as well as himſelf, wear always white clothes and white caps; and, as they are exceeding black, it makes them look very well. The preſent King is a tall man, very paſſionate, and ſometimes, when any of his men affront him, he does not ſcruple to ſhoot them, at which I am told he is very dextrous: and ſometimes, when he goes aboard a company's ſloop at Cohone (his own town and place of reſidence) he is for ſhooting at all the canoes which paſs by him, killing perhaps one man or two frequently in a day. He has got a great many wives, but never brings above two or three abroad with him: He has ſeveral brothers, to whom he ſeldom ſpeaks, or permits them to come into his company; and when they do come, they pull off their caps and garments, and throw duſt upon their foreheads, as every one does who comes into the King's preſence (except white men.) As ſoon as the King dies, his brothers or ſons go to fighting for the crown, and whoever is the ſtrongeſt is made King.

Tyrants.

This King is potent, and very brave: His dominions are large, and divided into ſeveral parts, over which he appoints governors, called boomeys, who come every year to pay homage to him. Theſe boomeys are very powerful, and do juſt what they pleaſe with the people; and altho' they are feared, yet they are beloved.

Other Kings generally adviſe with their head people, and ſcarcely do any thing of great conſequence without conſulting with them firſt; but the King of Barſally is ſo abſolute, that he will not allow any of his people to adviſe with him, unleſs it be his chief ſlave, called Ferbro, viz. (maſter of the horſe) who carries the King's ſword in a large ſilver caſe, of great weight, and who gives orders for what things the King wants to have, or to be done; and in battle he is the leader of his men.

The King's uſual way of living, is to ſleep all day, till towards ſun-ſet; then he gets up to drink, and goes to ſleep again till midnight; then he riſes and eats, and if he has any ſtrong liquors, will ſit and drink till day-light, and then eats and goes to ſleep again. When he is well ſtocked with liquor, he will ſit and drink for five or ſix days together, and not eat one morſel of any thing in all that time. It is to that inſatiable thirſt of his after brandy, that his ſubjects freedoms and families are in ſo precarious a ſituation; for he very often goes with ſome of his troops by a town in the day-time, and returns in the night, and ſets fire to three parts of it, placing guards at the fourth, to ſeize the people as they run out from the fire: He ties their arms behind them, and marches them to the place where he ſells them, which is either Joar or Cohone.

His ſubjects, however, are very merry fellows, Mr. Moor aſſures us, and will dance to a drum, or a balliſeu, ſometimes four and twenty hours together, dancing now and then very regularly, and at other times in very odd geſtures, ſtriving always to outdo one another in nimbleneſs and activity.

They are very ſubject to ſcold one with another, which they call fighting; for if two perſons abuſe each other very heartily, they call it a great fight, and are generally a good while before they come to blows; which however does ſometimes happen, and then they do fight in earneſt, either with knives, ſagays, or cutlaſſes, whichſoever they are provided with; and they very often kill one another; but when that happens, the murderer flies to another kingdom, and that King alway protects him, and looks upon him kindly, and always treats him as one of his own ſubjects.

Some people, as has been intimated already, have a good many houſe-ſlaves, which is their greateſt glory; and they live ſo well and eaſy, that it is ſometimes a very hard matter to know the ſlaves from their maſters or miſtreſſes; they very often being better clothed, eſpecially the females, who have ſometimes coral, amber, and ſilver, about their hands and wriſts, to the value of 20 or 30 ſhillings ſterling.

The natives are not ſo diſagreeable in their behaviour as ſome are apt to imagine; for when I went through any of their towns, they almoſt all came to ſhake hands with me, except ſome of the women, who having never ſeen any white men, ran away from me as faſt as they could, and would not, by any means, be perſuaded to come near me. Some of them invited me to their houſes, and brought their wives and daughters to ſalute me, and ſit down by me, always finding things about me to gape at and admire; ſuch as boots, ſpurs, gloves, clothes, or wig, each of them being to them ſubjects of diſcourſe and admiration.

The girls would have people think they are very modeſt, eſpecially when they are in company; but take them by themſelves, and they are very obliging; for if you will give them a little coral, or a ſilk handkerchief, you may take what liberty you pleaſe with them. But thoſe who pretend to be of the Portugueſe religion, and therefore call themſelves chriſtians, are ſomewhat more reſerved than the Mundingoes are. But notwithſtanding their religion, and chriſtianity too, if any white man has a fancy to one of them, and is able to maintain them, they will not ſcruple to live with him in the nature of a wife, without the ceremony of matrimony.

The men commonly wear ſwords ſlung over their right ſhoulder, others carry ſagays or ſpears about three yards long, others have bows and arrows, but all of them wear knives ſlung by their ſides; and indeed I have obſerved that they are very dextrous at uſing whatever ſort of weapon they carry.

Their manner of ſalutation is, ſhaking of hands; but generally, when the men ſalute the women, they, inſtead of ſhaking their hands, put it up to their noſes; and nothing can affront them ſo much as to ſalute them with your left-hand. When a man has been a day or two from home, the wife ſalutes him on her knees at his return; and in the ſame poſture ſhe always brings him water to drink.

When a perſon brings you eggs or fowls to buy, it is imprudent to kill or make uſe of them before the perſon you buy them of is actually gone away; for it ſeems it was a cuſtom in this country (and not yet entirely diſuſed) that whatever commodity a man ſells in the morning, he may, if he repents his bargain, go and have the things again, on paying back the money, any time before the ſetting of the ſun.

It is cuſtomary, when factories are ſettled, to put them, and the perſons belonging to them, under the charge of people of the neareſt large town, who are obliged to take care of it, and to let none impoſe upon the white men, or uſe them ill; and if any body is abuſed, they muſt apply to the alcade, the head man of the town, and he will ſee juſtice done you.

This man is up the river called Tobaubo Manſa, which is in Engliſh, The white man's King. But in moſt parts of the river he is called alcade, and hath a great power: For every town almoſt having two common fields of cleared ground; one for their corn, and the other for their rice; the alcade appoints the labour of all the people, he being in the nature of a governor. The men work the corn ground, and the women and girls the rice ground: As they all equally labour, ſo the alcade equally divides the crop among them.

When a child is born, they dip him over head and ears in cold water three or four times in a day; and as ſoon as they are dry, they rub them over with palm-oil, particularly the back-bone, ſmall of the back, elbows, neck, knees, and hips. When they are born they are of an olive-colour, and ſometimes do not turn black for a month or two.

I do not find that they are born with flat noſes; but if it be the mother's fancy to have it ſo, ſhe will, when ſhe waſhes the child, pinch and preſs down the upper part of its noſe.

Large breaſts, thick lips, and broad noſtrils, are by many reckon'd the beauties of the country. One breaſt is generally larger than the other.

The children go naked till they are eight or nine years old; and ſome of them are pinked in their faces and breaſts for ornament.

They give away their daughters when they are very young; ſome as ſoon as they are born, and the parents can never afterwards break the match: but it is in the man's power never to come and take his wife, unleſs he pleaſes; and unleſs he is ſo generous as to give her leave, ſhe cannot marry any other. They generally take their wives very young, when they are obliged to pay the parents of the wife two cows, two iron bars, and two hundred cola, a fruit that comes a vaſt way inland.

When the man takes home his wife, he makes a feaſt at his houſe, to which every body that is willing comes without the form of an invitation; for they don't uſe much ceremony that way, and there they play and dance for three or four days ſucceſſively, the woman being brought upon mens ſhoulders to her huſband's houſe, with a veil over her face, which ſhe keeps on till ſhe has been in bed with her huſband; during which they dance and ſing, beat drums, and fire their ſmall arms.

Every man is allowed to take as many wives as he pleaſes; ſome have no leſs than a hundred. If they are found lying with any other men but their huſbands they are liable to be ſold for ſlaves: they are turned off at pleaſure, and he makes her take all her children with her, unleſs he has a mind to keep any of them himſelf.

It is uſual to ſee the women abroad the ſame day, or the morrow after they are delivered; about a month afterwards they name the child, which is done by ſhaving its head, and rubbing it over with ſome oil.

Some ſhort time before the rainy ſeaſon begins, they circumciſe a great number of boys about twelve or fourteen years of age; after which they put on a peculiar habit, each kingdom being different in their dreſs.

When people die, all their friends and acquaintance come and cry over them a day or two, as the Iriſh do, and bury them in the room in which they die, or elſe very cloſe to it. Thoſe of the relations that are not upon the ſpot, do, out of reſpect to the deceaſed, cry and howl as much at an hundred miles diſtant, as tho' they were actually with the deceaſed at the time of his deceaſe.

I don't find that the African company have now any fort at Sherbro-river, or in the river Sierra Leon, or indeed on any parts of the coaſt between the rivers Gambia and Sherbro; but there are ſome private traders, Portugueſe and others, who have ſettlements on this coaſt, and trade with the natives, and ſuch European ſhipping as arrives annually upon the coaſt for gold, ivory, ſlaves, &c.

Mr. ATKINS, in his remarks on the Guinea Coaſt, obſerves, that there are about thirty private traders ſettled on the river Sierrra Leon. That they all keep Gromettas (Negro ſervants) which they hire from Sherbro river, at two accys or bars a month. The women keep houſe, and are obedient to any proſtitutions their maſters command. The men ſervants work in the boats and periagoes, which go a trading in turns, with coral, braſs, pewter, pans, pots, arms, Engliſh ſpirits, &c. and bring back from the Rio-Nunes, ſlaves and teeth, and from Sherbro, cam-wood for dyers; a ſloop or two is the moſt that is loaded from the latter place in a year, and that with difficulty, being obliged to go far up the river, narrow and beſet with mangroves, which makes it ſickly.

That they purchaſe chiefly ivory and ſlaves, and when the ſlaves are brought hither, they chain three or four of them together, committing them to the care of the Gromettas, till they have an opportunity of ſelling them, which they do for about fifteen pounds a good ſlave, allowing the purchaſer forty or fifty pound per cent. profit on his goods.

As theſe ſlaves are placed under lodges near the owner's houſe, for air, cleanlineſs, and cuſtomers better viewing them, I had every day the curioſity of obſerving their behaviour, which with moſt of them was very dejected. Once, on looking over ſome of old CRACKER's ſlaves, I could not help taking notice of one fellow among the reſt, of a tall ſtrong make, and bold ſtern aſpect. As he imagined we were viewing them with a deſign to buy, he ſeemed to diſdain his fellow-ſlaves for their readineſs to be examined; and, as it were, ſcorned looking at us, refuſing to riſe to ſtretch out his limbs, as the maſter commanded; which got him an unmerciful whipping from CRACKER's own hand, with a cutting manatea-ſtrap; and he had certainly killed him, but for the loſs he muſt have ſuſtained by it: all which the Negro bore with magnanimity, ſhrinking very little, and ſhedding a tear or two, which he endeavoured to hide, as tho' aſhamed of it. All the company obſerving his courage, wanted to know of CRACKER how he came by him; who told us, that this ſame fellow, called captain TOMBA, was a leader of ſome country villages, that oppoſed them and their trade at the river Nunes, killing his friends there, and firing their cottages. The ſufferers this way by the help of my men (ſays CRACKER) ſurprized, and bound him in the night about a month ago, he having killed two in his defence before they could ſecure him; and from thence he was brought hither, and made my property.

The country about Sierra Leon is ſo thick ſpread with wood, that you cannot penetrate a pole's length from the water-ſide, unleſs between the town and a fountain, from whence they fetch their water, without a great deal of difficulty. They have paths, however, thro' theſe woods to their plantations; which, tho' but a mile or two from the town, are frequently the walks of wild beaſts.

The ſhores hereabouts, like thoſe of Sweden, are rocky, and without any colour of earth almoſt; yet produce large trees, the roots ſpreading on the ſurface: the chief of theſe are the palm, the cocoa, and the cotton-tree.

Other vegetables for food are rice, yams, plantanes, pine-apples, limes, oranges, papais, palmnuts, wild roots, and berries.

This is their common ſuſtenance, the gift of providence without their care; they might abound, but prefer eaſe and indolence; he is the greateſt man among them, who can afford to eat rice all the year round. Kid and fowl they have ſome, and theſe were all the domeſtick animals I ſaw.

The Negroes here are well-limbed, clean fellows, flat-noſed, and many with exomphalos's, the effect of bad midwifry, or ſtraining in their infancy to walk; for they are never taught, but creep upon a mat on all fours, till they have ſtrength to erect themſelves; and notwithſtanding this, are ſeldom diſtorted. Theſe do not circumciſe, but the ſlaves brought from the northward are frequently ſo.

The women are not nigh ſo well ſhaped as the men; childing, and their breaſts always pendulous, ſtretches them to ſo unſeemly a length and bigneſs, that ſome, like the Egyptians, I believe, could ſuckle over their ſhoulders. Their being imployed in all labour makes them robuſt; for ſuch as are not Gromettas, work hard in tillage, make palm-oil, or ſpin cotton, and when they are free from ſuch work, the idle huſbands put them upon brading and fetiſhing out their woolly hair, being prodigious curious in this ſort of ornament, and keep their wives thus buſied ſeveral hours every day.

Their houſes are low little huts, not quite ſo bad as many in Yorkſhire, built with wooden ſtockades ſet in the ground, in a round or ſquare form, thatched with ſtraw; and for furniture, they have a mat or two to lie down upon, two or three earthen or wooden diſhes, with a ſpoon, all of their own making. They are idle, principally for want of arts and domeſtick employments; for the women plant, and gather in their corn and fruits, and do every thing without door but hunt and fiſh.

Whole towns ſhift their habitations, either when they do not like their neighbours, or in expectation of greater conveniencies elſewhere, ſoon clearing ground enough for what building and culture they propoſe. Seignior JOSEPH, a Chriſtian Negroe of this place, has lately, with his people, left a clean well-built town, and removed further up the river. Their huts are moſtly orbicular, forming a ſpacious ſquare area, and in this the doors are paved with cockle-ſhells; two or three croſſes are erected, and round about it are lime-trees, papais, plantanes, pine-apples, and a few bee-hives. And in the middle of the area is a large tree, with five hundred hanging neſts at leaſt upon it. This is a ſmall familiar bird, that builds upon the extreme ſlendereſt twigs of a tree, hanging like fruit; and thus ſecure their young againſt monkeys, parrots, ſquirrels, and other creatures of prey.

Panyarring is a term for man-ſtealing along the whole coaſt: here it is uſed alſo for ſtealing any thing elſe; and by cuſtom (their law) every man has a right to take as much from another, as he can prove afterwards at the Palaaver court, he hath been defrauded of by any perſon at that place.

Cabaceers are the principal trading men at all towns; their experience, or courage, having given them that ſuperiority: and theſe gentlemen uſually come off to our ſhips with ſome Engliſh title and certificate, the favour of former traders to them for their honeſty and good ſervice.

Their dreſs is little more than a clout to cover their nakedneſs; but both ſexes take delight in twiſting their woolly hair into ringlets with gold, or glittering ſtones, and ſhall beſtow a great deal of time upon it.

The women are fondeſt of what they call fetiſhing, or dreſs, ſetting themſelves out to attract the good graces of the men. Some make a ſtreak round their foreheads of white, red, or yellow; others make circles round their arms and bodies, and in this frightful figure pleaſe. The men alſo have their ornaments, conſiſting in bracelets, or marilla's, about their wriſts and ancles, of braſs, copper, pewter, or ivory; the ſame again on their fingers and toes: a necklace of monkeys teeth and ivory ſticks in their ears.

At Seſthos, moſt of our windward ſlave-ſhips ſtop to buy rice, exchanged at about two ſhillings per quintal. The river is about half the breadth of the Thames, a narrow entrance, only for boats, on the ſtarboard ſide, between two rocks, which on great ſwells and winds, make the ſhooting of it dangerous.

The town is large, and built after a different model from thoſe we have left: they run them up (ſquare or round) four foot from the earth: at that height is the firſt and chief room to ſleep in. In the middle of it is a fire-place for charcoal, that ſerves a double purpoſe (viz.) driving off inſects and vermin, and drying their Indian corn. Of the upper loft they make a ſtorehouſe, that runs up pyramidal thirty foot, making the town at diſtance appear like a number of ſpires, each ſtanding ſingly.

This, and every town hereabouts, had a Palaaver room, a publick place of meeting for the people to tranſact the buſineſs of the ſociety. They are large, and built ſomething like our lodges for carts, with a raiſed floor four foot from the ground; here they meet without diſtinction, king and ſubject, ſmoking from morning to night. At this place it is common to bring your traffick, braſs pans, pewter and baſons, powder, ſhot, old cheſts, &c. and exchange for rice, goats, and fowls. Two or three pipes, a charge of powder, or ſuch a trifle, buys a fowl; a two pound baſon buys a goat.

From hence our author proceeds to the company's capital, or ſettlement of Cape Coaſt, or Cape Corſe Caſtle. This factory conſiſts of merchants, factors, writers, miners, artificers, and ſoldiers; and excepting thoſe of the firſt rank, he ſays, all the reſt are a company of white Negroes, who are intirely reſigned to the governor's commands, according to the ſtricteſt rules of diſcipline, and are puniſhed (garriſon faſhion) on ſeveral defaults, with mulcts, confinement, the dungeon, drubbing, or the wooden horſe; and for enduring this, they have each of them a ſalary ſufficient to buy canky, palm-oil, and a little fiſh to keep them from ſtarving: For though the ſalaries ſound tolerably in Leadenhall-Street, from fifty pounds to ninety pounds per annum a factor, fifty pounds an artificer; yet in the country, the general pays them in crackra, a falſe money, which is only current upon the ſpot, and diſables them from taking any advantage of buying neceſſaries from ſhips caſting down; ſo that for the ſupport of nature, theſe thin creatures are obliged to take up all neceſſaries of the company; and, in effect, by it aſſign over their liberty, none being admitted to depart till he has adjuſted all accounts. When the man is too ſober to run in debt, there are acts of miſmanagement, or loſs of goods under his care, to be charged as wanting. They are all liable alſo to be mulcted for drukenneſs, ſwearing, neglects, and lying out of the caſtle; even for not going to church (ſuch is their piety.) And thus by various arbitrary methods, their ſervice is ſecured durante bene placito.

The ſame method he takes with the town Negroes, who, inconſiderate wretches, are continually ſcoring up for goods or drams, and thus become pawns to the company, i. e. liable to be ſold when the general thinks fit.

Though the general has but one vote in buſineſs, he influences the reſt, who ſign whatever he propoſes. He diſpoſes alſo of preferments to the factors and writers, who as they pleaſe or diſpleaſe, may be continued or removed. Thoſe who are employed at a diſtance from the fort, are allowed a commiſſion in trade, additional to their pay; ſo in ſome of the outer forts (ſuch as Accra or in a ſhip) they make conſiderable profits, while at others again, Anamaboe or Dixcove, they find a great deal of trouble, wet lodging, ſcarcity of proviſion, and no profit; and as theſe laſt out-number the good, I obſerved moſt of our factors to have dwindled much from the genteel air they brought, wear no cane or ſnuff-box, have lank bodies, a pale viſage, their pockets ſown up, or of no uſe, and their tongues tied. One cauſe of their ſlenderneſs indeed, is a ſcarcity of proviſion, little beſides plantain or ſmall fiſh, Indian corn, and a great deal of canky to be bought at market. Poor F——d was a youth well recommended, and lived as long as he could. I had once ſome buſineſs in his office, when a Negro woman came bawling about his ears for a plantain he had ſtole from her: he would fain have concealed the meaning of her muſick, but at length I underſtood it was the only morſel he had eat for three days paſt, one night's debauch, and ſeveral mulcts, having run him out of pocket. The next occaſion I had of inquiring after him, I heard, that being too narrowly watched in this illegal traffick, he pined with a vacuum of the guts, and died, leaving this advice to his countrymen, rather to run a remote hazard of being hanged at home, than chuſe a tranſportation hither.

The general does not feel this want; for although here be a ſcarcity of neat cattle, kid, or fowl (nobody having any beſides himſelf) he ſupplies this want from other parts, by their own trading veſſels, and daſhees from maſters of ſhips and neighbouring nations; and for vegetables, he has a large garden, firſt planted by Sir Dalby Thomas, a former governor, abounding not only with theirs, but fruits of Engliſh growth, and intirely for his own uſe.

The factory have every now and then a large demand for ſalt, made and brought hither from Accra. The ſale appears like a fair in the caſtle; and many of thoſe Negroes, whoſe ivory or gold would not purchaſe half a buſhel, I was told had travelled ſome hundred miles; they chuſing to go in bodies when ſeed-time is over, as a better protection from wild beaſts, and their wilder countrymen, who frequently made incurſions from ſeveral parts of the coaſt, and ſeize them for ſlaves, when few and defenceleſs.

We ſailed from Cabo Corſo, and touched in our paſſage (ſays the ſame writer) at Anamaboe, Montford, Barku, Shallo, Accra, R. Volta, the Papau Coaſt, and arrived at Whydah, July the 4th, where we made a ſtay of three weeks.

At Anamaboe our private ſhips finiſh their ſlaving, few or none being got downward till you reach Whydah.

At Montford, Shallo, and thereabouts, they make up the deficiency of rice and corn for the voyage, the country appearing fruitful, and with a better aſpect than any of thoſe we have paſſed to windward, intermixed with hills and vales at every league almoſt a town, many corn-fields, ſalt-pans, and other marks of induſtry, particularly about Accra.

At Accra, the Engliſh, French, and Dutch have each a factory and fort, and make there great quantities of ſalt, ſupplying the windward and the inland provinces, where it is always a precious commodity.

Before we reach hither, we paſs by a conſiderable high mount, which has been ſeen to ſmoke like a volcano; from whence, and being the haunt of rapacious wild beaſts, they call it Devil's Hill. But the moſt danger to travellers here, is from a prodigious number of apes (ſome five feet long) and monkeys that inhabit it, who will attack ſingle paſſengers, and drive them for refuge into the water, of which theſe creatures are very fearful. At ſome places the Negroes have been ſuſpected of beaſtiality with them, and by the boldneſs and affection they are known under ſome circumſtances to expreſs to our females, but more from their near reſemblance to the human ſpecies, would tempt one to ſuſpect the fact; although by the way, this, like other hebridous productions, could never go farther. Our carpenter got one on board from theſe parts, as near the likeneſs of a child, without being one, as perhaps was ever ſeen; a flat and ſmooth viſage, little hair, no tail, would taſte nothing but milk or gruel ſweetened, and that with difficulty, moaning continually in a tone like an infant; in ſhort, the moans and aſpects were ſo ſhocking and melancholy, that after two or three months keeping, it was ſtunned and thrown over-board.

The Ourang Outang, taken now and then in ſome parts of Guinea, and at the iſland of Borneo in Eaſt-India, has been thought a human ſavage. Captain Flower brought home one from Angola in 1733, diſembowelled and preſerved in rum; it lived a few months with him, had a ſmooth viſage, little hair, genitals like the human, would frequently walk on its hind legs voluntarily, would ſit down in a chair to ſip or drink, in the ſame manner they did; always ſlept ſitting with his hands upon his ſhoulders, not miſchievous like others, and had his hands, feet, and nails more reſembling ours.

The river Volta is remarkable for the rapidity of its ſtream, making a very great ſea upon the bar, and carrying itſelf off for ſome way unmixed: at two leagues it is only brackiſh; from hence begins the Papau coaſt, low and woody.

The whole track from Sierra Leon is without gulphs or bays, of near an equal depth of water at the ſame diſtances, little elevation, except at great rivers, where the tides are regular, as with us at home; ſeldom without breezes. When a ſtorm or tornado happens, they are always off ſhore; no dews perceptible on board ſhips in the nights, though large at ſhore, and a conſtant miſty horizon.

There is a return of vernal and autumnal rains through the whole coaſt: the former, whether on this or the other ſide the equator, are longer and more inceſſant: they begin on this ſide at Sierra Leon in May, at the Gold Coaſt and Whydah in April, preceded by ſouth and ſouth-eaſt winds. On the other ſide of the Line again, the vernal rains fall at Cape Lopez in October, at Angola in November, &c. And as theſe ſeaſons are attended with clouds, the air is cooler, and therefore by the ſtewed inhabitants denominated winter.

Tornadoes, by the Spaniards called travadoes, are in no part of the world ſo frequent as at Guinea. They are fierce and violent guſts of wind, that give warning for ſome hours, by a gradual lowering and blackening of the ſky to windward, whence they come acompanied with darkneſs, terrible ſhocks of thunder and lightening, and end in rains and calm. They are always off ſhore, between the north and north-eaſt here, and moſt eaſterly at the Bites of Benin, Calabar, and Cape Lopez; but although they are attended with this favourable property of blowing from the ſhore, and laſt only three or four hours, yet ſhips immediately at the appearance of them, furl all their ſails, and drive before the wind.

We have ſometimes met with theſe tornadoes two in a day, often one; and to ſhew within what a narrow compaſs their effects are, ſhips have felt one, when others at ten leagues diſtance have known nothing of them: nay, at Anamaboe (three or four leagues off) they have had ſerene whether, while we have ſuffered under a tornado in Cape Corſo road; and vice verſa. A proof of what naturaliſts conjecture, that no thunder is heard above thirty miles. One we felt the afternoon of taking Roberts the pirate, that ſeemed like the rattling of ten thouſand ſmall arms within three yards of our heads; it ſplit our main top-maſt, and ended as uſual, in exceſſive ſhowers, and then calm: the nearneſs is judged by the ſound inſtantly following the flaſh. Lightening is common here at other times, eſpecially with the ſhutting in of evening, and flaſhes perpendicularly, as well as horizontally.

Air-mattans, or harmattans, are impetuous gales of wind from the eaſtern quarter, about Midſummer and Chriſtmas: they are attended with fogs, laſt three or four hours (ſeldom thunder and lightening, as the tornadoes) and ceaſe with rain; are very dry, ſhrivelling up paper, parchment, or pannels of eſcrutores, like a fire. They reach ſometimes the Gold Coaſt, but are frequenteſt, and in a manner peculiar to the Bite of Benin.

Mr. Atkins, ſpeaking of the trade of the Guinea Coaſt, obſerves, that from the river Gambia, in 21 degrees 13 minutes north, to Angola, about 9 or 10 degrees to the ſouth, the Portugueſe were the firſt Europeans that ſettled, and built forts here, tho' now the leaſt concerned in it: what remains of theirs is to the ſouthward, on the river Congo, at Loango de St. Paul, and on iſlands, where they keep prieſts to teach their language to the natives, and baptize without making chriſtians.

The African company, in its flouriſhing condition, gained annually to England 900,000 l. whereof in teeth, camwood, wax, and gold, only 100,000 l. and the reſt in ſlaves, which, in the infancy of their trade, were in very great demand over all the American plantations, to ſupply their own wants, and carry on a clandeſtine commerce with the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies. On computation, Barbadoes wanted annually 4000 Negroes; Jamacia 10,000; Leeward Iſlands 6000; and becauſe the company could not ſupply this number, having only imported 46,396 ſlaves, between the years 1680 and 1688, interlopers crept in, and contended for a ſhare.

From this time the company viſibly decayed; inſomuch, that in eight following years they only imported to the Weſt-Indies 17,760 ſlaves, and the ſeparate traders, in that time, 71,268.

Finding their trade under great diſadvantages, tho' private traders were obliged to pay them ten per cent. they reſolved to make the beſt ſhare they could in this money, by leſſening their expence about the forts: they accordingly withdrew all ſupplies from the garriſon, leaving them to ſubſiſt by their own management, or ſtarve; Charles-Fort, at the mouth of the river Gambia, having only twelve men, was taken by a privateer of eight guns in 1709. Sierra Leon had but thirteen men; Sherbo four; and theſe were not any charge to the company, being poſſeſſed by ſuch, as having a long time reſided in that ſervice, by help of thoſe fortifications, were capable of doing ſomething for themſelves; and ſo the private traders, by degrees, got entirely quit of this duty, the reaſon in a manner ceaſing for which it was at firſt allowed.

About 1719, their affairs ſeemed to revive again, under the auſpices of the duke of Chandois, who became a very great proprietor in their ſtock, and promiſed from his figure and intereſt, a renewal of their privileges: more ſhips were employed than for many years paſt; but whether it were their too large expence, or corruption of their chief officers, who too often in companies think they are ſent abroad purely for their own ſervice, or both, they ſoon felt, that without a ſeparate act, they were uncapable of contending with private traders; they applied to parliament for relief, and now ſupport their forts by an annual allowance from the government of 10,000l.

Thoſe who are the favourers of companies ſuggeſt, that if that trade be allowed, it ſeems better for the publick, that ſome rich and powerful ſet of men ſhould have ſuch excluſive powers to encourage and enable them to maintain forts and garriſons, to awe the natives, and preſerve the trade from being engroſſed by our dangerous rivals here, the French and Dutch, which, as we relinquiſh it, falls to them, and gives them an opportunity of fixing what price they pleaſe upon goods imported from thence.

The company's trade wanting that encouragement, every year grows worſe: they buy dearer than in times paſt, on the Coaſt, and ſell cheaper in the Weſt-Indies; the reaſon at Guinea is a great ſcarcity of ſlaves, and an improved knowledge in the trading negroes, who diſpoſe of them. On the other ſide, our colonies are now pretty well glutted with ſlaves, and their call conſequently not nigh ſo large: 20,000 in a year, perhaps, furniſhes all our plantations; and tho' more are imported by private traders, it is in order to tranſport them again to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, where tho' the Aſſiento ſhips are of late years only indulged by treaty, all others being liable to confiſcation, and the people to ſlavery, if taken by the Spaniſh guard de coſta, yet the proſpect of gain inciting, they ſtill find means to continue on, and maintain a forcible traffick for them, under the protection of their guns. This clandeſtine method, by the way, hurts the South-Sea company, beating down the price of their ſlaves, who cannot ſo well afford it, becauſe bought and brought there at a greater charge.

I now proceed to our method of trade. Private trading ſhips bring two or three boats with them upon this coaſt for diſpatch; and while the mates go away in them, with a proper parcel of goods and inſtructions, into the rivers and by-places, the ſhip is making good her trade at others near hand.

The ſucceſs of a voyage depends, firſt, on the well ſorting, and on the well timing of a cargo. Secondly, in a knowledge of the places of trade, what, and how much, may be expected every where. Thirdly, in dramming well with Engliſh ſpirits, and conforming to the humours of the negroes. Fourthly, in timely furniſhing proper food for the ſlaves. Fifthly, in diſpatch; and laſtly, the good order and management of ſlaves, when on board; of each a word or two.

Firſt, on the timing of a cargo: this depends at ſeveral places much upon chance, from the fanciful and various humours of the negroes, who make great demands one voyage for a commodity which they perhaps reject next, and is in part to be remedied, either by making the things they itch after paſs off thoſe they have not ſo much mind to, or by ſuch a continual traffick and correſpondence on the coaſt, as may furniſh the owner from time to time with quick intelligence, to be done only by great merchants, who can keep employed a number of ſhips; that, like a thread, unites them in a knowledge of their demands, and a readier ſupply for them, as well as diſpatch for their maſter's intereſt, by putting the purchaſes of two or three ſhips into one. The late Mr. HUMPHREY MORRICE was the greateſt private trader this way; and, unleſs Providence had fixed a curſe upon it, he muſt have gained exceedingly.

Secondly, of the ſorting: this may be obſerved in general, that the windward and leeward parts of the coaſt are as oppoſite in their demands as is their diſtance. Iron bars, which are not aſked for to leeward, are a ſubſtantial part of the windward cargoes: cryſtals, oranges, corals, and braſs-mounted cutlaſſes, are almoſt peculiar to the windward coaſt --- as are braſs-pans from Rio Seſthos, to Apollonia; ----- cowreys (or bouges) at Whidah; ---- copper and iron bars, at calabar; --- but arms, gunpowder, tallow, old ſheets, cottons of all the various denominations, and Engliſh ſpirits, are every where called for. Sealing-wax and pipes are neceſſary in ſmall quantities; they ſerve for daſhees, (preſents) and are a ready purchaſe for fiſh, a goat, kid, or a fowl.

Where the company's factors are ſettled, as at Gambia, and along the greateſt part of the Gold Coaſt, they influence the trade ſomething againſt private ſhips; ſo alſo at Sierra Leon, ſome ſeparate traders live, who voyage it with boats into the adjacent rivers; and moſt of what a ſhip can purchaſe, is thro' their hands: but thoſe from London ſeldom ſtrike higher upon the coaſt than Cape Mount, Montzerado, and Junk, falling from thence down to leeward, many of the places, in their courſe, being rendered dangerous, from the tricks and panyarrs the traders have firſt practiſed upon the negroes; a mutual jealouſy now keeping each ſide very watchful againſt violence. We trade on board the ſhip, often keeping our ſailors in cloſe quarters abaft, becauſe few, while the ſlaves are viewing and contracting for at the fore-part; at night alſo keeping a good watch, ſome of theſe negroes attempting now and then to ſteal with their canoes athwart your hawſe, and cut the cable. Captain CUMMINS at Whidah they ſtranded in 1734.

They again are often diffident of coming nigh us, and will play for hours together in their canoes about the ſhip, before they dare venture. In this windward part, I have before obſerved, they have a ſuperſtitious cuſtom of dropping with their finger a drop of ſea-water into their eye, which they are pleaſed when anſwered in, and paſſes for an engagement of peace and ſecurity; and yet, after all this ceremony, they will ſometimes return to ſhore; if hardy enough to come on board, they appear all the time ſhy and frightened, and from the leaſt appearance of a panyarr, jump all over-board. Downwards to Baſſam, Aſſinee, Jaquelahou, Cape le Hou, Jaque a Jaques, Cape Apollonia, and Three Points, or where they have poſſibly gained a knowledge of the Engliſh factories, there is a better underſtanding and ſecurity: Theſe are places that ſell off a number of ſlaves, managed, however, wholly on board the ſhips who anchor before the town, hoiſt their enſign, and fire a gun; or when the natives ſeem timorous, do it by their boats coaſting along the beach, and pay at ſome of them a ſmall duty to the chief cabiceers.

When a ſhip has gathered up all this trade, ſhe makes up the deficiency of her freight at Anamaboo, three leagues below Cape Corſo, where they conſtantly ſtop, and are ſometimes two or three months in finiſhing. It is a place of very conſiderable trade in itſelf; and beſides, the company have a houſe and factor, keeping always a number of ſlaves againſt thoſe demands of the interlopers, who they are ſenſible want diſpatch, and therefore make them pay a higher price for it than any where on the whole coaſt, ſelling at ſix ounces and a half a ſlave (in exchange for goods) tho' the poor creatures look as meagre and thin as their writers.

Giving way to the ridiculous humours and geſtures of the trading negroe, is no ſmall artifice for ſucceſs. If you look ſtrange, and are niggardly of your drams, you frighten him; SAMBO is gone; he never cares to treat with dry lips; and as the expence is in Engliſh ſpirits of two ſhillings a gallon, brought partly for that purpoſe, the good humour it brings them into, is found diſcounted in the ſale of goods.

A fifth article is, the wholeſome victualling and management of ſlaves on board.

The common, cheapeſt, and moſt commodious diet is with vegetables, horſe-beans, rice, Indian corn, and farine, or flouer, the former ſhips bring with them out of England; rice they meet to windward about Seſthos; Indian corn at Momford, Anamaboo, &c. and further ſupplies of them, or farine, at the iſlands of St. Thomas and Prince's, maſters governing themſelves in purchaſing, according to the courſe they deſign to ſteer.

This food is accounted more ſalutary to ſlaves, and nearer to their accuſtomed way of feeding, than ſalt fleſh. One or other is boiled on board at conſtant times twice a day into a dab-a-dab (ſometimes with meat in it) and have an overſeer, with a cat-of-nine-tails, to force it upon thoſe that are ſullen and refuſe.

When there was that great trade for ſlaves at Whidah, the commanders, with their ſurgeons, always attended on ſhore, where they purchaſed them, in what they called a fair and open market.

The mates kept on board, receiving from time to time their maſter's directions, as to the goods wanted, and to prepare the ſhip for the reception and ſecurity of the ſlaves ſent him; where this is a rule always obſerved, to keep the males apart from the women and children, to hand-cuff the former; Briſtol ſhips triple ſuch as are ſturdy with chains round their necks; and to keep your own men ſober, and on a barricado'd quarter-deck; tho' the natural cowardice of theſe creatures, and no other proſpect upon riſing, but falling into the hands of the ſame rogues that ſold them, very much leſſens the danger: Nevertheleſs, it is adviſeable at all times to have a diligent watch on their actions, yet (abating their fetters) to treat them with all gentleneſs and civility.

When we are ſlaved, and out at ſea, it is commonly imagined the negroes ignorance of navigation, will always be a ſafeguard; yet, as many of them think themſelves bought to eat; and more, that death will ſend them into their own country, there has not been wanting examples of riſing and killing a ſhip's company diſtant from land, though not ſo often as on the coaſt: But once or twice is enough to ſhew, a maſter's care and diligence ſhould never be over till the delivery of them. Some negroes know well enough, that their preſerving one white man may anſwer their purpoſe in an exchange: However, generally ſpeaking, we allow greater liberty in our paſſage; as conducive to their health, we let them go at large on the ſhip's deck, from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet; give ſuch as like it pipes and tobacco, and clean and air their dormitories every day.

Slaves differ in their goodneſs; thoſe from the Gold Coaſt are accounted beſt, being cleaneſt limbed, and more docible by our ſettlement than others: But then they are, for that very reaſon, more prompt to revenge, and murder the inſtruments of their ſlavery, and alſo apter in the means to compaſs it.

To windward they approach in goodneſs, as is the diſtance from the Gold Coaſt; ſo as at Gambia, or Sierra Leon, to be much better than at any of their interjacent places.

To leeward from thence, they alter gradually for the worſe; an Angolan negroe is a proverb for worthleſſneſs, and they mend (if we may ſo call it) in that way, till you come to the Hottentots, that is, to the ſouthermoſt extremity of Africa.

I have obſerved how our trading is managed for ſlaves, when obliged to be carried on board the ſhip. ---------Where there are factories (as at Gambia, Sierra Leon, the Gold Coaſt, Whidah, Calabar, Cabenda, and Angola) we are more at large; they are ſold in open market on ſhore, and are examined by us in like manner as our brother trade do beaſts in Smithfield; the contenance and ſtature, a good ſet of teeth, pliancy in their limbs and joints, and being free of venereal taint, are the things inſpected, and governs our choice in buying.

The bulk of them are country people, ſtupid as is their diſtance from the converſe of the Coaſt-negroes; eat all day, if victuals is before them, or if not, let it alone without complaint; part without tears with their wives, children, and country, and are more affected with pain than death: yet in this indocile ſtate, the women retain a modeſty; for though ſtripped of that poor clout which covers their privities (as I know the Whidahs generally do) they will keep ſquatted all day long on board, to hide them.

Whidah ſlaves are more ſubject to ſmall-pox and ſore eyes; other parts to a ſleepy diſtemper; and to windward, exomphalos's. There are few inſtances of deformity any where; even their nobles know nothing of chronical diſtempers, nor their ladies of the vapours. Their flattiſh noſes are owing to a continual grubbing in their infancy againſt their mother's backs, being tied within the tomee, whether upon travel, or buſineſs, for a year or two, the time of their ſucking.

Ivory is purchaſed in teeth, or ſcrevelio's. The teeth are large, weighing from thirty to an hundred weight, and worth double the other at home; theſe ſelling for ten or twelve pound, when the other do not for above five pound a hundred.

The ſcrevelio's are ſmall, from fifteen down to four pound weight; among theſe laſt are ſold us to windward, the teeth of the hippopotamus, or ſea-horſe, catched in the rivers Nunes and Gambia, about ſixteen inches long, a white ivory, but ſo brittle, as not to be eaſily worked.

The rule upon the coaſt is, that when four will weigh an hundred weight, they ſhall be all accounted teeth, and paid for as ſuch, though one or two of them be never ſo ſmall; for the more teeth increaſe in their weight, the better the ivory, and makes amends for the ſmallneſs of the other.

At Gambia the points of them are often found broken, from the elephants grubbing againſt rocky ground: At other times you ſee them flawed, or they are light in proportion to their bigneſs; circumſtances to abate their value.

I have been often ruminating how the trading Negroes come by theſe elephants teeth, and find they exchange our European commodities with the inland natives for them; but whether they again ſhoot the elephants, or find their teeth in travelling through the woods and deſarts, is uncertain. Their rivers and canoes, indeed, help to extend their knowledge a vaſt way through the country; and there are ſome accounts that tell us, the negroes ſituated upon theſe rivers (like the Americans) make excurſions, or voyages, for a month or two from their habitations.

Mr. Plunket, of Sierra Leon, and others, of above twenty years experience in thoſe parts, have informed me, that elephants move and change their paſture in very large herds; that they have ſeen droves upon the banks of the Gambia, of a thouſand and fifteen hundred together; that they are bold, forage leſs than horſes, and look out much better: From the circumſtance of number, and boldneſs of their march (ſaid to be in a line) they ſeem ſecured from any attacks of the timorous natives, who muſt come very near, or their ſkin is impenetrable by fire-arms. Beſides, ivory was the trade of Guinea before the uſe of them: To which I may add, the weighty teeth come to ſale in leſs number than the ſcrevelio's, altogether perſuading me they are not ſhot, but that the larger ſize are teeth of elephants which have died naturally, and which being grown to their utmoſt perfection and ſolidity, withſtand a very conſiderable elapſe of time, without decay or mouldering; and that the ſcrevelio's are probably ſuch as are ſhed when young, or as bucks do their horns, which the natives, by practice, know where to look for.

Gold is either fetiſh, in lumps, or in duſt. The fetiſh gold is that which the negroes caſt into various ſhapes, and wear ornaments to their ears, arms, and legs, but chiefly at their head, entangled very dexterouſly in their woolly hair; it is ſo called from ſome ſuperſtition (we do not well underſtand) in the form, or in their application, and commonly mixed with ſome baſer metal, to be judged of by the touch-ſtone and ſkill of the buyer you employ.

The lump or rock-gold, is in pieces of different weights, pretended to be brought out of mines. I ſaw one of theſe, which Mr. Phips had at Cape Corſo, weighing thirty ounces; they are always ſuſpected to be artificial, and by the cunning fellows in trade caſt ſo, to hide ſome baſer mixture of ſilver, copper, or braſs; wherefore it is not ſafe truſting to the antique dirty look, but to cut or run it for ſatisfaction.

Duſt-gold is the common traffick; the beſt comes hither from the neighbouring inland kingdoms of Dinkira, Akim, and Arcana, and is got (we are told) out of the river ſands.

Maſters of ſhips cuſtomarily hire a native at ſo much per month, for this part of the trade; he has a quicker ſight at knowing, and by practice readier at ſeparating the droſſy and falſe gold, with which the true has ever ſome mixture, to impoſe on unſkilful people. This impure ſtuff is called crackra, a pin or braſs duſt, current upon the gold coaſt among themſelves, but is a groſs cheat in traffick; ſome of it is very bad.

Captain Snelgrave makes the following obſervations on the Guinea trade: He ſays, as ſoon as the natives perceive a ſhip on their coaſt, they make a ſmoke on the ſea-ſhore, as a ſignal for the ſhip to come to an anchor, that they may come and trade with the people aboard. As ſoon as we are at an anchor, they come to us in ſmall boats, called canoes, being made of a ſingle tree, and bring their commodities with them.

Along the greateſt part of this coaſt, the Europeans have been cautious of venturing on ſhore amongſt the natives, they being very barbarous and uncivilized.

However, the trade on this part of the coaſt has been exceedingly improved within theſe twenty years paſt. It conſiſts in negroes, elephants teeth, and other commodities, which the natives freely bring on board our ſhips, except when any affront has been offered them; which, to the great ſcandal both of Engliſh and French, has too often been done; namely, by their forcibly carrying away the traders under ſome ſlight pretence of having received an injury from them. And this has put a ſtop to the trade of the particular place where it has happened for a long time, and innocent people, who have come there to trade in ſmall veſſels, have ſuffered for their countrymen's villany; ſeveral, in my time, having been ſurprized by the natives, and the people deſtroyed out of revenge.

On the gold coaſt, the firſt and moſt weſterly European ſettlement, was the fort of Fredericksburgh, belonging to the Brandenburghers, or Pruſſians; who, by ſickneſs, or the frequent mutinies of the garriſon, being forced to abandon it, the negroes took poſſeſſion of it, and the Dutch attempted to recover it from them, under pretence they had purchaſed the fort of the Brandenburghers. The Dutch loſt forty men in the attack, and were bravely beaten off by the black governor, who now reigns lord of this part of the country, demanding a duty from all ſhips that touch here. He was formerly a ſervant to the Brandenburghers; and where the Europeans acknowledge his authority, he treats them with great humanity. The Dutch have ten or twelve forts and factories upon this coaſt, and the Engliſh as many. The chief of the Dutch forts is that of d'Elmina, ſo named by the Portugueſe, who erected it, from the gold mines they ſuppoſed to be in the neighbourhood of it.

This is the largeſt, and beſt fortified ſettlement upon the gold coaſt; and two or three leagues to the eaſtward of it ſtands the principal Engliſh fort of Cape-Coaſt-Caſtle, which is of a quadrangular form, defended by four baſtions, ſtrong enough to reſiſt the attacks of the negroes, tho' it would make but a mean figure in Flanders.

There is a great deal of dull hazy weather on this coaſt; their rainy ſeaſon begins in April or May, and continues to September; and, as moſt of our factories lie on the ſea coaſt, from whence there aſcends ſtinking fogs, the coaſt is very unhealthful. The pleaſanteſt and moſt healthful ſeaſon is, when the ſun is at the greateſt diſtance from them. The moſt violent ſtorms and tornadoes happen during the rainy ſeaſon, uſually in July or Auguſt, when no ſhips can live upon the coaſt; and it is very difficult going on ſhore, at all times there runs ſo great a ſurf. The country forms an agreeable landſkip from the ſea, conſiſting of hills and valleys, woods, and champaign fields, and is tolerably fruitful, where it is cultivated.

As the negroe traders bring their gold from diſtant places, ſo they do the ſlaves they furniſh us with; and having agreed with the European merchants for the price of them, and the price of the goods they are to take in exchange, a ſhip is ſoon diſpatched, if they deal fairly; but, if a merchant delivers his goods before he has his ſlaves, they will ſometimes make him wait a great while, and, perhaps, put hard conditions upon him. It is computed by late travellers, that there are annually exported from the whole coaſt of Guinea ſeventy thouſand ſlaves, and upwards, by the Engliſh, Dutch, French, and Portugueſe; but the country where the greateſt number of ſlaves were purchaſed, till very lately, was the kingdom of Whidah, or Fidah, for that reaſon uſually called the Slave Coaſt.

Captain Snelgrave *gives the following relation of the conqueſt of the kingdom of Whidah by the King of* Dahome.

The conqueſt of the kingdom of Whidah.

Sabee, the chief town of the kingdom of Whidah, is ſituated about ſeven miles from the ſea-ſide. In this town the king allowed the Europeans convenient houſes for their factories, and by him we were protected in our perſons and goods, and when our buſineſs was finiſhed, were permitted to go away in ſafety. The road where ſhips anchored, was a free port for all European nations trading to thoſe parts for negroes. And this trade was ſo very conſiderable, that it is computed, while it was in a flouriſhing ſtate, there were above twenty thouſand negroes yearly exported from thence, and the neighbouring places, by the Engliſh, French, Dutch and Portugueſe.

The land was well ſtocked with people, the whole country appeared full of towns and villages; and being a very rich ſoil, and well cultivated by the inhabitants, it looked like a garden. Trade having flouriſhed for a long time, had greatly enriched the people, which, with the fertility of their country, had unhappily made them ſo proud, effeminate, and luxurious, that tho' they could have brought at leaſt one hundred thouſand men into the field, yet ſo great were their fears, that they were driven out of their principal city by two hundred of their enemies, and at laſt loſt their whole country to a nation they formerly contemned.

The King of Dahome, a far inland prince, who for ſome years paſt had rendered himſelf famous by many victories gained over his neighbours, ſent an ambaſſador to the King of Whidah, requeſting to have an open traffick to the ſea-ſide, and offering to pay him his uſual cuſtoms on negroes exported, which being refuſed, he reſented the affront, and invaded the moſt northern province of the kingdom of Whidah, of which a great lord, named APPRAGAH, was hereditary governor, who forthwith ſent to the King for his aſſiſtance: but thro' the intereſt of his enemies at court, who wiſhed his deſtruction, he was refuſed; ſo having made a little reſiſtance, he ſubmitted to the King of Dahome, who received him very kindly.

The conqueſt of APPRAGAH gave the King an eaſy entrance into the heart of the country, but he was obliged to halt there by a river, which was about half a mile to the northward of the principal town of the Whidahs, called Sabee, the reſidence of their King. Here the King of Dahome encamped for ſome time, not imagining he could have found ſo eaſy a paſſage and conqueſt as he met with afterwards. For the paſs of the river was of that nature, it might have been defended againſt his whole army by five hundred reſolute men; but inſtead of guarding it, theſe cowardly luxurious people, thinking the fame of their numbers ſufficient to deter the Dahomes from attempting it, kept no ſet guard. They only went every morning and evening to the river ſide to make fetiche, as they call it; that is, to offer ſacrifice to their principal God, which was a particular harmleſs ſnake they adored, and prayed to on this occaſion, to keep their enemies from coming over the river.

In the mean time the King of Dahome ſent to the Europeans, then reſiding at Whidah, to aſſure them, if they ſtood neuter, and were not found in arms, they ſhould receive no damage in their perſons or goods, in caſe he proved conqueror; and he would eaſe their trade, and remove divers impoſitions laid on it by the King of Whidah: on the contrary, if they appeared againſt him, they muſt expect his reſentment. They would gladly have retired from Sabee to two mud-walled forts, belonging to the Engliſh and French African companies, which are within three miles of the ſea-ſide; but finding it would have been reſented by the King of Whidah, as a diſcouragement to his people, they were obliged to remain in the town, never ſuſpecting the inhabitants would have ran away in that cowardly manner they did, or that they ſhould ſhare the fate of war with them.

The paſs of the river being left wholly to the care of the ſnakes, whom the enemy little feared, and they having obſerved for ſeveral days, that the Whidahs kept no ſet guard there, it encouraged the King of Dahome's general to ſend two hundred of his ſoldiers to ford the river; which having done without oppoſition, and being bold fellows, they marched towards the town of Sabee, ſounding their muſical inſtruments. This was about three o'clock in the afternoon, and the outguards of the town were almoſt all aſleep; but being rouſed by the noiſe of the enemies muſick and ſhouts, they fled into the town, reporting, that all the Dahome army was got over the river; which ſoon reaching the King's ear, he immediately fled with all his people, making no reſiſtance. I was informed by the white people then in the Engliſh and French forts, that about five o'clock the ſame afternoon, they ſaw ſuch numbers of people flying from all parts of the country towards the ſea-ſide, that it was very ſurprizing: for the fields were covered with them many miles round, and their black colour made them the more conſpicuous in a clear ſun-ſhiny day, on a fine flat champaign country. The King, with a great number of his ſubjects fled to an iſland on the ſea-coaſt, which was parted from the main land by a river, having ferried over in canoes; but a great many, that could not have the ſame benefit, being hurried on by their fears, were drowned in the rivers, in attempting to ſwim to the iſlands lying near Popoe, which was the next neighbouring country to their own, on the ſea-coaſt to the weſtward, and where they might have been ſecure from their enemies, had they eſcaped. Moreover, many thouſands of theſe poor people, that ſheltered themſelves up and down the country among the buſhes, periſhed afterwards by ſword and famine.

But to return to the Dahome ſoldiers: when they firſt came to Sabee, it ſeems they marched directly to the King's court, where not finding him, they ſet it on fire, and then ſent their general word what had happened, who brought the whole army over the river that evening. He was in ſuch a ſurprize at his good fortune, that he could hardly believe what he ſaw; and the white gentlemen were as much amazed to ſee the great cowardice of theſe people, who had vapoured ſo highly, and as ignominiouſly quitted the town, without oppoſing their enemies in the leaſt, leaving them intirely in the power of the conquerors, with all their own riches. The day after the taking the town of Sabee, the white men taken priſoners were ſent into the country to the King of Dahome, who then lay encamped with another army about forty miles off, in the kingdom of Ardra; ſome hammocks being provided for the principal white people, which is the uſual way of travelling in this country for gentlemen, either white or black.

Some few days after their arrival in the King of Dahome's camp, the Europeans were ſet at liberty, and ſuffered to return to the Engliſh and French forts, the principal gentlemen being preſented with ſlaves; and the King aſſured them, as ſoon as his affairs were ſettled he ſhould encourage trade, and have a particular regard to their intereſts.

SNELGRAVE relates, that he arrived at Whidah in the latter end of March 1726-7, about three Weeks after this conqueſt, and found that fine country, lately exceeding populous, now deſtroyed by fire and ſword; that the ſlaughter of the inhabitants was a moſt moving ſpectacle, their fields being in a manner covered with their carcaſſes.

From the road of Whidah, SNELGRAVE ſailed to Jaqueen, a port about ſeven leagues to the eaſtward of it; this people having ſubmitted to the King of Dahome, and then under his protection.

The King of Dahome hearing of captain SNELGRAVE's arrival on the coaſt, with an intent to trade, invited him to his camp, which then lay about forty miles up the country, whither the captain went, being furniſhed with horſes, hammocks, ſervants, and all manner of accommodations for his journey. The day after his arrival at the camp, he had an audience of his negroe Majeſty, of which the captain gives the following account, (viz.)

The King was in a large court palliſadoed round, ſitting (contrary to the cuſtom of the country) on a fine gilt chair, which he had taken from the King of Whidah. There was held over his head, by women, three large umbrella's, to ſhade him from the ſun; and four other women ſtood behind the chair of ſtate with fuzees on their ſhoulders. I obſerved the women were finely dreſſed from the middle downward (the cuſtom of the country being not to cover the body upward of either ſex:) moreover, they had on their arms many large manelloes or rings of gold of great value; and round their necks, and in their hair, abundance of their country jewels, which are a ſort of beads of divers colours, brought from a far inland country, where they are dug out of the earth, and in the ſame eſteem with the negroes as diamonds among the Europeans.

The King had a gown on flowered with gold, which reached as low as his ancles, an European embroidered hat on his head, with ſandals on his feet. We being brought within ten yards of the chair of ſtate, were deſired to ſtand ſtill: the King then ordered the linguiſt to bid us welcome; on which we paid his Majeſty the reſpect of our hats, bowing our heads at the ſame time very low, as the interpreter directed us. Then I ordered the linguiſt to acquaint the King, “That on his Majeſty's ſending to deſire me to come up to his camp, I forthwith reſolved on the journey, that I might have the pleaſure of ſeeing ſo great and good a King as I heard he was, relying entirely on the promiſes his meſſenger had made me in his Majeſty's name.” The King ſeemed well pleaſed with what I ſaid, and aſſured us of his protection and kind uſage. Then chairs being brought, we were deſired to ſit down, and the King drank our health, and then liquor being brought us by his order, we drank his Majeſty's. After this, the interpreter told us, “It was the King's deſire we ſhould ſtay ſome time with him, to ſee the method of paying the ſoldiers for captives taken in war, and the heads of the ſlain.”

It ſo happened, that in the evening of the day we came into the camp, there were brought above eighteen hundred captives, from a country called Tuffo, at the diſtance of ſix days journey.

The king at the time we were preſent ordered the captives of Tuffo to be brought into the court; which being accordingly done, he choſe himſelf a great number out of them to be ſacrificed to his Fetiche, or guardian angel; the others being kept for ſlaves for his own uſe, or to be ſold to the Europeans. There were proper officers who received the captives from the ſoldiers hands, and paid them the value of twenty ſhillings ſterling for every man, in cowries (which is a ſhell brought from the Eaſt-Indies, and carried in large quantities to Whidah by the Europeans, being the current money of all the neighbouring countries far and near) and ten ſhillings for a woman, boy, or girl. There were likewiſe brought by the ſoldiers ſome thouſands of dead people's heads into the court; every ſoldier, as he has ſucceſs, bringing in his hand one, two, three, or more heads hanging in a ſtring; and as the proper officers received them, they paid the ſoldiers five ſhillings for each head: Then ſeveral people carried them away in order to be thrown on a great heap of other heads that lay near the camp, the linguiſt telling us his Majeſty deſigns to build a monument with them, and the heads of other enemies formerly conquered and killed.

SNELGRAVE afterwards went to ſee the manner of ſacrificing their enemies. Our guard, ſays he, made way for us through the crowd, till we came near four ſmall ſtages, which were erected five feet from the ground; we ſtood cloſe to them, and obſerved the ceremony, which was performed in the following manner:

The firſt victim we ſaw was brought to the ſide of the ſtage; it was a comely old man, between fifty and ſixty years of age; his hands were tied behind him, and in his behaviour he ſhewed a brave and undaunted mind, nothing like fear appearing in him. As he ſtood upright by the ſtage, a feticheer, or prieſt, laid his hand on his head, ſaying ſome words of conſecration, which laſted about two minutes: Then he gave the ſign of execution to a man that ſtood behind the victim, who, with a broad ſword, immediately ſtruck him on the neck with ſuch force, that the head was ſevered at one blow from the body; whereupon the rabble gave a great ſhout. The head was caſt on the ſtage, and the body, after having lain a little while on the ground, that the blood might drain from it, was carried away by ſlaves, and thrown into a place adjoining to the camp. The linguiſt told us, the head of the victim was for the King, the blood for the Fetiche, or God, and the body for the common people. We ſaw many other perſons ſacrificed in this lamentable manner, and obſerved, that the men went to the ſide of the ſtages bold and unconcerned; but the cries of the poor women and children were very moving.

I told an officer, “I wondered they ſhould ſacrifice ſo many people, of whom they might otherwiſe make good advantage by ſelling them.” He replied, “It had ever been the cuſtom of their nation, after any conqueſt, to offer to their God a certain number of captives, which were always choſe out from among the priſoners by the king himſelf; for they firmly believed, ſhould this be omitted, no more ſucceſs would attend them: And he argued for the neceſſity and uſefulneſs of their doing it, from the large conqueſts they had made within a few years, without any defeat.” Then I aſked him, “Why ſo many old men were ſacrificed in particular.” He anſwered; “It was beſt to put them to death; for being grown wiſe by their age and long experience, if they were preſerved, they would be ever plotting againſt their maſters, and ſo diſturb their country; for they never would be eaſy under ſlavery, having been the chief men in their own land; moreover, if they ſhould be ſpared, no European would buy them on account of their age.” I then obſerved to him, "That I had ſeen ſeveral handſome "young people ſacrificed, whom I was ſure the "Europeans would gladly have bought." He replied, "They were deſigned to attend in the "other world the King's wives, whom the Tuſſoes, their countrymen, had ſlain."

In the evening we paſſed by the place where the ſacrificed bodies were thrown; there were two great heaps of them, conſiſting of four hundred perſons who had been choſen out by the king that very morning.

He adds, That a black prince who accompanied him to the king's camp, informed him afterwards, that the ſacrificed bodies had been taken away in the night by the common people, who had boiled and feaſted on them as holy food. This ſtory induced us, ſays SNELGRAVE, to ſend for our linguiſt, and take a walk to the place where we had ſeen the carcaſes the evening before, and, to our great ſurprize, we found they were all gone; thereupon aſking the interpreter what was become of them, he replied ſmiling, "The vultures had "eaten them up." I told him, "that was very "extraordinary indeed, to ſwallow bones and all;" there being nothing remaining on the place but a great quantity of blood; ſo he confeſſed the feticheers, or prieſts, had divided the carcaſſes among the people, who had eat them in the manner they had been told. And though no doubt this will appear incredible to many, ſays SNELGRAVE; yet I deſire they will only make this one reflection, That thoſe who could be ſo cruel as to ſacrifice their fellow creatures, might probably carry their barbarity a degree farther.

However, as I relate nothing for matter of fact, ſays he, but what I was an eye-witneſs to; ſo I ſhall leave the reader to give what credit he pleaſes thereto: But as a farther confirmation of their being canibals, I ſhall relate what I afterwards learned from one Mr. ROBERT MOOR, who was a perſon of great integrity, and at that time ſurgeon of the Italian galley. This ſhip came to Whidah whilſt I was at Jaqueen, and captain JOHN DAGGE, the commander, being indiſpoſed, ſent MOOR to the king of Dahome's camp, with preſents for his majeſty. There he ſaw very ſtrange things, eſpecially human fleſh ſold publickly in the great market-place. As I was not in the market during that time I was in the camp, I ſaw no ſuch thing; but I don't doubt but that I ſhould have ſeen the ſame, had I gone into that place, for there were many old and maimed captures brought from Tuſſo (beſides thoſe ſacrificed) which no Europeans would have bought.

In the character SNELGRAVE gives us of the king of Dahome, he ſays, I had a good opportunity of taking an exact view of him. He was middle-ſized and full-bodied, and, as near as I could judge, about forty-five years old; his face was pitted with the ſmall-pox; nevertheleſs, there was ſomething in his countenance very taking, and withal majeſtick. Upon the whole, I found him to be the moſt extraordinary man of his colour that I had ever converſed with, having ſeen nothing in him that appeared barbarous, except the ſacrificing of his enemies, which a Portugueſe gentleman told me he believed was done out of policy; neither did he eat human fleſh himſelf.

He adds, that the King promiſed to ſend him ſlaves ſufficient to freight his ſhip down to Jaqueen; and that he would take but half the duties the European merchants uſed to pay, and made him a preſent of ſeveral ſlaves, with cows, goats, ſheep, and other proviſions for his journey: And within two or three days after his arrival at Jaqueen, the ſlaves that had been promiſed him were ſent thither; but he did not meet with ſuch good uſage however from the Dahome officers, as he might have expected from the promiſes the King had made him: That on the firſt of July, 1727, he ſailed from the road of Jaqueen for the Weſt-Indies, having ſix hundred negroes on board.

He concludes with informing us, that all the country of Whidah was ſo depopulated and ruined by the King of Dahome, upon ſome attempts the Whidahs made to recover their liberties, that there is no proſpect of trade reviving there for many years.

Remarks on SNELGRAVE's narrative.

As to the hiſtory of the conqueſt of the kingdom of Whidah by the King of Dahome, and the loſs of the ſlave trade on that coaſt; I find all that have gone that voyage ſince the year 1727, agree with Mr. SNELGRAVE in the main, only it is remarkable that not one of them charge the nation of the Dahomes with being canibals, or devourers of their own ſpecies: But himſelf and ſome of them give us very ſubſtantial reaſons to believe that the charge is not well grounded; particularly Mr. ATKINS, who obſerves, that the people ſuppoſed to be canibals, generally inhabit countries very remote, and little known to us; and that travellers who report theſe things, uſually do it upon hear-ſay, or upon reaſons that are not concluſive, and againſt later experience.

That what SNELGRAVE relates of the King of Dahome's putting to death ſeveral captives, ſacrificing them to his gods, or to the manes of his friends, or for ſome political reaſons, is very far from making good the charge.

And as to that part of the ſtory where SNELGRAVE ſays he ſaw the carcaſſes of hundreds of thoſe priſoners who were put to death, lying on heaps, and that the next day there was nothing of them to be found; and what he relates of his linguiſt, telling him firſt that the carcaſſes were devoured by vultures, and then that they were eaten in the night-time by the people, Mr. ATKINS anſwers,

1. That there is all the reaſon in the world to believe the carcaſſes were buried, or that ſome of the bones or offal would have been ſeen about the places where they were eaten the next day; and ſuggeſts, that the linguiſt obſerving his maſter SNELGRAVE to be very credulous, and inclined to believe they were eaten, humoured him in this opinion, and concurred with his notions by way of compliment.

2. That nothing is ſo common as for people to believe their enemies, whom they dread, eſpecially if they know little of them, to be ſavages, or monſters of men. And the conquering Dahomes might be ſo far from undeceiving the people of Whidah in this particular, as to confirm them in the frightful notions they had entertained of them, in order to keep them in ſubjection.

3. SNELGRAVE himſelf relates, that the King of Dahome never eat human fleſh, which is very ſtrange, if his people did; whether we ſuppoſe the priſoners were ſacrificed to his gods, or that human fleſh was eſteemed a fine diſh in that country. In either of theſe caſes it is natural to ſuppoſe, the prince would have partaken of the banquet or ſacrifice, with his officers and people.

4. If theſe priſoners were deſigned to be eat, one would have thought they would have made

choice of the youngeſt and fatteſt, as was uſual where other animals were intended for a ſacrifice, or a feſtival: whereas he tells us, they took the old, the lean, and the decrepid: Nor would they have thrown them on heaps in that hot country, where a carcaſe immediately putrifies, but would have dreſſed and prepared the bodies for cookery as they had been killed.

5. That if human fleſh was eſteemed ſuch delicious food amongſt them, they would not ſell their priſoners for ſlaves; neither would there be ſuch prodigious numbers of people to be found on theſe coaſts, if the neighbouring nations were canibals, and devoured thoſe they made priſoners.

6. That at Loango, the river Gambia, and in many other parts of Africa, ſaid to be inhabited by canibals on the firſt diſcovery, it appears by later voyages, that there are no ſuch people to be found there.

7. That if this practice was taken up by the Dahomes, as SNELGRAVE ſuggeſts, to terrify their enemies, they would not have eaten the carcaſſes in the night-time, and in private, but in the day, and in the face of all the world.

And laſtly, as to what SNELGRAVE ſays Mr. MOOR told him, that he ſaw human fleſh ſold by the Dahomes in the market, he anſwers, if MOOR did not mean human fleſh ſold alive into ſlavery, he might miſtake it for the fleſh of monkeys, which are very large in this country, and frequently eaten here. Mr. ATKINS adds, that he never ſaw a fleſh-market of any ſort, on the coaſt of Guinea, tho' he had been on ſhore in ſeveral places; and that it was uſual when a beaſt is killed there, to diſtribute the quarters and joints immediately among their neighbours, who do the ſame in return, becauſe the fleſh will not keep.

But the principal objection is, that SNELGRAVE ſhould take all this upon hear-ſay, when he himſelf was upon the ſpot: That he ſhould not once viſit the market all the time he was in the King of Dahome's camp, though he profeſſes himſelf to be more curious and inquiſitive than moſt travellers are: Perhaps he would not ſay he had ſeen theſe things with his own eyes; becauſe gentlemen, that went the ſame voyage, might then have given him the lye directly. But here, if all that he has ſuggeſted ſhould be found to be falſe, he could come off by ſaying, he was deceived himſelf, by the relation of others, and had aſſerted nothing poſitively of his own knowledge.

Mr. ATKINS alſo obſerves, that the people of Negroeland eat but little fleſh of any kind, much leſs human fleſh; but live chiefly on Indian corn, rice, plantains, palm-nuts, pine-apples, and now and then a little ſtinking fiſh, or fowl, by way of ſauce, or to give a reliſh to the reſt. It is monſtrous, therefore, to ſuppoſe that ſuch a people ſhould devour ſeveral hundred human carcaſſes in one night, and ſo diſpoſe of the bones, that not one of them was to be found next morning.

Loango. Captain URING gives the following deſcription of the town and country of Loango, the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of Guinea: He ſays, the town of Loango is about five miles from the ſea-ſide, ſituate in a large plain, and a champion country all round it for many miles. It is near eight miles in circumference, very populous, and lies in 4 degrees 40 minutes ſouth latitude, which makes their days and nights almoſt equal throughout the year. The air was ſerene and clear moſt part of the time we remained there. The chief of their trade is in ſlaves, tho' they have ſome elephants teeth, and bees-wax, and have very rich copper mines in the country. I have ſeen quantities of copper drops, which were pieces of about a pound weight, run from the oar, and are for the moſt part bought by the Dutch. I was informed that the greateſt part of their ſlaves were brought eight or nine hundred miles out of the country, which they call Poamboe; I take this to be Ethiopia. They uſed to make excurſions nearer home, in ſtrong parties; and where they found any people ſettled by themſelves, and not under the protection of any government, they ſeized them, and drove them before them, as other people do cattle, till they brought them to a trading town, where they were ſold for ſlaves; and this is as much a trade among them, as ſelling horſes, cows, and ſheep, or the like, in other countries. Thoſe ſlaves which are brought ſo far out of the country, are generally very ignorant, and dull of apprehenſion: But thoſe taken nearer the ſea-coaſt are more quick, eſpecially the people of Loango, who are a crafty cunning people, and tolerably ingenious: They are moſt of them tall, ſtrong, and well-limbed; and all of them are great lovers of brandy and tobacco: They do not make ſo good ſlaves as thoſe of the Gold Coaſt, or Whidah; the reaſon which is given for it, is, that the people on the Gold coaſt fare hard for want of proviſions, and are capable to go thro' more labour, with leſs victuals, than the natives of other countries, where they have plenty, as they have in the kingdoms of Angola, Congo, and thoſe countries from whence theſe ſlaves are brought. It ſeldom happens, that any of the towns-people are ſold for ſlaves, except in caſes of adultery, or when their great men ſell ſome of their ſervants for diſobedience.

The women do all the drudgery; as planting, reaping, dreſſing their proviſions, carrying burthens, combing their huſbands hair, twiſting it into ſeveral forms, and painting their bodies; they alſo make mats. Moſt of the bread eaten amongſt them they call cankey, which is made with Indian corn beat ſmall, which they mix with ſome roots, and boil it in dumplins, and when they take it out of the pot, then they wrap it up in leaves, and it will keep good five or ſix days.

If any of their great men, or Europeans, have occaſion to travel, they are conveyed in hammocks after this manner: They have a long light pole, to which the hammock is faſtened near the end, and two men taking it up, one before and the other behind, will carry a luſty man a round pace, ſeveral miles, without reſting. When they go long journeys, they have ſix men, who take turns to carry, and are ſo dextrous, that they never ſtop when they change, but ſhift, keeping on their uſual pace. There is no ſuch eaſy way of travelling as this; the perſon ſitting or lying in the hammocks, as he thinks fit, and they have a piece of callicoe thrown over the pole, when they have a mind to keep the ſun from them.

The houſes of the inhabitants are low, the ſides of them made with cane wattled together with twigs, and covered with leaves or branches of trees, of which they have many convenient for that purpoſe, and conſiſt moſtly of two or three rooms, the innermoſt of which is particularly for the women. Moſt of them have ſmall yards, incloſed in the ſame manner as the walls of their houſes, where are generally growing plantain, banano, and other trees, the fruits of which ſerve them for food, and the branches are convenient to ſhade them from the ſun when they have a mind to take the freſh air, which makes the town look very agreeable. Some of their great men, and the chief of their merchants, have cane walls of about ten or twelve foot high, which form a walk about eight foot wide, and reaches near forty yards from the houſes, but with ſo many windings and turnings, that you go five times that diſtance before you come to their habitations; which is all the grandeur I obſerved in their buildings. I have been entertained with palm-wine and fruit at many of their houſes. The chiefeſt of the common peoples food is cankey, potatoes, and other roots; the better ſort eat fowls, and ſtewed fiſh. Their fiſh is dreſſed thus: they take five or ſix freſh maſounge, and put them into an earthen pot, with a little water and palm-oil, and a great deal of bird pepper, and ſome ſalt; over the fiſh they lay three or four pieces of ſmall ſticks a-croſs, and then fill the pot with green plantains, and cover it cloſe, the fume of the pot ſtews the plantains: this is eſteemed an excellent ſavoury diſh. I was prevailed on to taſte it, but it was ſo hot of the pepper, that I could not get the taſte of it out of my mouth for ſeveral hours. There is very little difference in the apparel of the men and women, both wearing a fathom of cloth about their waiſts, which is tucked in in ſuch a manner, that the corner almoſt touches the ground, hanging on the left ſide. In the mornings and evenings the women have a fathom to wrap round their ſhoulders, which I did not obſerve the men made uſe of.

Their money they call mucates, being certain pieces of cloth made of ſilk graſs by the women, about the bigneſs of a ſheet of paper, and paſſes as current coin; they ſew ſeveral of them together, which make a fathom, and was what they clothed themſelves with before the Europeans traded with them. They value our goods by an imaginary coin, ſomething in the nature of the Portugueſe manner, of counting by rees, of whom I ſuppoſe they learned it. A piece of blue bafts is valued at a thouſand, a piece of painted calicoe at ſix hundred, a piece of neconees ſix hundred, a guinea ſtuff three hundred, a paper braul three hundred, a ſmall kegg of powder three hundred, a gun three hundred, and ſo of the reſt. Annabaſes and braſs pans, pewter, baſons, guns and powder are much eſteemed with them: they are very fond of ſmall black beads and coral, to make bracelets. We had alſo knives, tapſeels and charcolees with a ſmall quantity of ſcarlet and blue broadcloth, which the natives wear in ſmall rings tied round their waiſt for ornament. We bought men ſlaves from three thouſand ſix hundred to four thouſand, and women, boys, and girls, in proportion. We reckoned a man ſlave at fifty ſhillings prime coſt of the goods in England. There was in the town a large Portugueſe factory, and in the road a large Dutch ſhip, and two Engliſh ſhips beſides ourſelves, or we ſhould have purchaſed ſlaves much cheaper. I had almoſt forgot to mention an ornament which the women wear about their ankles, which is large braſs rings of five or ſix pound weight. They have a market every day, where proviſions and goods are ſold; it begins very early in the morning, and laſts about three hours: they have plenty of Indian corn, kidney-beans, calavances, pindas, and gub-a-gubs, which laſt are in ſhape and taſte like our white peaſe, with this difference, one grain being as big as four or five; they grow on a vine which runs upon the ground, and every ſingle grain is covered with a diſtinct ſhell. They have great numbers of plantain and banano trees, as they have of palm trees of ſeveral ſorts, from whence they draw great quantities of palm-wine, and extract a great deal of oil from the fruit, which they both eat and anoint themſelves with, and ſell to the Europeans. They have alſo large cotton trees of a prodigious ſize. Pine apples are ſo plenty here, I have bought ten for a knife which coſt in England about two pence. They have ſome limes; but I ſaw no lemons, and but very few oranges, and thoſe bitter, ſour, and ill-taſted. They have plenty of dunghill fowls; but I ſaw neither turkey nor duck in the country, no black cattle, nor hogs, and but one ſheep. The men have their drinking-bouts of palm-wine, which is the only liquor the country affords beſides water: they let it ſtand two days after it is taken from the tree, in which it ferments, and grows ſour, and has ſome ſpirit in it, which exhilerates them, and makes them merry: they'll ſit at theſe drinking-bouts twelve hours together, till they get drunk. I have taſted it, but found it very diſagreeable; but when it is firſt taken from the tree, it has a very pleaſant taſte.

Algiers kingdom.

The kingdom of Algiers is ſituated between 30 (or according to ſome 32) and 37 degrees north latitude, and between 1 degree weſt and 9 degrees eaſt longitude; being bounded by the Mediterranean on the north, by Tunis on the eaſt, by mount Atlas, which ſeparates it from Biledulgerid, or Numidia, on the ſouth, and by the river Mulvia, which ſeparates it from the empire of Morocco on the weſt, being about ſix hundred miles in length from eaſt to weſt, but the breadth very uncertain, ſome bounding it by mount Atlas, and others taking in part of that mountain.

It is watered by ſeveral rivers, which riſing in mount Atlas, run to the northward and diſcharge themſelves into the Mediterranean; the largeſt whereof is the Malvia, or Malva, which forms its weſtern boundary, of which Dr. Shaw gives the following deſcription, viz. The Malvia is a large and deep river, which empties itſelf into the Mediterranean ſea, over againſt the bar of Almeria in Spain, and lies about fifty-four miles to the ſouth-weſt by weſt of cape Hone and two hundred and forty from the Atlantick ocean. Small cruiſing veſſels are admitted within its channel, which by proper care and contrivance, might be made more commodious for veſſels of greater burthen, and as navigable as it was heretofore. The ſources of this river are a great way within the Sahara, at the diſtance of eight hundred miles from the ſea, according to Abulfeda, and the courſe of it, contrary to that of moſt other rivers of this country, lieth almoſt the whole way in the ſame meridian.

This country is generally mountainous, but the moſt conſiderable chain of mountains are thoſe on the ſouth, which extend from eaſt to weſt, and go under the name of mount Atlas. And theſe, Dr. Shaw informs us, are not always of that extraordinary height or bigneſs, which have been attributed to them by antiquity. Thoſe parts of them which I have ſeen, ſays the doctor, are rarely, if ever equal, to ſome of the greater mountains of our own iſland: and I queſtion, whether they can any where ſtand in competition, either with the Alps or the Apennines. If we conceive a number of hills, uſually of the perpendicular height of four or five, or ſix hundred yards, with an eaſy aſcent, and ſeveral groves of fruit and foreſt trees, riſing up in a ſucceſſion of ranges one behind another; and if to this proſpect we here and there add a rocky precipice of a ſuperior eminence, and difficult acceſs, and place upon the ſide, or ſummit of it a mud-walled Daſhkrath, or village of the Kabyles, we ſhall then have a juſt and lively idea of theſe mountains.

At preſent, the ſame writer informs us that the whole country is divided only into three provinces, viz. That of Tlemſan on the weſt. 2. Of Titterie on the ſouth; and 3. Conſtantina, on the eaſt of Algiers.

1. The province of Tlemſan, or Tremeſen, according to Dr. SHAW, extends from the confines of Morocco eaſtward along the Mediterranean ſea to the river Ma-ſaffran, being upwards of two hundred miles, the whole being almoſt equally diſtributed into mountains and valleys, but is almoſt deſtitute of fountains and rivers, as well as wood. Notwithſtanding which, it has ever been eſteemed more fruitful than the eaſtern part of the kingdom. The moſt conſiderable river in this province is the Shelliff, which riſes in the mountains of the ſouth, and running firſt north-eaſt, and then to the weſtward, falls into the ſea at Cape Ivy or Jibbel Diſs.

The chief towns are, (1.) Tremeſen, or Tlemſan, ſituate in 35 degrees north latitude, ſome few minutes eaſt of London, lying about ſixty miles ſouth of the Mediterranean, formerly a rich populous city, and capital of the kingdom of the ſame name, but is not very conſiderable at preſent.

(2.) Oran, or Warran, ſituate on the coaſt of the Mediterranean, in 34 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, 40 minutes eaſt longitude.

2. The province of Titterie, or the middle province, extends fifty miles to the weſtward of Tlemſan, being bounded on the eaſt by the river Booberach, which ſeparates it from Conſtantina. This is not ſo mountainous as the weſtern province, eſpecially towards the ſea-coaſt, which is a fine rich champaign country in many places. In this province ſtands the city of Algiers, the capital of the kingdom, ſituate in 36 minutes 40 degrees north latitude, and 3 degrees 20 minutes eaſt longitude. It lies on the ſide of a mountain, and riſing gradually from the ſhore, appears to great advantage as we approach it from the ſea. The walls are three miles (Dr. SHAW ſays, a mile and half) in circumference, ſtrengthened on the bank ſide by baſtions, and ſquare towers between them. The port is of an oblong figure, a hundred and thirty fathom long, and eighty broad. The eaſtern mound of it, which was formerly the iſland, is well ſecured by ſeveral fortifications. The round caſtle (built by the Spaniards whilſt they were maſters of the iſland) and the two remote batteries (erected within this century) are ſaid to be bomb-proof, and have each of them their lower embraſſures mounted with thirty-ſix pounders: but the middle battery, which appears to be the oldeſt, is of the leaſt defence. Yet it may be obſerved, as none of the fortifications I have mentioned are aſſiſted either with mines or advanced works, and as the ſoldiers who are to guard and defend them cannot be kept up to any regular courſes of duty and attendance, that a few reſolute battalions, protected even by a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, would have no great difficulty to make themſelves quickly maſters of the very ſtrongeſt of them.

The hills and valleys round about Algiers are every where beautified with gardens and country ſeats, whither the inhabitants of better faſhion retire during the ſummer ſeaſon. The country ſeats are little white houſes, ſhaded by a variety of fruit-trees, and ever-greens, whereby they afford a gay and delightful proſpect towards the ſea. The gardens are well ſtocked with melons, fruit, and pot-herbs of all kinds; and, what is chiefly regarded in theſe hot climates, each of them enjoys a great command of water, from the many rivulets and fountains which every where diſtinguiſh themſelves in this ſituation. The fountain water made uſe of at Algiers, univerſally eſteemed to be excellent, is likewiſe derived thro' a long courſe of pipes and conduits from theſe ſources. The town contains, according to the ſame writer's computations, two thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, fifteen thouſand Jews, and one hundred thouſand Mahometans, of which only thirty at moſt are renegadoes.

The naval force of the Algerines hath been for ſome years in a declining condition. If we except their row-boats and brigantines, they had, A. D. 1732, only half a dozen capital ſhips from thirty-ſix to fifty guns, and at the ſame time had not half that number of brave and experienced captains. A general peace with the three trading nations, and the impoſſibility of keeping up a ſuitable diſcipline, where every private ſoldier diſputes authority with his officer, are ſome of the principal reaſons why ſo ſmall a number of veſſels are fitted out, and why ſo few perſons of merit are afterwards willing to command them. Their want likewiſe of experience, with the few engagements they have been lately concerned in at ſea, have equally contributed to this diminution of their naval character. However, if by proper diſcipline and encouragement, they ſhould once more aſſume their wonted courage and bravery, they have always in readineſs ſuch a quantity of naval ſtores, as will put them in a capacity of making conſiderable augmentations to their fleet; tho' even at preſent, we find them troubleſome enough to the trade of Europe.

In the ſouthern part of this province is the higheſt mountain in Barbary, called Jurjura, being part of that chain of hills which go under the name of Atlas. It is at leaſt eight leagues long, lying nearly in a north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt direction. It appears to be from one end to another a continual range of naked rocks and precipices, and ſecures, by its rugged ſituation, a number of Kabyles from becoming tributary to the Algerines.

3. The province of Conſtantina is ſituated between the river Booberak, which ſeparates it from Titterie on the weſt, and the river Zaine, which divides it from the kingdom of Tunis on the eaſt, and is almoſt equal to the two former provinces, being upwards of two hundred and ſixty miles in length, and more than a hundred in breadth. The tribute likewiſe collected by this viceroy, is much greater than that of the other two: inaſmuch, as the Titterie bey brings only every year into the treaſury above twelve thouſand dollars, and the weſtern bey forty or fifty thouſand;

ſand; whereas there is paid in by the viceroy of this province never leſs than eighty, and ſometimes one hundred thouſand.

The ſea-coaſt of this province, from the Booberak to Boujejah, and from thence almoſt entirely to Bona, is mountainous and rocky, anſwering very appoſitely to the title of the high or lofty.

The chief towns of this province are, (1.) Bugia, formerly the capital of a kingdom of the ſame name, ſituate on a hill near the mouth of the river, about twenty leagues eaſt of Algiers, the port being formed by a narrow neck of land running out into the ſea. It is a fortified town, built upon the ruins of a large city, and a great part of the old wall ſtill remaining, which is carried up to the very top of the mountain; and beſides a caſtle on the hill, which commands the city: there are two more at the bottom of it for the ſecurity of the port; but theſe, it ſeems, were not able to defend the ſhips in the river's mouth, when they were attacked by Sir Edward Spragg, the Engliſh admiral, in the year 1671; for he took and deſtroyed nine Algerine men of war in this harbour.

(2.) Conſtantina, the capital of the province, the antient Cirta, ſituated on the river Rummel, upwards of ninety miles to the ſouthward of Bugia, of which Dr. Shaw gives the following deſcription. The greateſt part of the town hath been built upon a kind of peninſular promontory, inacceſſible on all ſides except towards the ſouth-weſt. This I computed to be a good mile in circuit, lying a little inclined to the ſouthward, but ending to the northward, in a precipice of at leaſt a hundred fathom perpendicular. In this direction we have a beautiful landſkip, ariſing from a great variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which lie before it to a great diſtance. To the eaſtward our proſpect is bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but towards the ſouth-eaſt the country is more open, entertaining us with a diſtant view of the mountains of Seedy-Rougeiſe, and of thoſe of Ziganeah. In this direction the peninſular promontory (as I have called it,) is ſeparated from the neighbouring plains by a deep narrow valley, perpendicular on both ſides, thro' which the Rummel conveys its ſtream, and over which there was formerly a bridge of excellent workmanſhip.

The neck of land to the ſouth-weſt, near which ſtood the principal gate of the city, is about the breadth of half a furlong, being entirely covered with a ſeries of broken walls, ciſterns, and other ruins, which are continued quite down to the river, and carried on from thence over a ſlip of plain ground, that runs parallel with the deep narrow valley already deſcribed. Such was the ſituation and extent of the antient Cirta. But the preſent city hath not the ſame dimenſions, being confined to that part of it which I have called the peninſular promontory.

Beſides the general traces of a diverſity of ruins, ſcattered all over this place, we have ſtill remaining near the centre of the city, that particular ſet of ciſterns, which I judge received the water brought thither from Phyſ-geah, by an aqueduct. They are about twenty in number, making an area of fifty yards ſquare. The aqueduct is ſtill in a more ruinous condition than the ciſterns: however, the fragments which have continued down to this time, ſufficiently demonſtrate the publick ſpirit of the Cirteſians, in erecting a ſtructure, that would require ſuch an immenſe quantity of materials.

Upon the brink of the precipice to the northward, there are the remains of a large and magnificent edifice, where the Turkiſh garriſon is lodged at preſent. Four of the baſes, each ſeven foot in diameter, with their reſpective pedeſtals, are ſtill in their places, and ſeem to have appertained to the portico. They are of a black ſtone, little inferior to marble; hewn, in all probability out of that very range of rocky precipices upon which they are founded.

Among the ruins to the ſouth-weſt of the bridge, upon the narrow ſtrip of land juſt now deſcribed, we have the greateſt part of a triumphal arch, called the [Caſſir Goulah] caſtle (as they interpret it) of the giant, conſiſting of three arches, the middlemoſt whereof is the moſt ſpacious. All the mouldings and frizes are curiouſly embelliſhed with the figures of flowers, battle-axes, and other ornaments. The Corinthian pilaſters erected on each ſide of the grand arch, are panelled like the ſide poſts of the gates of the city, in a guſto, as far as I have obſerved, peculiar to Cirta; but the pillars of the ſame order, which ſupported the pediment, are broken down and defaced.

Air and ſeaſons.

Barbary, according to Dr. Shaw, enjoys a wholeſome temperature of air, neither too hot in ſummer, nor too ſharp and cold in winter. The winds are generally from the ſea, i. e. from the weſt (by the north) to the eaſt. Thoſe from the eaſt are common at Algiers from May to September, at which time the weſterly winds take place, and become the moſt frequent. Sometimes alſo, particularly about the æquinoxes, we very ſenſibly experience that force and impetuoſity, which the antients have aſcribed to the Africus, or ſouth-weſt wind, called La-betch by the mariners of theſe ſeas. The ſoutherly winds, which are uſually hot and violent, are not frequent at Algiers. They blow ſometimes for five or ſix days together, in July and Auguſt, rendering the air ſo exceſſively ſuffocating, that during their continuance, the inhabitants are obliged to ſprinkle the floors of their houſes with water.

The winds from the weſt, the north-weſt, and the north, are attended with fair weather in ſummer, and rain in winter. But the eaſterly winds, no leſs than the ſoutherly, are for the moſt part dry, tho' accompanied with a thick and cloudy atmoſphere in moſt ſeaſons.

It is ſeldom known to rain in this climate during the ſummer ſeaſon; and in moſt parts of the Sahara, or deſart on the ſouth of Algiers, particularly in the Jereed, they have rarely any rain at all.

Huſbandry.

The firſt rains fall ſome years in September, in others a month later; after which the Arabs break up their ground, and begin to ſow wheat, and plant beans. This commonly falls out about the middle of October, but the ſowing of barley, and the planting of lentils and gravancos, is a fortnight or three weeks later, or not till the end of November. If the latter fall in the middle of April, (as they uſually do) the crop is reckoned ſecure, the harveſt following in the latter end of May, or in the beginning of June, according to the preceding quality of the ſeaſons.

Two Buſhels and a half of wheat, or barley, are judged here to be ſufficient to ſow as much ground, as a pair of oxen will plow in one day, which I have always found to be a little more or leſs equal to one of our acres. I could never learn, that any part of Barbary afforded yearly more than one crop, one buſhel yielding ordinarily from eight to twelve, tho' ſome diſtricts, I have been informed, afford a much greater increaſe.

Corn of Barbary.

There is but one kind of wheat and barley cultivated in this country. In ſome diſtricts, where they have a command of water during the ſummer ſeaſon, the natives cultivate rice, Indian corn, and, particularly a white ſort of millet, which the Arabs call drah, and prefer to barley for the fattening of their cattel. Oats are not cultivated at all by the Arabs (the horſes of this country feeding altogether upon barley) neither is bigg (or winter wheat) ſo much as known in this climate.

The Moors and Arabs continue to tread out their corn, after the primitive cuſtom in the eaſt. After the grain is trodden out, they winnow it by throwing it up into the wind with ſhovels, lodging it afterwards in mattamores, or ſubterraneous magazines.

Pulſe.

Food.

Beans, lentils, and garvancos, (the latter of which is the cicer, or chich pea) are the chief pieces of pulſe that are cultivated in theſe kingdoms. Peaſe, till of late, were known in the gardens only of the ſeveral chriſtian merchants. They are ſown with the firſt rains, and bloſſom in the latter end of February, or the beginning of March. Beans are uſually full podded at that time, and being boiled up with oil and garlick, are the principal food of perſons of all diſtinctions during the ſpring. After them, lentils and garvancos begin to be gathered.

Roots.

Of roots, pot-herbs, and the fruits of this country, there is not only a great plenty and variety, but a continuance or ſucceſſion, at leaſt of one kind or other, throughout the whole year.

Fruit.

There are great numbers of palm-trees in this country, alſo almond-trees, apricots, plumbs, cherries, mulberries, apples, pears, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, prickle pears, olives, walnuts; but no haſel filberts, gooſberry or currant trees.

Wine.

The grape ripens towards the latter end of July, and is cut for the vintage in September. The wine of Algiers, before the locuſts in the years 1723-24, made ſuch vaſt deſtruction of the vineyards, was not inferior to the beſt hermitage, either in briſkneſs of taſte, or flavour. But ſince that time it is much degenerated, having not hitherto recovered its uſual qualities, though, perhaps, it may ſtill diſpute the preference with the wine of Spain or Portugal. The lemon (and ſometimes the Seville orange) tree, is always in a ſucceſſion of fruit and bloſſoms; but the China, as it is commonly called, is a foreigner, and beareth only towards the latter end of autumn.

Gardens.

As to their gardens, there is nothing laid out with method, beauty, or deſign; the whole being only a medly and confuſion of trees, with beds of cabbages, turnips, beans, garvancos, &c. nay, ſometimes of wheat and barley diſperſed among them. Fine walks, parterres, and flower-plats, would be to theſe people the loſs of ſo much profitable ſoil; as planting in order and regularity, the ſtudy of ſoil and compoſts, or the aiming at any new improvements and diſcoveries, would be ſo many deviations from the practice of their anceſtors, whoſe footſteps they follow with the utmoſt reverence and devotion.

Soil.

The ſoil which ſupports theſe vegetables, is for the moſt part of ſuch a looſe and yielding contexture, that an ordinary pair of oxen is ſufficient in one day to plough an acre of the ſtiffeſt ſort of it. The colour of it is not always the ſame; for in the plains of Zeidoure, it is blackiſh, whilſt in thoſe of Elmildegah, &c. it inclineth to be red: though all of them are equally fruitful, and impregnated alike with great quantities of ſalt and nitre.

Salt.

In the ſalt-petre works of Tlemſan they extract ſix ounces of nitre from every quintal of the common mould, which is there of a dark colour; and at Douſan, Kairwan, and ſome other places, they have the like quantity from a loamy earth, of a colour betwixt red and yellow. The banks of ſeveral rivers, to the depth ſometimes of two or three fathom, are ſtudded in ſummer time with nitrous and ſaline knobs and exudations, which, beſides the depth of the ſoil, ſhew us likewiſe, how well it is ſaturated with theſe minerals. For to this grand and inexhauſtible fund of ſalts, we may in a great meaſure attribute the great fertility for which this country has always been remarkable, and ſtill continueth to be ſo, without any other manuring than the burning in ſome few places of the ſtubble. Though it is ſomewhat extraordinary, that the province of Bizacium, which was formerly held in ſo much repute for its fertility, ſhould be at preſent the moſt barren and unprofitable part of theſe kingdoms.

It appears farther, that the ſalt is the chief and prevailing mineral of theſe kingdoms, as well from the ſeveral ſalt ſprings, and mountains of ſalt, as from the great number of ſalinas ſhibkahs, that are, one or other, to be met with in every diſtrict.

The ſalt pits of Arzew lie ſurrounded with mountains, taking up an area of about ſix miles in compaſs. They appear like a large lake in winter, but are dry in ſummer, the water being then exhaled, and the ſalt left behind criſtalized. In digging they paſs through different layers of this ſalt, whereof ſome are an inch, others more, in thickneſs; in proportion, I preſume, to the quantity of ſaline particles the water was impregnated with before their reſpective concretions. This whole area is made up of a ſucceſſion of ſuch ſimilar ſtrata heaped one upon another: and in the ſame manner are the Salinæ betwixt Carthage and the Guletta, thoſe of the Shott, and of other places, either bordering upon, or lying within the Sahara.

Jebbel Had-deſſa is an entire mountain of ſalt, ſituated near the eaſtern extremity of the lake of Marks. The ſalt of it is of a quite different quality and appearance from that of Salinæ, being as hard and ſolid as ſtone, and of a reddiſh or purple colour. Yet what is waſhed down from thoſe precipices, by the dews, attaineth another colour, becoming as white as ſnow, and loſing that ſhare of bitterneſs which is in the parent rock-ſalt. The ſalt of the mountains near Lwotaiah and Jibbel Miniſs, is of a grey or blueiſh colour, and, without ſubmitting to the like accidental purification, as at Had-deſſa, is very agreeable to the palate; the firſt, eſpecially, being ſold at Algiers for a penny an ounce.

Of the like quality and flavour is the ſalt of the lake of Marks (called likewiſe Bahirah Pharuoune) and of other leſſer plains of the ſame nature. Theſe are uſually called ſhibkah, i. e. ſaltiſh plats of ground, being commonly overflowed in winter (at the ſame time they appear like ſo many extenſive lakes) but are dry all ſummer (when they may be taken for the like number of bowling-greens prepared for the turf.) Some of theſe ſhibkahs have a hard and ſolid bottom, without the leaſt mixture of gritty mould, retaining the ſalt that lieth chriſtalized upon them after rain. But others are of a more ouzy, abſorbent nature, ſeldom preſerving any ſaline incruſtations upon the ſurface.

Baths and hot ſprings

Beſides the ſalt ſprings and rivulets already mentioned, theſe countries abound in hot and ſulphureous ſprings and baths.

Some of theſe waters are little more than lukewarm; others of more intenſe heat, and very proper to bathe in, while the hammam meſkouteen, and the upper bath at Mereega, are much too hot for that purpoſe; the former boiling a large piece of mutton very tender in a quarter of an hour.

Earthquakes.

Beſides the hot mineral effluvia that are continually diſcharged by the thermæ, there ſtill remains below the ſurface ſome vaſt and inexhauſtible funds of ſulphur, nitre, and other inflammable bodies, of which the frequency and violence of the eathquakes, ann. 1723, and 1724, ſhook down a number of houſes, and cloſed up the courſe of ſeveral fountains: But by one of theſe violent concuſſions, ann. 1716, a large patch of ground at Wamre, lying in an eaſy deſcent, with a well, a few trees, and a farm-houſe about, glided all down together for the ſpace of a furlong, till they were, one or other of them, ſtopped by the channel of the Harbeene. Several of the breaches, together with ſome pieces of the houſe, turned upſide down, and lying a diſtance from each other, are to this day ſtanding monuments of this cataſtrophe. I was likewiſe informed, that the like accident happened at the ſame time in ſome of the mountainous diſtricts near Boujeiah and El-Khadarah. The great ſhock in ann. 1724, was perceived from Miliana to Bona, the air being then very clear and temperate, and the quickſilver ſtanding at the greateſt height, whilſt upon enquiry, other concuſſions were only found to be local, or of ſmall extent; the quickſilver in theſe caſes obſerving no certain period, and the air being, as at other times, either calm or windy, hazy or ſerene.

Earthquakes, during my ſtay at Algiers, fell out generally a day or two after a great rain, at the end of the ſummer, or in the autumn. The cauſe perhaps may ariſe from the extraordinary conſtipation or cloſeneſs of the ſurface at ſuch times, whereby the ſubterraneous ſteams will be either ſent back or confined; whereas the whole country being full of deep chinks and chaſms, the inflammable particles have an eaſier eſcape.

Minerals.

Lead and iron are the only metals that have yet been diſcovered in Barbary; the latter white and good, but in no great quantity. Their lead oar is very rich, and might be obtained in large quantities, if their mines were under a good regulation.

Animals.

Beſides the horſe, the mule, the aſs, and camel, uſed in Barbary for riding and carrying burthens, Dr. Shaw mentions another animal, called the kumrah, a little ſerviceable beaſt of burthen, begot betwixt an aſs and a cow, being ſingle hoofed like the aſs, but the tail and head (except the horns) like a cow, and a ſkin ſleeker than that of the aſs.

The black cattle of this country are generally very ſmall and ſlender, the fatteſt of them when brought from the ſtall, rarely weighing above five or ſix quintals, or hundred weight; neither is their milk in proportion to their ſize: For notwithſtanding the rich herbage of this country, from December to July, the butter hath never the ſubſtance or richneſs of taſte with what our Engliſh dairies afford us in the depth of winter. Abdy Baſhaw, the late Dey of Algiers, was no leſs ſurprized than his miniſters, when admiral Cavendish, a few years ago, acquainted him that he had a Hampſhire cow aboard the Canterbury, (then in the road of Algiers) which gave a gallon of milk a day; a quantity equal to what half a dozen of the beſt Barbary cows would yield in the ſame time. The Barbary cattle likewiſe have another imperfection, that they always loſe their calves and their milk together.

The ſheep and goats contribute alſo to the dairies of this country, it being chiefly of their milk that the Moors and Arabs make cheeſe. Inſtead of runnet, they make uſe (in the ſummer ſeaſon particularly) of the flowers of the great-headed thiſtle, or wild artichoak, to turn the milk, putting the curds thus made, into ſmall baſkets of ruſhes, or palmetta leaves, and binding them afterwards and preſſing them. I have already ſeen many of theſe cheeſes above two or three pound weight, being uſually of the ſhape and ſize of a penny loaf. They have no other method of making butter than by putting their milk or cream into a goat's ſkin, which being ſuſpended from one ſide of the tent to the other, and preſſed to and fro in one uniform direction, quickly occaſioneth that ſeparation which is required of the unctuous wheyey parts.

Beſides the great variety of cattle of this country, we may obſerve farther, that each ſpecies are very numerous and prolifick. Several Arabian tribes can bring into the field only three or four hundred horſes, at the ſame time that they are poſſeſſed of more than ſo many thouſand camels, and triple again that number of ſheep and black cattle. The Arabs rarely kill any of their flocks, living chiefly upon their milk and butter, or elſe upon what they get in exchange for their wool.

Wild beaſts.

Of cattle that are not naturally tame and domeſticated, theſe kingdoms afford large herds of the neat kind, called bekker el waſh by the Arabs. This ſpecies is remarkable for having a rounder turn of body, a flatter face, with horns bending more to each other than in the tame kind: Theſe are of the ſize of the red deer, with which they agree in colour.

Among their wild beaſts are the lion and panther: The tyger is not a native of Barbary.

The dubbah is an animal about the bigneſs of a wolf, but of a flatter body, and naturally limps upon the hinder right leg.

Beſides theſe animals, it has others in common with other countries, as red and fallow deer, the gazel, or antilope, the bear, the ape, the icheneumon, the porcupine, the hedge-hog, the fox, the ferret, the weeſel, beſides the mole, the rabbit, the hare, and the wild boar, which are every where in great numbers. The lion is ſuppoſed to prey chiefly upon the latter, which notwithſtanding hath ſometimes been known to defend itſelf with ſo much bravery, that the victory hath inclined to neither ſide, the carcaſſes of them both having been found lying dead together all in a gore, and mangled to pieces.

Locuſts.

The locuſts, which I ſaw in the years 1724 and 1725, ſays Dr. Shaw, were much bigger than our common graſhoppers, having brown ſpotted wings, with legs and bodies of a bright yellow. Their firſt appearance was towards the latter end of March, the wind having been for ſome time ſoutherly; and in the middle of April their numbers were ſo vaſtly increaſed, that in the heat of the day they formed themſelves into large bodies, appeared like a ſucceſſion of clouds, and darkened the ſun. About the middle of May, when their ovaries were turgid, each of theſe bodies began gradually to diſappear, retiring into the Metijah, and other adjacent plains, to depoſit their eggs. Accordingly, in the month following, their young broods began gradually to make their appearance, and it was ſurpriſing to obſerve, that no ſooner were any of them hatched, than they immediately collected themſelves together, each of them forming a compact body of ſeveral hundred yards ſquare, which marching afterwards directly forward, climbed over trees, walls, and houſes, and eat up every plant in their way, and let nothing eſcape them. The inhabitants, to ſtop their progreſs, made trenches all over their fields and gardens, and filled them with water; or elſe placing in a row great quantities of heath, ſtubble, and ſuch like combuſtible matter, they ſet them on fire on the approach of the locuſts. But all this was to no purpoſe, for the trenches were quickly filled up, and the fires put out by infinite ſwarms ſucceeding one another, whilſt the front ſeemed regardleſs of danger, and the rear preſſed on ſo cloſe, that a retreat was impoſſible. A day or two after one of theſe bodies was in motion, others were already hatched to glean after them, gnawing off the young branches, and the very bark of ſuch trees as had eſcaped before with the loſs only of their fruit and foilage: ſo juſtly hath the inſpired writer compared them to a great army, and obſerved, That the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a deſolate wilderneſs.

Having in this manner lived near a month upon the ruin and deſtruction of every thing that was green or juicy, they arrived at their full growth, and threw off their worm-like ſtate, by caſting their ſkins. To prepare themſelves for the change, they clung by their hinder feet to ſome buſh, twig, or corner of a ſtone, when immediately by an undulating motion, uſed upon the occaſion, their heads would firſt appear, and ſoon after the reſt of their bodies; after which they lay in a languiſhing condition: but as ſoon as the ſun and air has hardened their wings, and dried up the moiſture that remained upon them after the caſting of their ſloughs, they returned again to their former voracity, with an addition both of ſtrength and agility: but they continued not long in this ſtate, before they were intirely diſperſed, as their parents had been before, after the laying of their eggs; and as the direction of the marches and flights of them both was always to the northward, it is probable they periſhed in the ſea, a grave which, according to theſe people, they have only in common with other winged creatures.

Theſe inſects, ſprinkled with ſalt and fry'd, are in taſte not much unlike the river cray-fiſh.

Monſters.

Africa produces few monſters, according to the ſame author. The natural and ordinary courſe of things is much the ſame in Barbary as in other places, each ſpecies, as far as I could be informed, keeping inviolably to itſelf; for if we except the mule and the kumrah (which are procreated from animals, under the direction of mankind, and therefore not ſo properly left to themſelves) few I preſume, if any other inſtances, can be fairly urged in favour of the old obſervation, That Africa is always producing ſome new monſters.

Arts and ſciences.

Arts and ſciences are little known or encouraged in Barbary. Beſides their koran, and ſome other enthuſiaſtick comments upon it, very few books are read or inquired after by thoſe few perſons of riper years, who have both time and leiſure for ſtudy and contemplation. All that variety of learning which they formerly either invented themſelves, or adopted into their own language, may be reduced at preſent to a few ſheets of blundering geography, or to ſome tireſome memoirs of the tranſactions of their own times; for ſuch branches of hiſtory as are older than their prophet, are a medley only of romance and confuſion.

Upon my arrival at Algiers, ſays the ſame writer, I made it my buſineſs to be acquainted with ſuch perſons as had the character of being learned and curious; and though it is very difficult (as well from their natural ſhyneſs to ſtrangers, as from a particular contempt they have for chriſtians) to cultivate any real friendſhip among them; yet in a little time I could find the chief aſtronomer, (who had the ſuperintendance and regulation of the hours of prayer) had not trigonometry enough to project a ſun-dial: that the whole art of navigation, as it is practiſed at Algiers and Tunis, conſiſted in nothing more than what is called the pricking of a chart, and diſtinguiſhing the eight principal points of the compaſs. Even chymiſtry, formerly the favourite ſcience of theſe people, is no farther applied at preſent than the diſtilling of roſe-water.

Phyſick.

There are not indeed wanting ſeveral perſons who preſcribe in phyſick, play upon a variety of muſical inſtruments, and are concerned in other actions and performances which ſeem at leaſt to ſuppoſe ſome ſkill in nature or mathematicks; yet all this is learnt merely by practice, long habit, and cuſtom, aſſiſted for the moſt part with great ſtrength of memory, and quickneſs of invention: for no objection can be made againſt the natural parts and abilities of theſe people, which are certainly ſubtle and ingenious, only time, application, and encouragement are wanting to cultivate and improve them.

Natural parts.

Charms.

Few perſons will either admit of advice or medicine, believing in ſtrict and abſolute predeſtination, whilſt others, who are leſs ſuperſtitious, prevent the aſſiſtance of both, by their ill conduct and management, leaving all to the ſtrength of nature, or elſe to magar-eah, as they call charms and enchantments.

Neither numeral arithmetick, or algebra, are known to one perſon in twenty thouſand, notwithſtanding their forefathers, if we may judge from the name, ſeem to have been the inventors of the one, as they have given to all Europe the characters of the other. However, the merchants, beſides being frequently very dextrous in the addition and ſubſtraction of large ſums by memory, have a ſingular method of numeration: by putting their hands into each other's ſleeve, and there touching one another with this or that finger, or with ſuch a particular joint of it (each of them denoting a determined ſum or number) they will tranſact affairs of the greateſt value, without ſpeaking to one another, or letting the ſtanders-by into the ſecret.

Muſick.

Theſe people play upon ſeveral inſtruments of muſick; but as they do not write down their compoſitions, nor aim at any contraſt or variety of parts, it may be diſputed, whether even this branch of the mathematicks is to be conſidered as a ſcience among them. For the muſick of the Bedoweens rarely conſiſts of more than one ſtrain, ſuitable to their homely inſtruments, and to their ſimple invention. The arabebbah, as they call the bladder and ſtring, is in the higheſt vogue, and doubtleſs of great antiquity; as is alſo the gaſpah, which is only a common reed open at each end, having the ſide of it bored with three or more holes, according to the ability of the perſon who is to touch it: Though the compaſs of their tunes rarely or ever exceed an octave; yet ſometimes, even in this ſimplicity of harmony, they obſerve ſomething of method and ceremony. For in their hiſtorical cantatas eſpecially, they have their preludes and ſymphonies, each ſtanza being introduced with a flouriſh from the arabebbah, whilſt the narration itſelf is accompanied with the ſofteſt touches they are able to make upon the gaſpah. The tar, another of their inſtruments, is made like a ſieve, conſiſting (as the tympanum) of a thin rim, or hoop of wood, with a ſkin of parchment ſtretched over the top of it. This ſerves for the baſs in all their concerts.

The muſick of the Moors is more artful and melodious, and they have a much greater variety of inſtruments than the Arabs; for, beſides ſeveral ſorts of flutes and hautboys, they have the rebeb, a violin of two ſtrings, which is played upon with a bow: The a-oude, a baſs double ſtringed lute, bigger than our viol, which is touched with a plectrum, with ſeveral ſmaller gittars (or quetara's, according to the pronunciation) of different ſizes, each of them tuned an octave higher than another. And notwithſtanding they learn all by ear, paſſing quickly from one meaſure to another, and haſtening the time, (as the muſicians term it) in them all; yet there is always great uniformity and exactneſs obſerved throughout all their performances. I have often obſerved twenty or thirty perſons together, proceed in this manner from one air to another, during the ſpace of a whole night (the uſual time of their entertainments) without making the leaſt blunder or heſitation.

Buildings of the Moors.

As to the form of the Mooriſh houſes; they are built about cloyſtered courts, with fountains often playing in the middle of them, and galleries over them. Their doors are large, their chambers ſpacious, and their pavements marble: From the porch, on each ſide of which are benches (where the maſter of the family uſually receives viſits, and diſpatches buſineſs, few perſons being admitted further) we proceed to the ſquare court on feſtival days, where the company are entertained; and this is ſometimes ſheltered from the heat and inclemencies of the weather, by an umbrella or veil, expanded upon ropes from one ſide to the other.

In the cloyſters and galleries are large rooms of the length of the court, which people of faſhion hang with velvet or damaſk from the middle of the wall downwards; the reſt is adorned with the moſt ingenious wreathings and devices in ſtucco and fret-work. The ceiling is generally of wainſcot, either very artfully painted, or elſe thrown into a variety of pannels, with gilded mouldings and ſcrolls of their koran intermixed. The floors are laid with painted tiles, or plaiſter of terrace: But the eaſtern nations making no uſe of chairs (either ſitting croſs-legged, or lying at length upon theſe floors,) they have them conſtantly ſpread over with carpets, which ſometimes are moſt beautifully deſigned, and of the richeſt materials. For their further eaſe likewiſe and convenience, there is a row of damaſk or velvet bolſters ranged along each ſide of the floor. At one end of which chamber there is a little gallery, raiſed four or five foot above the floor, with a baluſtrade in the front of it.

The top of the houſe, which is always flat, is covered with a ſtrong plaiſter of terrace, and ſurrounded by a wall or battlements.

Tents of the Arabs.

The Bedoweens, or Arabs of Africa, live in tents called ithymas, from the ſhade they afford, or beetel ſhar, houſes of hair, from the matter they are made of, being of an oblong figure, not much unlike a barn. They pitch their tents in a circular form; and this portable village is called a dou-war. Each tent conſiſts but of one room, divided by curtains and carpets into ſeveral apartments, according to the number of the family. They have no other beds but mats, or bed-clothes but the blankets they wrap about them in the day-time.

Buildings of the Mountaineers or Kabyles.

As to the Kabyles, or inhabitants of the mountains; theſe live in diſhkra's, or thatched cottages, with clay-walls, and their villages are denominated gurbies. Each of theſe cottages conſiſts but of one room, in which alſo they houſe their calves and kids; the people and their young cattle living much alike.

Clothing and furniture.

The Arab women make the clothing and furniture for the family, particularly their hykes, or woollen blankets; and the webs of goats hair for their tents.

One of theſe hykes is uſually ſix yards long, and five or ſix feet broad, ſerving the Kabyle and Arab, for a complete dreſs in the day, and for his bed and covering in the night. It is a looſe but troubleſome kind of garment, being frequently diſconcerted, and falling upon the ground; ſo that the perſon who wears it, is every moment obliged to tuck it up.

The burnooſe, which is a cloke or mantle, is alſo made by thoſe women. Many of the Arabs go bare-headed, binding their temples with a narrow fillet, to prevent their hair being troubleſome; but the Moors and Turks, and wealthier Arabs, wear caps and turbants.

Some of the Arabs wear under their hykes a cloſe-bodied frock or tunick, girt about their bodies when they are at work; for then they actually throw off their hykes and mantles. The Turks and Moors wear linnen under their tunicks, but the Arabs in general wear nothing but woollen.

Neither are the Bedoweens or Arabs uſed to wear drawers, a habit which the citizens of both ſexes do conſtantly appear in, eſpecially when they go abroad to receive viſits. The virgins are diſtinguiſhed from the matrons, in having theirs made of needle-work, ſtriped ſilk or linnen, juſt as TAMAR's garment is deſcribed, 2 SAM. xiii. 18. But when the women are at home, and in private, then they lay aſide their hykes, and ſometimes their tunicks; and inſtead of drawers, bind only a towel about their loins. A Barbary matron, in her undreſs, appears exactly in the ſame manner that SILENUS doth in the Admiranda.

We are to obſerve further, with regard to the habits of the Mooriſh women, that when they appear in publick, they always fold themſelves up ſo cloſe in their hykes, that, without the addition of a veil, there is very little to be ſeen of their faces. But in the ſummer months, when they retire to their country ſeats, they walk abroad with leſs caution and reſervedneſs; and upon the approach of a ſtranger, let only their veils fall over their faces. They all affect to have their hair hang down to the ground, which they collect into one lock, upon the hinder part of the head, binding and plaiting it afterwards with ribbons. Where nature hath been leſs liberal, there the defect is to be ſupplied by art, and foreign hair interwoven with the natural. After their hair is plaited up in this manner, they proceed to dreſs their heads, by tying cloſe together, above the lock I have deſcribed, the ſeveral corners of a triangular piece of linnen, wrought into a variety of figures by the needle. Perſons of better faſhion, wear above this a ſarmah, as they call it, which differs not much in ſhape from the former head-dreſs, but is made of thin flexible plates of gold or ſilver, variouſly cut through, and engraved in imitation of lace. A handkerchief of crape, gauze, ſilk, or painted linnen, bound cloſe about the ſarmah, and falling afterwards, without any order, upon the lock, completes the head-dreſs of the Mooriſh ladies.

But none of theſe ladies take themſelves to be compleatly dreſſed, till they have tinged the hair and edges of their eye-lids with the powder of lead-oar. The ſooty colour, which is in this manner communicated to the eyes, is thought to add a wonderful gracefulneſs to perſons of all complexions.

Manufactures.

Carpets are another branch of the trade and manufactories of this country. They are made of much coarſer materials, and are not ſo beautifully deſigned as thoſe of Turky; but being cheaper and ſofter, they are preferred by theſe people to lie upon. At Algiers and Tunis there are looms for velvet tafitas, and ſeveral kinds of wrought ſilks. A coarſe ſort of linnen is likewiſe made all over theſe kingdoms, tho' Suſa is noted for producing the fineſt. The greateſt part of the manufactures I have mentioned are conſumed at home; ſome of which are ſo ſmall and inconſiderable, particularly the ſilks and linnen, that the deficiencies are frequently made up from the Levant, and Europe. It may be further obſerved, that theſe parts of Barbary ſend very few of their commodities to foreign markets. Oil, hides, wax, pulſe and corn, are the general produce; but the firſt are either in ſuch ſmall quantities, or ſo much wanted at home, that corn may be reckoned the chief, and indeed the only branch of trade for exportation. Before the loſs of Warran, I have known our merchants ſhip off ſome years, from one or other of the ports of theſe kingdoms, ſeven or eight thouſand ton. There is likewiſe ſo great a conſumption of oil among the natives themſelves, that in the kingdom particularly of Algiers, it is ſeldom permitted to be ſhipped off for Chriſtendom. Greater quantities indeed are produced near Tunis and Suſa, but then the Mooriſh merchants alone are allowed to buy it; obliging themſelves, at the ſame time, to diſpoſe of it at Alexandria, Damiata, or ſome other ports of the Mahometan dominions.

Proviſions, the price of them.

Commodities of all kinds are ſold very cheap in this country. We can have a large piece of bread, a bundle of turneps, a ſmall baſket of fruit, &c. for the ſix hundredth and ninety ſixth part of a dollar, i. e. of three ſhillings and ſixpence of our money. Fowls are frequently bought for three half-pence a piece, a ſheep for three ſhillings and ſix-pence, and a cow and a calf for a guinea. It is happy likewiſe for theſe people, that they can have one year with another, a buſhel of the beſt wheat for fifteen or eighteen pence. For the inhabitants of theſe countries, no leſs than the eaſtern people in general, are great eaters of bread; it being computed, that three perſons in four live entirely upon it, or elſe upon ſuch compoſitions as are made of barley and wheat flour.

Uſual food.

In cities and villages where there are publick ovens, the bread is uſually levened; but among the Bedoweens, as ſoon as the dough is kneaded, it is made into thin cakes, which are immediately baked upon the coals.

Kitchen furniture.

Manner of eating.

Beſides ſeveral different ſorts of fricaſees, and of roaſt, boiled, and forced meats (the firſt and laſt of which are always made very ſavoury) the richer part of the Turks and Moors mix up a variety of diſhes with almonds, dates, ſweetmeats, milk, honey, &c. I have ſeen at ſome of their feſtivals, more than two hundred diſhes, whereof forty at leaſt were of different kinds; but among the Bedoweens and Kabyles, there are neither utenſils nor conveniences for ſuch entertainments; two or three wooden bowls, a pot and a kettle, being the whole kitchen furniture of the greateſt emeer. However, all the orders and degrees of theſe people, from the Bedoween to the Baſhaw, eat in the ſame manner, waſhing firſt their hands, and then ſitting croſs-legged round a mat, or low table, upon which their diſhes are placed. They make no uſe of a table-cloth, each perſon contenting himſelf with a ſhare of a long towel that lies round the mat. Knives and ſpoons are little in uſe, for the food being well roaſted and boiled, requires no carving. Cuſcaſſowe, pilloe, and other diſhes likewiſe, which we ſhould reckon ſpoon meats, are ſerved up in the ſame manner with all their other ſorts of food, no better than lukewarm; ſo that the whole company dipping their fingers together in the diſh (making uſe of their right hand only) take what portion of it they can conveniently diſpoſe of for a mouthful, making it firſt into little balls, or pellets, in the palms of their hands. No ſooner is any perſon ſatisfied than he riſes up, and waſhes himſelf, without paying the leaſt regard to the company, whilſt another that very moment takes his place; the ſervant ſometimes (for there is no diſtinction of tables) ſucceeding his maſter. When they ſit down to theſe meals, or eat and drink at any other time; and, indeed, when they enter upon their daily employ, or undertake any buſineſs whatſoever, they always pronounce, with the greateſt ſeriouſneſs and reverence, the word Biſmillah, i. e. (in the name of God) uſing Alhamdillah, i. e. (God be praiſed) after nature is ſatisfied, and their affairs are attended with ſucceſs.

Way of life.

The Turks and Moors are early riſers, conſtantly attending the publick devotions at break of day. Each perſon employs himſelf afterwards in the exerciſe of his proper trade and occupation, till ten in the morning, the uſual time of dining; returning again to his buſineſs till (Aſa) the afternoon prayers, at which time all kind of work ceaſeth, and their ſhops are ſhut up. The ſupper commonly follows the prayers of (Magreb) ſun-ſet, and then repeating the ſame at the ſetting of the watch, when it begins to be dark, they go to bed immediately after. Some of the graver people, who have no conſtant employ, ſpend the day, either in converſing with one another at the Haf-effs in the Bazar, or at the coffee-houſe: whilſt a great number of the Turkiſh and Mooriſh youths, with no ſmall part of the unmarried ſoldiers, attend their concubines with wine and muſick into the fields, or elſe make themſelves merry at one of the publick taverns: a practice indeed expreſly prohibited by their religion; but what the neceſſity of the times, and the uncontroulable paſſions of the tranſgreſſors, oblige theſe governments to diſpenſe with.

The Arabs follow no regular trade or employment; his life is one continued round of idleneſs or diverſion. When no paſtime calls him abroad, he doth nothing all the day but loiter at home, ſmoke his pipe, and repoſe himſelf under ſome neighbouring ſhade. He hath no reliſh at all for domeſtick pleaſures, and is rarely known to converſe with his wife, or play with his children. What he values above all is his horſe, for in this he placeth his higheſt ſatisfaction, being ſeldom well pleaſed, or in a good humour, but when he is far from home, riding at full ſpeed, and hunting.

Sports.

The Arabs, as well as the eaſtern nations, are very dextrous at this exerciſe. I have ſeen ſeveral perſons, who could take up a jerrid or dart at full ſpeed from the ground; and there are none of them but can quickly hunt down a wild boar. We have upon one of the medallions of Conſtantine's arch, a very beautiful repreſentation of this ſport, as it is performed to this day by the Arabs, who after they have rouzed the beaſt from his retirement, and purſued it into ſome adjacent plain, endeavour there, by frequent overtaking and turning it, to tire and perplex it; and then, watching an opportunity, either launce at it at ſome diſtance, or, coming cloſe by its ſide, fix their ſpears in its body. At the hunting of the lion, a whole diſtrict is ſummoned to appear, who forming themſelves firſt into a circle, encloſe a place of three, four, or five miles in compaſs, according to the number of the people, and the quality of the ground that is pitched upon for the ſcene of this action. The footmen advance firſt, ruſhing into the thickets with their dogs and ſpears to put up the game, whilſt the horſemen, keeping a little behind, are always ready to charge upon the firſt ſally of the wild beaſt. In this manner they proceed, ſtill contracting their circle till they all at laſt either cloſe in together, or meet with ſomething to divert them. The accidental paſtime upon theſe occaſions is ſometimes very diverting; for the ſeveral different ſorts of animals that lie within this compaſs, being by this means drove together, they rarely fail of having a variety of agreeable chaſes after hares, jackalls, hyænas, and other wild beaſts. It is a common obſervation in this country, that when the lion perceives himſelf in danger, nay ſometimes the very moment he is rouzed, he will ſeize directly upon the perſon who is the neareſt to him, and rather than quit his hold, ſuffer himſelf to be cut in pieces.

Hawking.

Hawking is one of the chiefeſt diverſions among the Arabs, and gentry of the kingdom of Tunis. Their woods afford them a beautiful variety of hawks and falcons.

Perſons of the women.

The greateſt part of the Mooriſh women would be reckoned beauties, even in Great Britain; their children certainly have the fineſt complexions of any nation whatſoever. The boys, indeed, by wearing only the tiara, are expoſed ſo much to the ſun, that they quickly attain the ſwarthineſs of the Arab; but the girls, keeping more at home, preſerve their beauty till they are thirty, at which age they are uſually paſt child-bearing. It ſometimes happens, that one of theſe girls is a mother at eleven, and a grand-mother at two and twenty; and as their lives are uſually of the ſame length with thoſe of the Europeans, there have not been inſtances wanting among theſe matrons, of ſome who have lived to ſee their children of many generations.

Superſtition and charms.

No nation in the world is ſo much given to ſuperſtition as the Arabs, or even as the Mahometans in general. They hang about their childrens necks the figure of an open hand, which the Turks and Moors paint upon their ſhips and houſes, as an antidote and counter-charm to an evil eye, for five with them is an unlucky number. Thoſe who are grown up, carry always about with them ſome paragraph or other of their koran, which, as the Jews did their phylacteries, they place upon their breaſt, or ſow under their caps, to prevent faſcination and witchcraft, and to ſecure themſelves from ſickneſs and misfortunes. The virtue of theſe charms and ſcrolls is ſuppoſed likewiſe to be ſo far univerſal, that they hang them upon the necks of their cattle, horſes, and other beaſts of burthen. They place great confidence in magicians and ſorcerers; and upon ſome extraordinary occaſions, particularly in a lingring diſtemper, they uſe ſeveral ſuperſtitious ceremonies in the ſacrificing of a cock, a ſheep, or a goat, by burying the whole carcaſs under ground, or by drinking a part of the blood, or elſe by burning or diſperſing the feathers. For it is a prevailing opinion all over this country, that a great many diſeaſes proceed from ſome offence or other that hath been given to the Jenoune, a ſort of creatures placed by the Mahometans betwixt angels and devils. Theſe, like the fairies of our forefathers, are ſuppoſed to frequent ſhades and fountains, and to aſſume the bodies of toads, worms, and other little animals, which being always in our way, are liable every moment to be hurt and moleſted. When any perſon therefore is ſickly or maimed, he fancies that he hath injured one or other of theſe beings, and immediately the women, who are dextrous in theſe ceremonies, go upon a Wedneſday with frankinceſe, and other perfumes, to ſome neighbouring ſpring, and there ſacrifice, as I have already hinted, a hen or a cock, an ewe or a ram, &c.

&c, according to the ſex and quality of the patient, and the nature of the diſtemper.

Government of the Arabs.

The Arabs are permitted by the Algerines, to be governed by their own laws and magiſtrates, without controul, provided they behave themſelves peaceably, pay them the eighth part of the produce of their lands, and a ſmall poll-tax, which is annually collected by the Turks. And every dou war, or village, may be looked upon as a ſmall principality, being governed abſolutely by the perſon of the greateſt ſubſtance in it: the government uſually deſcends from father to ſon, or to the next heir, except he be an infant, or unqualified to govern, and then the uncle, or ſome near relation, takes the adminiſtration of the government upon him. When one of theſe governors has the command only of a ſingle dou-war, he is commonly called the ſheik; but the ruler or chief perſon of a tribe, whoſe authority reaches over ſeveral dou-wars, hath the title either of the (ſhiek el kibeer) great lord or elder, or elſe of (emeer) prince.

Number of Turks in Algiers.

The whole force of Algiers, in Turks and Cologlies, is computed at preſent to be about ſix thouſand five hundred; two thouſand whereof are ſuppoſed to be old, and excuſed from duty: and of the four thouſand five hundred that remain, one thouſand are conſtantly employed in relieving annually their garriſons, whilſt the reſt are either to arm out their cruiſers, or elſe form the three flying camps which are ſent out every ſummer, under the command of the provincial viceroys. To the Turkiſh troops we may join about two thouſand Zwowah, as the Mooriſh horſe and foot are called: yet, notwithſtanding theſe are kept in conſtant pay, and may be ſuppoſed to augment the number of ſoldiers, yet being all of them hereditary enemies to the Turks, they are little conſidered in the real ſafeguard and defence of the government. The method therefore that is obſerved in keeping this large and populous kingdom in obedience, is not ſo much by force of arms, as by diligently obſerving the old political maxim, "Divide and "command." For the provincial viceroys are very watchful over the motions of the Arabian tribes, who are under their ſeveral diſtricts and juriſdictions; and as theſe are in continual jealouſies and diſputes with one another, the beys have nothing more to do than keep up the ferment, and throw in at proper times new matter for diſcord and contention. There are a great many Arabian and African tribes, who in caſe their neighbours ſhould obſerve a neutrality, would be too hard for the whole army of Algiers, notwithſtanding each Turk valueth himſelf in being a match for twenty Arabs. When therefore there is any miſunderſtanding of this kind, the viceroys play one tribe againſt another, and provided the quarrel proves equal, a few Turks ſeaſonably thrown in, will be more than a balance for the enemy. By thus continually fomenting the diviſions, which always ſubſiſt among the Arabian princes, and by drawing on afterwards one family to fight againſt another, theſe four or five thouſand Turks maintain their ground againſt all oppoſition.

Way of travelling in Barbary.

In the inland towns and villages of Barbary, there is for the moſt part a houſe ſet apart for the reception of ſtrangers, with a proper officer to attend it. Here perſons are lodged and entertained for one night, in the beſt manner the place will afford, at the expence of the community.

Except at theſe places, ſays Dr. Shaw, I met with no khans, or houſes of entertainment, throughout the whole courſe of my travels. To furniſh ourſelves with tents would have been both cumberſome and expenſive; beſides the ſuſpicion it might have raiſed in the Arabs, that we were perſons of rank and fortune, and conſequently too rich and tempting a booty to be ſuffered to eſcape. The unfortunate gentlemen, who were concerned not many years ago in an embaſſy to Abyſſinia, found this to be true, at the expence of their lives.

If, therefore, in the courſe of our travelling, we did not fall in with the hovels of the Kabyles, or the encampments of the Arabs, we had nothing to protect us from the inclemency, either of the heat of the day, or the cold of the night, unleſs we met with ſome accidental grove of trees, the ſhelve of a rock, or ſometimes, by good fortune, a grotto. At theſe times, which indeed did ſeldom happen, our horſes were the greateſt ſufferers: and as they were always our firſt care, we gathered for them ſtubble, graſs, boughs of trees, and ſuch like provender, before we ſat down.

When we are ſo fortunate in travelling in Barbary, to find out the encampments of the Arabs (for we are not fond of viſiting the Kabyles, who are not ſo eaſily managed) we are entertained for one night upon free coſt: the Arabs, either by long cuſtom, the particular tenure of their lands, or rather, perhaps, from fear and compulſion, being obliged to give the ſpahees, and thoſe who are with them, the mounah, as they call it, which is a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for themſelves and their horſes. Beſides a bowl of milk, and a baſket of figs, raiſins, dates, or other dried fruits, which were preſented to us upon our arrival, the maſter of the tent where we lodged, fetched us from his flock (according to the number of our company) a kid, or a goat, a lamb, or a ſheep, half of which was immediately ſeethed by his wife, and ſerved up with cuſcaſſowe; the reſt was uſually made Kab-ab, and reſerved for our breakfaſt or dinner the next day.

However, the tents of theſe roving herdſmen, though they may ſhelter us from the weather, are, notwithſtanding, attended with their inconveniencies. For the cold and the dews that we are every night expoſed to in the deſarts of Arabia, do not incommode us half ſo much as the vermin and inſects of all kinds, which never fail to moleſt us here. Beſides fleas and lice, which, without a miracle, are here in all their quarters, the apprehenſions we are under of being bit or ſtung by the ſcorpion, viper, or venomous ſpider, rarely fails in ſome parts of theſe countries to interrupt the reſt that is ſo grateful and neceſſary to a weary traveller. Upon ſight, indeed, of one or other of theſe venomous beaſts, a thaleb, or writer, who happened to be one of my ſpahees, after he had muttered a few words, exhorted us all to take courage, and not be afraid of ſuch creatures, as he had made tame and harmleſs by his charms and incantations. We are likewiſe no leſs offended (from whence we might leaſt expect it) by their kids, calves, and other young cattle, that are tied up every night under the eaves of their tents, to prevent them from ſucking their dams. For the cords that are uſed upon theſe occaſions, being only made of looſe ſpun yarn, the fretful creatures are every moment breaking looſe, and trampling over us.

When our company was at any time entertained in a courteous manner (for the Arabs will ſometimes part with nothing till it be extorted by force) I uſed to give the maſter of the tent a knife, a couple of flints, or a ſmall quantity of Engliſh gunpowder, which being much ſtronger than their own, they have in great eſteem, and keep for the priming only of their fire-arms. If the lallah (or lady) his wife, had been obliging alſo in her way, by making our cuſcaſſowe ſavoury and with expedition, ſhe would return a thouſand thanks for a ſkean of thread, a large needle, or a pair of ſciſſars; all of them great rarities, and very engaging preſents with theſe people.

During the exceſſive heats of the ſummer, and eſpecially when we were apprehenſive of being intercepted by ſome party of free-booting Arabs, we then travelled in the night; which having no eyes, according to their proverb, few of them dare then venture out, as not knowing the dangers and ambuſcades they may poſſibly fall into.

Our ſtages, or days journies, were not always the ſame. For when any danger was apprehended, we then travelled through as many by-paths as our conductors were acquainted with, riding in this manner, without reſting ſometimes twelve, ſometimes fifteen hours together. Nay, in returning from Jeruſalem (ſo vigilant were the Arabs at that time, in diſtreſſing the pilgrims) notwithſtanding we had the ſheck (or ſaint) of Mount Carmel, with twenty of his ſervants to protect us, we reſted only one hour in two and twenty; for ſo long we made it in travelling betwixt Sichem and Mount Carmel. But in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, an ordinary day's journey (excluſive of the time taken up in making obſervations) rarely exceeded eight or nine hours. Our conſtant practice was to riſe at break of day, ſet forward with the ſun, and travel till the middle of the afternoon, at which time we began to look out for the encampments of the Arabs; who, to prevent ſuch parties as ours from living upon them, take care to pitch in places the leaſt conſpicuous. And indeed ſometimes, unleſs we diſcovered the ſmoak of their tents, obſerved ſome of their flocks, or heard the barking of their dogs, it was with difficulty (if at all) that we were able to find them.

In Barbary, where the Arabs are under ſubjection, I rarely carried along with me more than three ſpahees, and a ſervant, all of us well armed; though we were ſometimes obliged to augment our numbers, particularly when we travelled among the independent Arabs, upon the frontiers of the neighbouring kingdoms, or where two contiguous clans are at variance: Theſe, and ſuch like harammes, as the free-booters are uſually called, muſt be, I conjecture, what the Europeans mean by wild Arabs, notwithſtanding there is no ſuch name peculiar to any one body of them, they being all of them the ſame, and have all the like inclinations (whenever a proper opportunity or temptation offers itſelf) of robbing, ſtripping, and murdering, not ſtrangers only, but alſo one another.

However, to prevent, as much as poſſible, the falling into their hands, the greateſt ſafety for a traveller at all times, is to be diſguiſed in the habit of the country, or dreſſed like one of his ſpahees. For the Arabs are very jealous and inquiſitive, ſuſpecting all ſtrangers to be ſpies, and ſent to take a ſurvey of thoſe lands, which at one time or other (as they have been taught to fear) are to be reſtored to the chriſtians.

The horſes and camels of theſe countries keep generally one conſtant pace; the latter at the rate of two miles and an half, the other of three geographical miles an hour.

Captain Uring gives the following deſcription of Carthage and Tunis, viz.

Carthage.

I walked almoſt all over the ground where the city of Carthage formerly ſtood; but there is hardly any appearance that there ever had been a town there, the graſs covering the ſtones almoſt every where. I was ſhewed a place where it is ſaid their citadel ſtood, and another, which I was told, was the place of arms: We ſaw there pieces of walls lying flat upon the ground; and in that part which is ſuppoſed to be the middle of the city, there is a range of 16 ciſterns for holding water, which had been all arched over with brick, and a broad walk on each ſide of them; the arches remained whole over ſeveral of them, and three or four of the ciſterns were not the leaſt decayed, and had then water in them, tho' the greateſt part were ruined. Theſe ciſterns were, no doubt, made to hold a ſtore of water, for ſupplying the inhabitants in caſe of a ſiege, and would hold many thouſand tons. They had, no doubt, many more beſides theſe for that purpoſe; they having no freſh water in the town, but what was conveyed thither by an aqueduct near thirty miles out of the country, which was about thirty, or thirty-five foot high; part of which for near one hundred and fifty foot in length, I ſaw ſtanding, and all the reſt was fallen down, where the ruins are to be ſeen in ſeveral places: It was built of a hard ſtone, ſomething like flint, tho' of another kind. Not far from Cape Carthage the bey has a houſe and gardens, near which is a well with water; but it being brackiſh, it was not fit to drink, though it ſerved to water the gardens. The city of Carthage ſtood upon a point or cape, moderately high, and the ſea running on both ſides of it, formed almoſt a peninſula.

Tunis.

The city of Tunis ſtands at the head of a large lake or lagune, ten or fifteen miles from the Galeta caſtles, and about eighteen from the place where Carthage ſtood. It is about five or ſix miles round, and is encompaſſed by a high ſtrong wall, and a dry ditch: In the upper part of the town, on a riſing ground, is a caſtle or citadel, the walls of which are alſo very high, but has no ditch. The city is watered by a rill riſing in a neighbouring mountain, which is conveyed to the town over a deep valley by an aqueduct. There are cannon mounted on the walls; but the fortification is not regular, nor built after the manner of thoſe in Europe; it ſtands upon a large ſpace of ground, and the ſtrength of it ſeems to conſiſt only in the height of the walls.

The ſtreets of the city are very irregular, tho' there are in it a great many lofty and well-built houſes, which have but few windows on the outſide. They have ſquare courts within, which are paved with tile, having galleries ſupported with pillars two or three ſtories high, and are contrived for coolneſs, where the families regale themſelves, and take the freſh air.

The city is very populous, as we may judge by the number of harlots, which I was aſſured were not leſs than fifteen thouſand regiſtered. The bey's revenues are chiefly from olive-trees, the owners of which pay a tax of four aſpers a year for each tree. They pay alſo a certain rate for their dates, and other fruits; and there are likewiſe duties upon all goods imported. Their chief manufacture are caps, which they export in great quantities to Turkey: they export ſome oil, cotton-yarn, pot-aſh and ſpunges, ſome corn and beans.

Cuſcuſu.

Their cuſcuſu, which is one of their general and beſt diſhes, is made thus: they put flour into a large flat pan, and ſprinkle it with water, and taking great pains to ſhake it to and fro over a ſlow fire, which ſeparates it, and rolls it into ſmall balls, about the bigneſs of pigeon ſhot; when they have prepared a ſufficient quantity of it, they put it into a ſort of a cullender, which they ſet over the top of the pot where their fleſh is boiling, and it receives the ſteam thereof, and moiſtens it; and when their meat is boiled enough, they put it all together into a diſh, and eat it.

The ruins of an amphitheatre.

We went to ſee an antient building, fifty miles ſouth of Tunis, ſaid to be erected either by the Romans or Carthaginians: we found four fifths of it ſtanding, but it was decayed in ſeveral places. It ſtood upon a large plain, and had been a very fine and large amphitheatre, built with ſquare ſtones. When it was entire, it was of an oval form, in three circular ranges or walks, arched clear round, and was three ſtories high, and had about ſixty-five windows in every ſtory, with galleries on the inſide, which in all would contain at leaſt twenty-five or thirty thouſand ſpectators. When we had viewed the amphitheatre withinſide and without, and ſufficiently ſatisfied our curioſity, we ranged about the village, which was built out of its ruins. Several of the inhabitants invited us into their houſes, where we ſaw their women, who, contrary to the cuſtom of Mahometans, met us, and ſeemed highly pleaſed with our company; they were not ſatisfied with barely ſeeing our faces, but deſired us to unbutton our garments, and ſurveyed our naked arms and breaſts: the men, who ſtood by, ſeemed as much delighted as the women; whether they were wives or ſingle women, was unknown to us; but notwithſtanding their curioſity, they ſeemed very modeſt. The inhabitants of the village were all of the Mooriſh race, being of the colour of Mulattoes; 'tis very probable they had never before ſeen any men ſo white as we were.

Soil of Tunis.

In this journey I made what obſervations I could of the country thro' which I paſſed; moſt of the land was a hard, reddiſh, ſandy ſoil, which bore no graſs, and very few ſhrubs. I do not remember, for ten or fifteen miles together, to have ſeen any creature, not ſo much as an inſect. Within a few miles of the amphitheatre, there were ſome ſhrubs, without any leaves, ſcattered over a large plain, with a herd of goats browſing upon them; and about midway in our journey, we paſſed thro' a tolerable village, of about two hundred houſes, which was much the beſt that I ſaw in the country, where there was a linnen manufactory, moſt of the inhabitants being either ſpinners or weavers. It was ſurrounded with olive-trees, and had ſome ſmall gardens, from whence we had both grapes and figs. We paſſed by ſeveral ſmall ſorry villages, not worth naming; but where we ſaw a green ſpot, there were alſo ſome huts and olive-trees, the greateſt part of the country being barren; which I was much ſurpriſed to ſee, this being the antient Numidia, from whence, hiſtory tells us, came ſuch numbers of people; and that they ſhould chuſe ſuch a country to live in, or how they could ſubſiſt, is very unaccountable.

THE
INTRODUCTION
To the HISTORY of
AMERICA.

THE continent of America, 'tis probable, extends as far as the Pole on the north, and is bounded by the Atlantic-ocean, which divides it from Europe and Africa on the eaſt; by another anonymous ocean on the ſouth; and by the vaſt Pacific-ocean, uſually called the South-ſea, which ſeparates it from Aſia, on the weſt.

The length of America, if we extend it but from 80 degrees north (our furtheſt diſcoveries that way) to Cape-Horn, which lies in 57 and a half ſouth, takes up 137 and a half degrees of latitude; which reckoning 60 miles to a degree, as mariners uſually do, makes the length of America to be 8250 miles; and, if we allow 70 Miles to a degree, which comes near the truth, the length of America is 9625 miles, but the breadth is not anſwerable to the length; for what is diſcovered of North-America, which is of a triangular figure, is not ſo broad in any place.

The north and ſouth parts are joined by the narrow iſthmus of Darien, which divides the North from the South-ſea, and is about 60 miles over in the narroweſt place, viz. between Porto-Bello and Panama.

But when we thus divide America into North and South, it muſt not be underſtood, that the Equator makes this diviſion; for what is denominated South-America, extends 12 degrees odd minutes to the northward of the Equator: And indeed we follow the grand diviſion made by the Spaniards of their American dominions into the Viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru, which are ſeparated by a line drawn from Borto-Bello on the North-ſea, to Panama on the South-ſea, the province of Terra-firma Proper (more known by the name of Darien) in which Porto-Bello and Panama are comprehended, being reckoned part of Peru or South-America, and the province of Paragua, contiguous to Terra-firma Proper, the moſt ſouthern province of Mexico, or North-America: So that thoſe maps, which divide North from South-America, by the gulph or river of Darien, and a line drawn from thence to the South-ſea, are not relied on; for they place the province of Terra-firma Proper in North-America, whereas, in reality, it belongs to the Viceroyalty of Peru in South-America.

The Spaniards, by virtue of the bull or grant the Pope made them, of all diſcoveries to the weſtward of the Azores, looked upon themſelves to be entitled to all America formerly, inſiſting that all other nations were thereby abſolutely excluded from any ſhare in that part of the world; and on their arrival in North-America, which went under the name of Mexico, and another of the Inca's in the South, ſtiled the empire of Peru, they gave the name of Mexico to their northern conqueſts, and the name of Peru to the ſouthern conqueſts.

It may be proper alſo to take notice here, that the ſea which ſeparates North-America from Europe, is generally about four or five thouſand miles broad; the ſea, which ſeparates South-America from Africa, about two or three thouſand miles over; and the ſea, which ſeparates America from Aſia, generally about eight or nine thouſand miles over. Having thus deſcribed the ſituation and extent of America, I proceed to enquire into the notions the ancients entertained of the form of the heavens and the earth, and of another continent to the weſtward of ours.

The ancients opinion of the form of the heavens and the earth.

The ancients generally imagined, that the heavens conſtituted but one hemiſphere, and that the earth was flat and round as a table, ſerving as a baſis or foundation to ſupport the fine vaulted roof over their heads.

Even the Fathers laughed at thoſe Philoſophers, who believed the earth to be globular, and ſurrounded by the heavens equally on every ſide; and nothing was more exploded by them, than the notion of Antipodes. Is it poſſible, ſays LACTANTIUS, that any can be ſo credulous to believe there are a people, or nation, walking with their feet upwards, and their heads downwards; that trees and corn grow downwards; or that rain, ſnow and hail aſcend to the earth?

And St. AUSTIN ſays, "We are not to believe what ſome affirm, that there are Antipodes which inhabit that part of the earth under us; a region, where the ſun riſes when it ſets with us, and the feet of the people are oppoſite to ours; or that the earth is in the midſt of the world, encompaſſed on all parts, and covered equally with the heavens.

And ſpeaking of the notion ſome entertained of another continent, he ſays, "It is not agreeable to reaſon or good ſenſe, to affirm, that men may paſs over ſo vaſt an ocean as the Atlantic, from this continent to a new-found world, or that “there are inhabitants there, all men being deſcended from the firſt man Adam.”

And even Ariſtotle, and thoſe of the ancients, who believed both the heavens and the earth to be globular, and that there might be another continent; yet look'd upon it to be divided from us by ſuch vaſt ſeas, that we could have no communication with it; and that all about the Equator, whether in this, or any other continent, was not habitable, on account of the exceſſive heats. It ſeems the ancients in general, were ſo far from knowing any thing of America, that they knew nothing even of Africa, or the Eaſt-Indies, to the ſouthward of the Equator, though they muſt be acquainted with ſome parts of Africa and Aſia, which lay within the Torrid Zone, on this ſide of the Equator; for the Upper Ethiopia lies within the Torrid Zone, as does great part of the Eaſt-Indies: And Sumatra (which is ſuppoſed to be Tabrobane, or Tarſhiſh of the ancients, and whither the fleets of Solomon and Hiram ſailed for gold) lies under the Equator; and yet we find Pliny of Ariſtotle's opinion, and affirming, “That the middle region of the world, where the ſun continually runs his courſe, is parch'd and burnt up with fire.” It is exceeding ſtrange, that when men paſs'd to the fartheſt bounds of Africa, beyond the Equator, none ever returned to inform the more northern regions, that thoſe parts were habitable; and that the Greeks and Romans knew no more of Africa, to the ſouthward of the Equator, than they did of the continent of America.

The ancients never ſailed round Africa;

The ſame Pliny, indeed, reports, that Hanno the Carthaginian, ſailed round Africa; but this evidently contradicts what he ſaid before, that the countries under the Equator were not habitable. And, indeed, that opinion, that Hanno, or any of the ancients ſurrounded Africa, muſt be falſe, becauſe they would not only then have known that thoſe countries were habitable, but they muſt have known another hemiſphere, have ſeen a new ſet of ſtars, and have ſeen the ſun to the northward of them at noon-day, which were ſuch remarkable diſcoveries, that if they had been once made, could never have been forgotten; and yet we meet with no mention of theſe particulars, either in Greek or Roman writers, or the leaſt deſcription of any people or country in Africa, ſouth of the Equator. It ſeems ſuperfluous therefore to add, that it was ſcarce poſſible the ancients could paſs theſe great ſeas to the ſouthward of the Cape of Good-Hope, in ſuch galleys, and low-built veſſels, as were then in uſe; eſpecially ſince there are not any harbours, or places of ſecurity, about the Cape, that could preſerve them from ſhipwreck, in thoſe ſeas, which are very ſeldom free from ſtorms, ſuch as no galleys can live in.

Or knew any thing of America.

But to proceed; Seneca, in his Medæa, ſeems to propheſy, that another world ſhould be diſcovered beyond the Atlantic-ocean, to the ſouth-weſt; and this was alſo the opinion of other great men among the ancients, founded upon that diſproportion there appeared to be between the land and water then diſcover'd. But this ſhews there was no ſuch continent diſcovered at that time.

Plato indeed ſpeaks of a vaſt iſland beyond the Atlantic-ocean, equal in dimenſions to Aſia and Africa, and of ſeveral intermediate iſlands, which render'd the paſſage ſhort and eaſy thither; but then he tells us, thoſe iſlands were long ſince ſunk, and covered with the ocean. If we take his teſtimony therefore entire, there was no ſuch land as America known in his days: And indeed his whole relation appears to be no more than poetical fiction; and Plato's Atlantic-iſlands, to have no other exiſtence than More's Utopia.

An enquiry how America was firſt peopled.

I proceed, in the next place, to examine the ſeveral conjectures concerning the time and manner of peopling America; for all that we know certainly is, that it has been planted many hundred, or rather thouſand of years, from the numbers of people found there in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

I make no doubt, but that all men, according to the ſcriptures, deſcended from Adam; and had we not the authority of ſacred writ for this opinion, yet the reſemblance there is between the people of that continent and this, and the religion and cuſtoms of the one and the other, demonſtrate, that we proceeded from one common ſtock.

The ſtature, form and features of the Americans, do not differ from ours; the frame and turn of their minds are the ſame; they adored the ſame almighty Being, built temples, and ſacrificed to him, as the ancients did; and they retained a tradition, that their continent was gradually peopled from a ſmall number. They uſed arms of the ſame form alſo as the men of our continent did, viz. ſwords, ſpears, lances, bows, arrows, ſlings, and darts: All the difference was, that as they had loſt the uſe of iron, their wooden ſwords were edg'd with ſharp flints, and their ſpears, arrows and darts pointed with the bones of fiſh, or other animals. However, it is highly probable, that thoſe countries were peopled very early, becauſe they ſeem'd ſtrangers to almoſt every art and ſcience, when the Spaniards came amongſt them; and for the ſame reaſon, we may be aſſured no adventurers arrived there in theſe latter ages, before Columbus.

Probably men firſt arrived there in Carthaginian ſhips.

We know certainly, that part of the weſtern coaſts of Africa, and the Canary-iſlands, overagainſt, and not far from America, were planted by the Carthaginians, four or five hundred years before the incarnation of our Saviour; that ſome of their ſhips carried a thouſand ſouls; and, 'tis probable, when they ſent ſhips to the Canary or Cape Verd iſlands, to plant colonies, they were crouded with men, women, and children, as ours are, that we ſend to the plantations at this day. Is it ſtrange then, that ſome of theſe ſhips ſhould be driven to America, by the winds which conſtantly blow from the eaſtward, when it is not more than three weeks ſail from Africa, or the Canaries, to that continent? If ſuch planters were once driven from their intended port, far to the weſtward, and they found it impoſſible for them to return, the wind ſitting always directly againſt them; what could be more rational than to run before the wind, in hopes of making ſome other land; and, as we ſuppoſe them victualled in order to plant and recruit ſome colony, ſuch adventurers could not have leſs than three weeks, or a month's proviſion on board, which was ſufficient to ſupport them in ſuch a voyage, where they could ſuffer no hardſhips from the climate, which was ſuitable to African conſtitutions.

If it be demanded how it happened, that no ſhipping was ever driven thither ſince the Carthaginian ſtate flouriſhed, it may very truly be anſwer'd, that no people have ever navigated thoſe ſeas, ſince the Carthaginians, 'till very lately; all the diſcoveries and plantations of the Carthaginians upon the weſt coaſt of Africa, and in the Canaries, were loſt and ruin'd upon the conqueſt the Romans made of Carthage; neither did the Romans ever revive that branch of their navigation.

Even the Canaries, that were certainly planted by the Carthaginians, remained unknown for many ages after that ſtate became ſubject to the Romans; nor did the natives know from whence to derive their original, when the Spaniards made new diſcovery of thoſe iſlands in the 15th century.

Another circumſtance to induce us to believe they are deſcended from the Phenicians or Carthaginians, is their imitating them in ſuch of their religious rites, as nature or reaſon could never have taught them. As to their worſhipping the Sun and Moon, this was common indeed to almoſt all other nations; but their offering human ſacrifices ſeems to have been almoſt peculiar to thoſe nations. It is obſervable alſo, that the Americans adored mountains, woods, ſeas and rivers, and almoſt every animal, as the Africans once did, and ſome of them actually do at this day. But further, if we ſuppoſe that America was firſt peopled by ſea, it could be by no other nation but the Phenicians or Carthaginians, no other people having fleets and colonies on the weſtern coaſts of Europe and Africa in thoſe early ages.

It could not be peopled from Aſia.

For as the peopling America by fleets or colonies from China, or any other part of Aſia; in the firſt place, the breadth of the Pacific-ocean, or South-ſea, which ſeparates from America, is not leſs than eight or nine thouſand miles, twice the breadth of the Atlantic-ocean, which lies between us and America. 2dly, The winds are always contrary within the latitude of 30 north and ſouth, where the winds conſtantly blow from eaſt to weſt, and in higher latitudes are variable. 3dly, It is well known that the Chineſe, the only people furniſhed with ſhipping in the eaſtern parts of the world, never affected to make long voyages, or viſit remote regions; their navigation was always confin'd to their own ſeas, and they either knew nothing of diſtant countries, or deſpiſed them too much to take any pains to come at them; and it is very unlikely, that any of their ſhips ſhould be driven by accident to America, becauſe the ſea, that ſeparates Aſia from America, is ſo very wide, and the winds always againſt thoſe that would ſail from thence to America, within the latitude of 30 north and ſouth; and both Japan and California, which lie the neareſt each other, of any lands we know in Aſia and America, lie in and about the latitude of 30 north.

It could not be peopled by land from the north or ſouth.

As for that notion, that the people of the continent went north about to America by land, it ſcarce deſerves mentioning; for we know by our late voyages to the north-eaſt, and to the north-weſt, that the ſea extends more than eighty degrees to the northward; and conſequently, if America was peopled either of thoſe ways, thoſe who went thither muſt travel within 10 degrees of the Pole, which parts are neither paſſable nor habitable; and if there be any other land which unites their continent to ours, in a leſs rigorous climate, it muſt be between the land of Jeſſo, or Yedſo, to the northward of Japan and California, but theſe are about 80 degrees aſunder, and no one has pretended to have diſcovered any land between them, unleſs ſome merry map-makers, who ſeparate them only by the imaginary ſtraight of Anian, which they make to be little broader than the ſtraight between Dover and Calais, tho' we know certainly, that the land of Jeſſo and California are ſeveral thouſand miles aſunder, and no man pretends to have diſcovered any country between the one and the other.

To the ſouthward alſo, our mariners have ſailed to near ſeventy degrees; and conſequently, if the two continents are united in that part of the globe, it muſt be in too rigorous a latitude for men to travel that way by land.

But ſhould it be admitted, that there was a paſſage by land, either near the north or ſouth Pole, from the old to the new world, it is ſtrange, that no man ever returned again that way from America to us. The paſſage is probably as eaſy from thence by land as it is to it; and if it be objected, that the ſame argument held good againſt thoſe who ſuppoſe America was peopled from hence by ſea, this is evidently a miſtake, becauſe the winds always ſit fair for ſailing from Africa to America, and contrary to thoſe that would return from thence. Beſides, as it appears the Americans had loſt the art of ſhip-building and navigation, when the Spaniards came amongſt them, and never knew the uſe of the loadſtone, there was no poſſibility they ſhould ever return, or that we ſhould have any knowledge of them. Had they been furniſhed with ſhipping, as they were not, it would not have been poſſible for them to have found the way back to Africa; for, 'till the uſe of the loadſtone, the North or South-ſeas were very little navigated, if at all: And as well as we underſtand navigation at this day, we find it very difficult to come back from America without ſailing pretty far north or ſouth, where we meet with variable winds, and for the moſt part weſterly; if we were obliged to ſail within the Tropics, or indeed within the latitude of 30, our voyages from America would be very long, and very difficult, even to us.

Objections againſt the peopling of America by the Carthaginians anſwered.

But there remains ſtill a very formidable objection againſt the peopling of America by the Phenicians or Carthaginians; and that is, that they were diſtitute of almoſt all arts and ſciences; nay, that they knew nothing of ſhip-building, or the uſe of iron, which they muſt have been acquainted with, if they had derived their original from the Carthaginians. To this it may be anſwered, that thoſe who were firſt driven to the coaſts of America, might be acquainted with moſt of the arts the Carthaginians were maſters of; but as the firſt generation was probably worn out, before any iron mines were diſcovered, and it is poſſible, that none of thoſe that arrived there might underſtand the digging, melting, or ſeparating of metals, if ſuch mines had been diſcovered; it is no wonder, that in an age or two, the uſe of iron was forgot, and conſequently ſhip-building, and all other manufactures that depended on the uſe of iron, tho' the arts of ſpinning and weaving, for which the Tyrians and Phenicians were famous, were retained.

Farther arguments that the Americans derive their original from the Africans.

Another circumſtance which inclines us to think, that America was peopled by the Africans by ſea, and not by land, is, that we found it better peopled in the middle between the Tropics, than it was towards the north or ſouth; whereas, in our continent, the moſt populous places are, and the moſt conſiderable empires have been, within the Temperate Zone, to the northward of the Tropic of Cancer.

Had the Europeans or Aſiatics gone north about to America, they would probably have firſt planted thoſe countries that lay neareſt the north, or at leaſt thoſe within the Temperate Zone, as moſt agreeable to them, and ſuitable to their conſtitutions; and not have choſen to fix the two great empires of Mexico and Peru within the Torrid Zone, and in a manner deſert the reſt of the country. It is much more likely therefore, that the inhabitants of Peru and Mexico ſhould derive themſelves from the Africans, than from any northern people whatever; becauſe the climate of Peru and Mexico, as has been obſerved, reſembles that of Africa, and is much more agreeable to an African conſtitution, than to thoſe of more northern latitudes.

As neither the Romans, or any other Europeans, made any attempts to ſettle colonies in Africa, near, much leſs beyond, the Equator; it is not to be ſuppoſed, that the Americans would have fixed themſelves altogether within the Torrid Zone, if they had come from ſome cold northern clime, like that of Sweden or Muſcovy. This therefore is a very ſtrong argument with me, that the firſt men, that paſſed into America, went from ſcorch'd Africa by ſea, and not from the frozen countries about either Pole by land.

The objection that animals could not paſs by ſea conſidered.

Still I apprehend it may be objected, that tho' men might paſs firſt to America in ſhips, it can never be ſuppoſed that every ſpecies of beaſts, birds and inſects, paſſed thither the ſame way. To which I anſwer, it is equally improbable they ſhould travel thither by the extremities of the north or ſouth Pole; for it cannot be ſuppoſed, that ſuch animals as were bred in hot climates, would ever wander into frozen regions; nay, 'tis a queſtion, whether any of them would live in a cold climate, if they were carried thither, and conſequently their paſſage that way muſt be miraculous, if ever they affected it: Beſides, it appears, that many of the hardieſt animals, and the fitteſt for ſuch journeys, ſuch as oxen, mules, and horſes, were none of them to be found there, when the Spaniards diſcovered America; and if other animals went that way, it is ſtrange that horſes and mules, the beſt made for ſuch expeditions of any creatures we know, ſhould none of them have attempted this paſſage as well as the reſt.

On the other hand, if there was ſuch a paſſage by the extremities of the north and ſouth, how comes it to paſs, that ſeveral ſpecies of animals we find in America, never appeared in our continent: If theſe at firſt paſſed from us to them, how comes it that none of the ſame ſpecies are left here. If any one will be ſo good to inform me how theſe animals came into America, I will inform him how the reſt came thither. Since the difficuly therefore remains equal, whether we ſuppoſe animals paſſed from the one continent to the other, by ſea or land, our being ignorant how the Americans came to have ſome of the ſame animals we have, can be no objection to the notion that America was peopled by ſea; nay, it ſeems to ſtrengthen this opinion, that men never paſſed from this continent to that by the extremities of north and ſouth, inaſmuch as neither horſes or mules, and ſome of the reſt of the hardieſt animals we have, and the beſt made for travelling, were not found there; for if men could paſs that way, it is to be ſuppoſed, that thoſe beaſts would not have paſſed that way too; or rather that men would not have made uſe of them to ride on, or to carry their baggage, and their wives and children with them.

Of the diſcovery of America by Columbus.

If it be ſaid, that it was by divine impulſe, that the animals of this continent wandered to the other; I anſwer, If we muſt reſort to a miracle, or ſupernatural means, to ſolve the difficuly, we may as well ſuppoſe a new creation; for that would be but a miracle. That men might and did paſs to America in ſhipping, has been in a manner demonſtrated; how beaſts and other animals came thither, I muſt confeſs remains a difficulty; for tho' ſome might paſs in ſhips, we cannot ſuppoſe all of them did. But ſtill this does not weaken the opinion, that America was peopled by fleets or ſingle ſhips of the Carthaginians from the weſtern coaſts of Africa; becauſe there are equal, or greater difficulties to encounter, if we ſuppoſe men and animals went thither, either by or near the north or ſouth Poles; and there are no other poſſible ways of their paſſing to America by land, unleſs we ſuppoſe with PLATO, that ſome great iſlands are ſunk, that lay between us and America, of which we ſhould certainly have had ſome other evidence to corroborate his teſtimony, if there were any ſuch: And indeed from the whole tenor of that eſſay, it appears, that PLATO was ſpeaking of ſome imaginary country that never had a real exiſtence. I proceed, in the next place, to give an account of our modern diſcoveries to the weſt-ward. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, or COLON, was a native of ſome obſcure village in the ſtate of Genoa, his father and ſeveral of his anceſtors, ſea-faring people; not in ſuch mean circumſtances however, but COLUMBUS was put to ſchool at Pavia, where he was taught arithmetick, navigation, aſtronomy, drawing and painting, at leaſt ſufficient to draw a landſkip, or deſcribe the ſituation of a place: From ſchool, he went to ſea, and was in ſeveral engagements with the Turks, and Venetians, and other nations; in one of which, the ſhip he was in, being burnt near the coaſt of Portugal, he had the good fortune to eſcape to ſhore upon a plank, and coming to Liſbon, found ſeveral of his countrymen and acquaintance ſettled in that city, with whom he reſided ſome time, and afterwards made ſeveral voyages with the Portugueſe to the north and ſouth, and particularly to Guinea on the coaſt of Africa. While he was in the ſervice of the Portugueſe, he married a wife of ſome quality and fortune, whoſe father had been concerned in ſeveral naval enterprizes, and was Governor of Porto Sancto, one of the Madera iſlands, by which means COLUMBUS came into the poſſeſſion of his father-in-law's charts, maps, and journals, which gave him the firſt hint, 'tis ſaid, of making diſcoveries to the weſtward: and here it may be proper to deſcribe the perſon of this great Diſcoverer.

His ſon relates, that he was moderately tall and long-viſaged; his complexion a good red and white; that he had light eyes; his cheeks were ſomewhat full, but neither too fat nor too lean; that in his youth, he had fair hair, which turned grey before he was thirty years of age; that he was moderate in eating and drinking, affected a plain modeſt garb or dreſs; that he was naturally grave, but affable to ſtrangers, and pleaſant frequently among his domeſticks; ſtrict and devout in religious matters; and, tho' a ſea-man, was never heard to ſwear or curſe; that he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of coſmography, aſtronomy and geometry; and from his youth, appeared to have more than ordinary paſſion to underſtand the ſtate of all countries on the face of the globe, and to make new diſcoveries; which probably was his reaſon for ſettling at Liſbon, no nation having puſh'd their diſcoveries further than the Portugueſe at that time. And here he was perpetually drawing maps and charts, in which he received great encouragement from that enterprizing people.

Columbus, 'tis ſaid, had three inducements to believe, that there lay a continent in the Atlantic-ocean, not far to the weſtward, and that this continent was contiguous to, or rather part of the Eaſt-Indies (under which name was then comprehended even China, and all the countries to the eaſtward of the Ganges.)

1. He obſerved, that Marinus had placed the Eaſt-Indies 15 hours to the eaſtward of the weſt coaſt of Africa and Europe (which was however a very groſs miſtake;) and that as there could remain but 9 hours more between this continent and that, in ſailing weſtward, ſuppoſing that ſpace to be all ſea, which he hoped was a great part of it land, he concluded it would be no very long voyage to the Eaſt-Indies by the weſt: and this, by the way, is the reaſon why America was called the Indies, becauſe the firſt diſcoverer propoſed to ſail to the Eaſt-Indies, through the Atlantic or weſtern ocean; and when the continent of America was firſt found out, they looked upon it to be part of the continent of India, 'till they diſcovered that the South-ſea, or Pacific-ocean, lay between America and India.

2. A ſecond inducement for his attempting theſe diſcoveries weſtward, was the opinions of ſeveral learned men, both ancients and moderns, that there was another continent beyond the weſtern ocean, either very near or contiguous to the Eaſt-Indies, and that it was not very far diſtant from ours: but no man confirmed Columbus more in the opinion of a continent that lay to the weſtward, than Signor Paul, a Phyſician of Florence, with whom he held a conſtant correſpondence while he reſided at Liſbon. This Phyſician, in one of his letters, relates how rich and populous a county China or Cathay was, as they had learnt by ſome Ambaſſadors who came from thence to the Pope, and from Merchants that had traded thither by land; that it was full of great towns, yielded gold, precious ſtones, and merchandize of incredible value; and aſſures him, that the voyage thither, through the Atlantic ocean, by the weſt, could not be farther than the voyage from Portugal to Guinea, which (tho' it was a very groſs error) gave Columbus great encouragement to attempt that voyage. In ſhort, he computes the diſtance between Liſbon and China, ſailing weſtward, to be about five thouſand miles, in which he was out two thirds: However, ſo far he was accidentally in the right, that the ſpace between ours and the next continent to the weſtward, was much thereabouts, and gave Columbus a notion that he ſhould meet with land five or ſix thouſand miles to the weſtward.

3. A third inducement to this Great man's undertaking this diſcovery, was the reports of ſome ſea-faring men, who had uſed thoſe weſtern ſeas. A Portugueſe Pilot, named Martin Vicente, informed Columbus, that being 450 leagues to the weſtward of Cape St. Vincent, he took up a piece of carv'd wood, which he gueſs'd came from ſome iſland to the weſtward, the wind having long ſat that way: And Peter Corea, who married his wife's ſiſter, aſſured him, that he ſaw a piece of carv'd wood, drove by the weſterly winds on Porto Sancto, one of the Madera iſlands; and that there had been thick canes driven upon thoſe ſhores, ſuch as did not grow in this part of the world; and when the weſt winds blew, Pines were frequently driven on the Azores or weſtern iſlands: Others that had ſailed to the weſtward of the Azores ſome hundreds of leagues, affirmed they had ſeen an iſland in thoſe ſeas. But his principal encouragement to this undertaking, was, according to ſome, the ſea-charts and journals of a Pilot that died at his houſe in Liſbon, that appeared to have diſcovered ſome land far to the weſtward; and indeed by his perſiſting ſo long in the reſolution of ſailing in ſearch of a country beyond the Atlantic-ocean, and applying to ſo many Princes and States for their aſſiſtance, and his ſtipulating for no other pay or reward, than the government of the lands and ſeas he ſhould diſcover, one would be inclined to think, Columbus had ſome certainty, or at leaſt a very high probability, of his ſucceeding in this attempt; otherwiſe for a man to venture to ſail ſo many thouſand miles upon an ocean, 'till then eſteemed boundleſs, muſt have been deem'd rather raſh temerity, than wiſdom. However, his ſon rejects this ſtory of the Pilot's dying at his houſe, and leaving him thoſe intimations of a country he had diſcovered to the weſtward, as derogatory to his father's honour, who he inſiſts, was the firſt diſcoverer of that new world; and no doubt he was the firſt that diſcovered it to any purpoſe, ſo as to plant colonies, and make ſettlements there, in theſe latter ages, which is an honour that might ſatisfy his deſcendants. One would think, altho' the diſcovery was made at firſt by accident; and indeed, as thoſe ſeas about the Azores, the Canaries, the Cape Verd iſlands, and the coaſt of Guinea, were then conſtantly navigated by the Portugueſe and Spaniards, it is not improbable, that ſome one of their ſhips ſhould have been driven a fortnight or three weeks ſail to the weſtward of their deſign'd courſe, and diſcover'd either the iſlands or continent of America, as 'tis ſaid this Pilot did, who died at the houſe of Christopher Columbus in Liſbon.

But whatever were the Admiral's motives to this undertaking, he choſe, it ſeems, rather to apply to ſovereign Princes and States for their aſſiſtance, than invite private Adventurers into this project; foreſeeing, that if he ſhould himſelf, or in partnerſhip with others, arrive at the rich countries he propoſed to viſit, the Prince, whoſe ſubjects they were, would claim the ſovereignity of ſuch places, and diſpoſe of them to whom he ſaw fit; or other Princes might fit out fleets after he had found the way to this new world, and deprive him and his fellow-adventurers of the advantage of their diſcovery. It was extremely prudent therefore in him, to endeavour to engage ſome ſovereign Prince in the deſign; and, ſince he could not hope to obtain the dominion of what he ſhould diſcover, to ſtipulate for the ſecond place in thoſe happy regions he propoſed to come to (viz.) the poſt of Vice-roy by land and ſea, which we find he always inſiſted on, and obtain'd at length a patent for. He might, no doubt, have been much ſooner fitted out by private owners; but then their poſſeſſion poſſibly, when they had ſucceeded in the diſcovery, would have been more precarious, than their voyage to this new world was at firſt thought to be. But to proceed: Columbus, having ſailed a great while in the

Portugueſe ſervice, married and ſettled at Liſbon, and advanced his fortune there, firſt propoſed the finding out a way to the Eaſt-Indies by the Weſtern ocean, to king JOHN of Portugal; and gave ſuch ſubſtantial reaſons for the attempt, that the King ſeemed to be convinc'd the thing was feaſible, tho' he did not approve the terms our Adventurer propoſed: Therefore while the affair was negotating, King JOHN, 'tis ſaid, privately diſpatch'd a ſhip to the weſtward, with orders to find out if there were any ſuch lands in thoſe ſeas as COLUMBUS ſuppoſed. But whether the Commander wanted courage or capacity for ſuch an undertaking, it ſeems he returned without meeting any thing to his purpoſe, and laugh'd at the conjectures of COLUMBUS; at which he was ſo incenſed, that he left Liſbon, and went to Spain, diſpatching at the ſame time his brother BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS to HENRY VII. King of England, with charts and maps, that might illuſtrate his deſign: but his brother being taken by Pirates, and not making the diſpatch that was expected, COLUMBUS opened his deſign to their Majeſties FERDINAND and ISABELLA, King and Queen of Caſtile and Arragon: And tho' his brother BARTHOLOMEW afterwards reached England, and his propoſals were accepted by King HEHRY VII. yet COLUMBUS having concluded an agreement with the Court of Spain before he was advertiſed of his brother's ſucceſs, England loſt the honour and profit of this important diſcovery.

This affair, it ſeems was many years negotiating; and probably COLUMBUS had meditated upon it, and weighed the difficulties and hazards of the undertaking, a great while before he communicated it to any man; for he is acknowledg'd by all to have been a man of prudence and temper; and poſſibly, if he had not obtained ſome reputation for his knowledge in coſmography and navigation, the Courts he applied himſelf to, had treated him no better than they uſually do a common projector; whereas we find he tells their Majeſties FERDINAND and ISABELLA, King and Queen of Caſtile and Arragon, in one of his Letters, "I have refuſed to take up with France, " England and Portugal, as appears by the letters I have received from thoſe Princes, and which " your Highneſſes may ſee in the hands of Dr. " VILLALAN, that I may ſerve your Highneſſes."

It appears from our own hiſtories, that his brother BARTHOLOMEW was at the Court of England in the year 1480, and that he had before treated with the King of Portugal, if not with Spain; and I'm apt to think that his propoſals were rejected by the Spaniſh Court at firſt, which occaſioned his applying to England and France; but Queen ISABELLA encouraging the ſcheme, by the advice of JOHN PEREZ her Confeſſor, about the year 1484, he ſeemed from that time to have applied himſelf wholly to the Spaniſh Court. However, FERDINAND and ISABELLA being yet engag'd in the wars with the Moors in Spain, he was ſtill delayed 'till the year 1492, when a ſupply of money was provided, and COLUMBUS entruſted with the equipping and fitting out three ſmall ſhips for the expedition, in the harbour of Palos. He alſo obtained a grant from their Majeſties to be Admiral of the Weſtern ſeas, with the ſame privileges as the Admirals of Caſtile and Leon enjoyed; that all civil employments, as well as governments in the continent, or world to be diſcovered, ſhould be wholly at his diſpoſal; and beſides the revenue of the poſts of Admiral and Vice-roy, he ſhould enjoy a tenth of all the profits ariſing by future conqueſts in thoſe yet unknown lands.

And now COLUMBUS, whom for the future, in imitation of his ſon, I ſhall ſtile admiral, having equipp'd and victuall'd his three ſhips, of which the chief, called the St. Mary, he commanded in perſon, and the other two were commanded by the Captains MARTIN ALVAZO PINZON and VINCENT PINZON, two brothers. This little ſquadron, mann'd only with 90 men, and conſequently none of the veſſels of any great burthen, ſet ſail from Palos for the Canaries, the 3d of Auguſt 1492, and arrived at thoſe iſlands the 12th. One of the ſhips having received ſome damage in this paſſage, the Admiral remained there to refit and take in freſh proviſions, 'till the firſt of September, when he ſet ſail again upon his grand deſign. He had not ſailed a fortnight in this wide ocean to the weſtward before his men began to murmur at the enterprize, imagining they were ſent to certain deſtruction; for they obſerved the wind conſtantly ſat from eaſt to weſt, and apprehended there would be no poſſibility of returning, if they miſs'd of the land they were made to expect: But on the 19th, obſerving ſome birds fly over their ſhips, and on the 22d, abundance of weeds driving by them, they began to be better ſatisfied, and concluded they were not far from land.

However continuing their courſe ſtill ſeveral days farther weſtward, and meeting with no land, the ſeamen mutinied to that degree, that they had almoſt agreed to throw their Admiral over-board, and return home without him; when fortunately for him they ſaw more birds, weeds, pieces of board, canes, and a ſhrub with the berries upon it alſo ſwim by them, which made them conjecture there muſt be ſome iſlands thereabouts; and indeed had the Admiral inclined a little more to the ſouthward, he would have made either the Caribbee iſlands, Hiſpaniola, or Cuba, ſome time before; for theſe lay now on the left or larboard ſide of him; ſome of them aſtern or rather on his larboard quarter: For the firſt lands he made were the Lucayo's or Bahama iſlands, near the coaſt of Florida. It was on Thurſday, the 11th of October, 1492, about 10 at night, that the Admiral firſt diſcover'd a light upon the iſlands of Guanahania, or St. Salvator, as the Admiral named it, in conſideration that the ſight of it delivered both him and his men from their fears of periſhing. (This iſland lies 60 degrees weſt of the Canaries, in 25 degrees north latitude.) About two in the morning, the ſhip called the Pinta, the beſt ſailor of the three, and which therefore uſually kept a-head of the Admiral, gave the ſignal of land, which was firſt ſeen with the naked eye, when they were ſcarce two leagues from the ſhore, by RODERICK DE TRIANA, one of the common ſeamen on board the Pinta, who had not, however the reward that was promiſed to the firſt diſcoverer, it being adjudged that the Admiral was the firſt, becauſe he ſaw a light on the iſland the night before.

Land firſt diſcovered

The day appearing, the ſhips came to an anchor very near the iſland, which they computed to be about fifteen leagues in length, and found it to be populous, well planted, and watered with a great lake, but generally flat low land, without hills: The natives came down crouding to the ſhore, and ſeem'd aſtoniſh'd at the ſight of the ſhips; and the Admiral believing there was no great danger to be apprehended from them, went on ſhore in his boat, with the royal ſtandard, as did the other two Captains in their boats, with their colours flying. They no ſooner came on ſhore, but they kneeled down, and gave God thanks for their ſucceſs, and kiſs'd the ground (ſays the ſon of COLUMBUS) with tears of joy; after which, the Admiral ſtood up, and having rear'd the royal ſtandard, called the iſland by the name of St. Salvator, taking poſſeſſion of it in the name of their Catholick Majeſties, with great ſolemnity; after which his people recognized him their admiral and Vice-roy, ſwore to obey him, and begg'd pardon for their perverſe untractable behaviour during the voyage.

The Indians, in the mean time, ſtood gazing at the Spaniards, without attempting to oppoſe them, while they were thus taking poſſeſſion of their country; and the Admiral ordered ſome ſtrings of glaſs beads, caps and toys of ſmall value, that made a glittering ſhew, to be diſtributed amongſt the natives; at which they ſeem'd infinitely pleaſed, and immediately hung the beads about their necks, teſtifying, by all the ſigns imaginable, the value they ſet upon theſe preſents. They were all perfectly naked, of a middle ſtature, and olive complexion, like thoſe of the Canaries; their features juſt, only their foreheads of the largeſt; their eyes black as their hair, which was generally cut ſhort above their ears, though others wore it long and tied up; ſome of them alſo had their bodies painted with a kind of vermilion, and others only painted their faces with it. The principal ornament about them was a thin gold plate, in the form of a creſcent, which hung from the noſe over the upper lip, and their arms were ſpears pointed with the bones of fiſh. When the Admiral returned to his ſhips, they followed him, ſome ſwimming, and others in their canoes, a veſſel made out of the body of a tree, ſome of which will hold forty men, and others not more than two. When they came on board, they brought parrots and cotton-yarn, all the merchandize they had, to exchange for European trifles. They ſeemed to ſet a value upon every piece of broken glaſs or earthen-ware, jumping into the ſea, and ſwimming to ſhore with ſuch trifles, with abundance of joy. But they admired nothing more than the ſwords, and bright arms of the Spaniards, being at that time perfectly ignorant of the uſe of iron.

The Admiral demanding, as well as he could by ſigns, from whence they had their gold plates, they pointed to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, where they gave the Spaniards to underſtand, there were ſeveral large countries well repleniſhed with that precious metal. The Admiral row'd in his boats about the iſland, to diſcover if there was any thing worth his ſettling there, being followed by the iſlanders every where, who ſeemed to adore him and his people, as if they were come from heaven. From this iſland he ſailed to another of the Bahama iſlands, which he called St. Mary of Conception; and having viewed this, and ſeveral more of theſe iſlands, and found nothing to invite him to ſtay here, he took ſeven of the natives with him, and ſet ſail for the great iſland of Cuba, which lies to the ſouthward of the Bahama iſlands, arriving there on Sunday the 28th of October: Here they found ſome houſes on the ſhore, but the people all fled up into the mountains on their approach: Whereupon two Spaniards and two Indians were ſent up into the country to get intelligence; who, returning again the 5th of November, reported, they travell'd about twelve leagues within the land, that they came to a town conſiſting of fifty large timber houſes thatch'd, which contained about a thouſand people, who came with great reſpect, and kiſs'd the two Spaniards feet, giving them boil'd roots to eat: They entreated them alſo to remain in their country; and, when they ſaw them reſolved to return to their ſhips, would accompany their gueſts thither; for the two Indians had informed the natives, there was no danger to be fear'd from the Spaniards. There were ſeveral other towns the two Spaniards reported they had ſeen in their journey, where they were hoſpitably entertained, and ſaid the country was well planted with oaks, pines, palms, and cotton ſhrubs, and ſown with Indian-corn; and they ſaw great variety of birds, but no beaſts, except ſome few dumb dogs; that the Indians had great quantities of cotton-yarn in their houſes, of which they made them hammocks to lie in, and aprons for their women. But it being demanded of the natives, if they had any gold or precious ſtones, they pointed towards the eaſt, intimating, that in a great country, called Bohoi, and which the Spaniards afterwards named Hiſpaniola, there was plenty of theſe things. Whereupon the Admiral determining to ſail eaſtward, and taking twelve of the natives of Cuba, men, women and children with him, the huſband of one of the women, and father of two of the children, who had been carried on board, came in a canoe to the ſhips, and deſired he might alſo go with them, and not be parted from his wife and children: Whereupon the Admiral ordered him to be taken on board; and ſetting ſail from Cuba the 5th of December, arrived the next day at the iſland of Bohio, about ſixteen leagues to the eaſtward of Cuba; and here obſerving the country to reſemble that of Spain in ſeveral particulars, he gave it the name of Hiſpaniola, which it retains to this day. Having ſent ſome Indians and Spaniards on ſhore for intelligence, the people at firſt run away, and abandoned their houſes; but the Indians afterwards informing the natives, that there was nothing to be feared from the Spaniards, they returned, and ſhew'd them all imaginable reſpect, offering them ſuch food as the country afforded. But what the Spaniards were moſt inquiſitive after, was the place where they had their gold from, obſerving moſt of them to wear thin gold plates at their noſes as in the other iſlands; and the people directing them further eaſtward, the Admiral made no long ſtay at the weſt end of the iſland, but ſail'd again along the north coaſt, in ſearch of that precious mineral. In which voyage, one of their Caciques, or petty Kings of the iſland, came on board the Admiral, with two or three hundred men, and they made mutual preſents to each other: The Indians gave the Spaniards chiefly thin gold plates, and the Admiral returned them beads, toys, carpets, and little bells. But a night or two afterwards, the Admiral's ſhip had the misfortune to run a-ground, and could not be got off; ſo that he had now but one ſhip left, MARTIN PINSON, Captain of the third, having deſerted him at the iſland of Cuba, and ſail'd for Hiſpaniola, in hopes of diſcovering the gold mines before the Admiral came thither. The Spaniards had the good fortune to ſave all their goods that were on board the ſhip that was caſt away, by the aſſiſtance of the Cacique and his Indians, whom the Admiral commends as an inoffenſive hoſpitable people, ready to accommodate ſtrangers with every thing: He obſerves alſo, that they then went perfectly naked, and were almoſt as white as the Europeans.

To compenſate for the loſs of his ſhip, the Indians brought the Admiral a pretty deal of gold, made into thin plates, or ornaments for the neck or face, and informed him he would meet with a great deal more at Ciboa, in the inland country: Whereupon the Admiral built a fort within a harbour, which he called the Port of the Nativity, with the timber of his wreck'd ſhip; and leaving in it a garriſon of thirty-nine men, with cannon, ſmall arms, ammunition and other neceſſaries, he determined to return to Spain, and give an account of the ſucceſs of his voyage.

The Admiral ſailing further eaſtward the 4th of January, diſcovered, two days after, his other ſhip, commanded by MARTIN PINZON, who came on board him, pretending to have been forced away by ſtreſs of weather, which the Admiral did not then think fit to diſpute with him, tho' he very well knew PINZON left him upon choice, there having been no bad weather to force him away. PINZON and his men, it ſeems, had got a pretty deal of gold by bartering with the natives of Hiſpaniola for trifles; but they agreed to conceal it from the Admiral, on the Captain's having given one half of it among his crew.

The Admiral ſending ſeven of his men on ſhore again, near the eaſt end of Hiſpaniola, they met with a ſtouter race of Indians, about fifty-five in number, arm'd with bows, arrows, and great clubs, but perfectly naked, only their heads adorned with a ſort of coronets of beautiful feathers, and their faces painted black, red, or white; their bows were made of yew, and their arrows of a ſmall cane, pointed with a ſharp fiſh's bone: And thus arm'd, appearing ready to fall upon the Spaniards, the latter fir'd their guns, and wounded two or three of them; whereupon the reſt of the Indians fled and diſperſed. This place COLUMBUS named the Bay or Gulph of Arrows, from the arms of the natives; and here he relates he met with a great deal of cotton and long-pepper.

The admiral departed from the Gulph of Arrows (called Samana by the Indians) towards Spain, the 16th of January, and meeting with a ſtorm the 14th of February, he loſt the company of the other ſhip, commanded by MARTIN PINZON, about 150 leagues weſt of the Azores: They all expected to have periſhed in this ſtorm, and went to their prayers; after which they caſt lots which of them ſhould go on pilgrimage to our lady of Guadalupe, if they eſcaped, which fell upon the Admiral himſelf. Then they drew again, which of them ſhould go to the lady of Loretto in Italy, on their arrival in Europe, which fell to the ſhare of PETER DE VILLA, a mariner of Port St. Mary's; and the ſtorm ſtill increaſing, they all made a vow to go bare-foot in their ſhirts at their landing, to ſome church of our lady's, and every one made private vows beſides for himſelf. In the account COLUMBUS gave to their Catholick Majeſties of this ſtorm, he ſays, "I had been leſs concerned at the tempeſt, had I alone been in danger, for I know I owe my life to the ſupreme CREATOR; and I have been at other times ſo near death, that very little was wanting to compleat it. But what infinitely grieved me was, that GOD was pleaſed to fruſtrate this enterprize, intended for the propagation of the Chriſtian religion, and the increaſe of your Majeſties dominions; and what added to my grief, was, the loſs of thoſe men, who had ſo bravely ventured their lives with me: Nor was it the leaſt of my afflictions, that I had left two ſons at ſchool at Cordoua, deſtitute of friends in a ſtrange country; and it could not be known I had done any ſervice which might incline your Highneſſes to remember them: And tho', on the one ſide, I comforted myſelf with the belief that GOD would not permit a thing, which was ſo much for the advantage of his church, to be left imperfect, when I had, with ſuch application and labour, almoſt brought it to perfection; yet, on the other hand, I was afraid I was far from meriting ſo great an honour. In this perplexity, I meditated on your Highneſſes good fortune, and conſidered, that though I were dead, and the ſhip loſt, you might ſome way reap the fruits of this enterprize: As briefly as I could, therefore, I wrote a narrative in parchment of what I had diſcovered, in how many days I performed the voyage, and what way I had done it, with the nature of thoſe lands, and of the inhabitants; and that your Majeſties ſubjects were left in poſſeſſion of what I had diſcovered; which writing folded up and ſealed, I addreſſed to your Highneſſes, promiſing a reward of 1000 ducats to him that ſhould deliver it to you ſeal'd, that if any foreigner found it, the promiſed reward might induce him not to give it to another; then I wrapped the writing in an oil'd cloth, and incloſed that in a ball of wax, which I put into an empty caſk; and having bunged the caſk up cloſe, threw it into the ſea. Another caſk, with a copy of the ſame writing encloſed in like manner, I placed on the higheſt part of the ſhip; ſo that if the ſhip ſunk, the caſk might ſtill remain above water.

The Admiral, however, had the good fortune to weather this ſtorm, and, on Friday the 15th of February, made the iſland of Azores, and the next day, came to an anchor at St. Mary's, where the country people brought on board freſh proviſions, and treated them very kindly; and here finding an hermitage dedicated to the Virgin MARY, they agreed to go barefoot, and in their ſhirts, to the chapel of the hermitage, according to their vow in the ſtorm; and accordingly the Admiral ſent one half of the ſhip's crew to perform their devotions there, determining on their return to go himſelf thither with the reſt of the company: And having waited a whole day in expectation of his men, he underſtood that they were made priſoners in the iſland. But giving the Portugueſe to underſtand, that this outrage would probably occaſion a war between their Catholick and Portugueſe Majeſties; and that, if his men were not returned, he would make repriſals, and carry double their number off the iſlands; they conſented, at length, to releaſe the Spaniards, who reported, at their coming on board, that the King of Portugal had ſent orders to all places under his dominion, that they ſhould ſecure the perſon of the Admiral by any means whatever.

The Admiral ſet ſail from the Azores the 24th of February, and ſoon after met with another terrible ſtorm, not inferior to the former, which drove him, much againſt his will, into the river of Liſbon in Portugal; however, he was received here, contrary to his expectations, very hoſpitably. The people of Liſbon crouded on board to ſee him and the Indians he had brought from the new world; ſome of them applauding the glorious enterprize, while others curſed the covetouſneſs and incredulity of their Miniſters, which had loſt them the honour and advantage of the diſcovery.

The next day, the King of Portugal ordered the Admiral to be furniſhed with all manner of freſh proviſions gratis, and wrote to him, congratulating his arrival, and inviting him to Court; and on his coming on ſhore, the Nobility and Officers of State were ordered to attend him, and he was admitted to ſit covered in his Majeſty's preſence. But the King intimated, he thought the diſcovery belonged to him, as the Admiral had reſided moſt of his life in that kingdom: To which the admiral anſwered, His Majeſty did not think fit to liſten to the overtures he had made him; that he went out with the King of Spain's commiſſion, and had punctually obſerved his orders, not to go to the Portugueſe mines in Guinea. And now the admiral, it ſeems, was under ſome apprehenſion, that the King of Portugal would detain him; but after two days, his Majeſty diſmiſſed the Admiral with great civility, letting him know, that if he choſe to go to Spain by land, he would be at the expence of his journey; but the Admiral choſe to return by ſea, and arrived at Palos in Andaluſia, on the 13th of March 1493, having ſet out from thence the 3d of Auguſt before, making his voyage to the new world, and back again in ſeven months and eleven days. Here the people received him with a ſolemn proceſſion and thankſgiving for his return, moſt of his ſeamen, it ſeems, belonging to this port.

Here the Admiral heard, that MARTIN PINZON, Captain of his other ſhip, was arrived in Galicia, and had given advice of it to the Court of Spain, propoſing to have brought the firſt news of the American diſcovery; but their Catholick Majeſties ſent him word, that he ſhould attend on the Admiral, to his great mortification; and this mutinous officer, who had given the Admiral very great diſturbance in his voyage, retired thereupon in diſcontent to his native country, where he died ſoon after.

Their Catholick Majeſties being at Barcelona at this time, when the Admiral drew near that city, all the Court went out to meet him, and he was received with the honours due to a ſovereign Prince; nor was it eaſy to determine, whether the Admiral had greater ſatisfaction in relating, or their Majeſties in hearing the diſcoveries he had made in the new world.

The rejoicings for the ſucceſs of this great enterprize being over, their Majeſties confirmed to the Admiral the Viceroyſhip of all the iſlands and continent to the weſtward of the Azores, and the Cape Verd iſlands, which he either had or ſhould diſcover and conquer, empowering him to appoint all Governors, civil and military, in theſe new diſcovered Indies (as they were called, it being then imagined, that they lay contiguous to, or near the Eaſt-Indies) and orders were given for the fitting out a fleet immediately to plant and take poſſeſſion of thoſe countries; in which ſuch diligence was uſed, that the Admiral ſet ſail again, with ſeventeen ſhips and fifteen hundred men, from the road of Cadiz the 25th of September 1493. He touched at the Canaries, as in the firſt voyage; and, departing from thoſe iſlands the 7th of October, made St. Dominica, one of the Caribbee iſlands, the 2d of November, in the night-time, when by their reckoning they were between 750 and 800 leagues from the Canaries. Meeting with no convenient harbour in St. Dominica, which he ſo named from its being diſcovered on a Sunday, he ſailed to another iſland, which he called Marigalante, which was the name of his ſhip; where landing, and taking poſſeſſion of it for their Catholick Majeſties, he returned on board again, and ſailed to another of the Caribbee iſlands, which he called St. Mary of Guadalupe, at the requeſt of ſome Friars, who belonged to a monaſtery of that name in Spain. He found a little town here; but the inhabitants were all fled into the woods, except ſome children, to whom they gave ſome glittering toys, to entice their parents to come and traffick with them. The next day, the admiral ſent his boats on ſhore again, and his people brought off two young Indians, who ſaid they were not inhabitants of that iſland, but of another called Boriquen (now St. John de Porto Rico): That the natives of Guadalupe were Caribbees, or Canibals, and had taken them priſoners. The ſame day, ſix Indian women fled to the Spaniards, and came voluntarily on board their ſhips, for fear of the Caribbees; but the Admiral cauſed them all to be ſet on ſhore again, giving them glaſs-beads, bells, and other things, which he thought would ſtrike the fancies of their maſters; and they were no ſooner landed, but the Spaniards ſaw the Caribbees take all theſe toys from them. After which, the captives came running again to the ſhips boats, begging that the Spaniards would take them on board, for the Caribbees would eat them, or make ſlaves of them at leaſt: And accordingly the Admiral ordered them to be brought to the fleet, with another young man, and two children, that made their eſcape alſo from the Caribbees: But, it ſeems, theſe people of the iſland of Boriquen, or St. John's, who had been taken by the Caribbees of Guadalupe, pretended it was their cuſtom to kill and eat only the men they took, and reſerve the women alive, either for ſlaves, or their pleaſure. Still the natives of Guadalupe refuſed to return to their houſes; whereupon the Admiral landed, and took a particular view of their town, and found a great deal of cotton, ſpun and unſpun, looms to weave cotton-net-hammocks, abundance of men's ſkulls hung up, and baſkets of bones. Theſe were better houſes, and more plentifully furniſhed with proviſions than any the Admiral ſaw in his firſt voyage.

On Sunday the 10th of November, he weighed anchor, and ſailed along the coaſt of Guadalupe, towards the north-weſt, for Hiſpaniola, and came to another iſland, to which he gave the name of Montſerrat, becauſe of its great height; and the Indians that were with him, informed him, that it was depopulated by the Caribbees, who had devoured the inhabitants. And ſailing on further weſtward, he ſaw abundance of other iſlands; amongſt the reſt, that of St. Martin, where he met with a canoe, having four men and a woman in it, who fought his boat's crew with their bows and arrows; and the boat overſeting the canoe, one of the Indians ſhot ſeveral arrows as he ſwam in the water: However, they were at length all taken up, and the Spaniards obſerved that the men were caſtrated; it being uſual, ſays the ſon of COLUMBUS, for the Caribbees to geld their captives, as we do capons, that their fleſh may reliſh the better. The Admiral having paſſed by above fifty other iſlands, which he left to the northward, came, at length, to the iſland of Boriquen, which he named St. John Baptiſt, and anchored in a bay on the weſt ſide of it, where he met with ſeveral houſes pleaſantly ſituated.

Before I proceed further in the deſcription of this ſecond voyage to the new world, give me leave to conſider a little the account theſe diſcoverers give us of the Caribbees, whom they will have to be canibals, or devourers of human fleſh. I muſt confeſs, I have hitherto been of opinion, that there never was a nation of canibals upon the face of the earth. From the beginning of the world, we may obſerve, that every people almoſt has looked upon thoſe, who were ſituated at a diſtance from them, as barbarians; and, upon the firſt diſcovery of them, aſcrib'd abundance of monſtrous and unnatural cuſtoms and practices of them, and among the reſt, frequently that of being devourers of human fleſh. Thus it appears, many of the ancients treated each other, and we of theſe latter ages ſeem to copy after them. There are ſome iſlands that lie in the bay of Bengal, in the Eaſt-Indies, which we were aſſured were inhabited by canibals, by the firſt adventurers that ſailed to the Eaſt-Indies; but, upon our better acquaintance with them, there appeared to be no canibals there; nay, they were ſo far from eating human fleſh, that they eat no fleſh at all. On my travelling into the mountains, and moſt inacceſſible parts of the Eaſt-Indies, where they had ſcarce any traffick or correſpondence with the Europeans, I found that they had as barbarous notions of us, as we could have of them, or of any others we knew but little of. On the coaſt of Guinea, where we trade chiefly for ſlaves, the unhappy captives have a notion we buy them up to fatten, and then feed on them; which, 'tis ſaid, has been the occaſion of many deſperate attempts to free themſelves, and murder the ſeamen that are ſent to tranſport them to the plantations in America. On the firſt diſcovery of America, there was ſcarce a country or iſland in that part of the world, but we were told was repleniſhed with man-eaters; but, now we are perfectly well acquainted with them, it is very certain there are no canibals to be found, any more than amazons, giants, or other monſters, which our firſt voyage-writers deſcribe. But here I am aware it may be objected, that ſince the Chriſtians came amongſt them, they are civilized, and have left off many of their barbarous cuſtoms; and this indeed may be of ſome weight in regard to thoſe countries that are under the dominion of the Chriſtians: But as to the inland parts both of North and South-America, in which the Chriſtians have little or no influence, as appears by their retaining the reſt of their ancient cuſtoms and ſuperſtitions, this argument is of no force. And as to the giants and monſters that are ſaid to be found in America on the firſt diſcovery, as this has happened within the ſpace of three hundred years, it is ſtrange there ſhould be none of the race of them left, if there ever were any ſuch.

Beſides, I don't remember to have met with any traveller, or writer of credit, that will take upon him to ſay he has ever ſeen that people, that made human fleſh their ordinary food. We may obſerve in the relation before us, that Columbus's ſon ſays no more, than that they took ſome people at the iſland of Guadalupe, who ſaid they were natives of the iſland of St. John, and, being made priſoners by the Caribbees, apprehended they ſhould either be eaten, or made ſlaves of; for they had heard that this was common at Guadalupe, and the other iſlands inhabited by the Caribbees. But all this is but hear-ſay evidence: None of them pretend to ſay, they had ſeen men ſlaughtered, and their fleſh dreſſed on purpoſe to be eaten. I am inclined therefore to think, that thoſe iſlands where the Caribbees are ſaid to have inhabited, were peopled from that part of the continent where human ſacrifices were offered to their gods; for the men ſacrificed on theſe occaſions, were uſually captives taken in war. It might be true enough, that the Caribbees ſacrificed the men they took from other iſlands; they might fat them too, to make the victims the more acceptable, as we find the beſt and fatteſt animals were always made choice of for ſacrifice. But as to the Indians eating theſe human ſacrifices, or making human fleſh their common food; this might be, and probably was, an addition of the unhappy captives, who look'd upon their maſters, as capable of any barbarity, after they had ſeen them ſacrificing men. It was from the report and apprehenſions of theſe ſlaves, it ſeems, that we received the notion of the Caribbees being canibals. However, if I meet with any confirmation of this practice in the courſe of this hiſtory, I ſhall not fail to repreſent the evidence impartially; and, whenever it ſhall appear probable to me that there ever was ſuch a people, I ſhall not be aſhamed to own my miſtake. In the mean time, I muſt beg leave to ſuſpend my belief of a cuſtom ſo very unnatural, 'till I ſee it better proved.

To return to our hiſtory: The Admiral arriving at Hiſpaniola the 12th of November, found that all the people he had left in the fort he built there, and called The Nativity, were dead: The natives informed him, that ſome of them died a natural death, others parted from their company, and were deſtroyed by the Indians as they ſtraggled into the inland country in ſearch of gold, and the reſt were defeated and ſlain by a Cacique who came down from the mountains, and attack'd the ſmall remainder that were left in their fort, notwithſtanding the Cacique, or Prince, the Admiral had enter'd into alliance with in the firſt voyage, did all he could to protect the Spaniards; and it appeared, that this Cacique, and ſeveral of his people, were wounded in an engagement with the Indians of the mountains, who had overpowered the Spaniards and their friends, and deſtroyed the fort. He underſtood alſo that the little garriſon he left ſoon fell into parties and diviſions, and had led moſt abandon'd lives, taking four or five women a-piece, and perhaps ſome of them by force; which, with their attempt to diſcover the gold the Indians were poſſeſs'd of, probably haſten'd their ruin. The Admiral going to viſit the Cacique Guacanagari, the Spaniards ally, who lay ill of the wounds he receiv'd in the engagement with Caunabo the Cacique of the mountains; Guacanagari lamented the misfortune of the men he left in the iſland, ſhewed him his wounds, that appeared to be given him by their country weapons, and not by the Chriſtians; which ſatisfied the Admiral he had no hand in the deſtruction of the Spaniards: Afterwards, the Cacique preſented him with a ſtring of gold beads, a regal crown of gold, and three calabaſhes full of gold duſt, amounting to about two pound weight of gold; in return for which the Admiral gave him ſome toys, and glittering trifles, which the Indians eſteemed much more valuable. But if knives and tools were among theſe toys, ſurely the Spaniards had no reaſon to laugh at the folly of the Indians; for to them who had ſeen nothing of that kind before, theſe things muſt in reality be more valuable than gold.

The Admiral having obſerved other parts of the iſland more convenient for building a town, and ſettling a colony, than that where he built the firſt fort, return'd with his fleet farther eaſtward; and near a mountain, he had named Monte Chriſto, finding a commodious harbour near the mouth of a river, and a rock that was a good natural fortification, he laid out the plan of a town, to which he gave the name of Iſabella, being the name of the Queen of Caſtile: and while one part of his men were buſied in building this town, another detachment was ſent to diſcover the country of Ciboa, about three or fourſcore miles to the ſouthward of it, where the greateſt plenty of gold was to be found, according to the information of the natives: For tho' the Spaniards frequently inſinuate, that their grand deſign in planting theſe countries was to extend and advance the kingdom of CHRIST; nothing is more evident than that the poſſeſſing the gold that they expected to find there, was the principal thing they had in view. For this no labour or hazard was thought too much; and few of the Chiefs, employed in theſe diſcoveries and conqueſts, ſtuck at any villany to gratify their inſatiable avarice.

The Admiral having ſent a party of men to diſcover the country of Ciboa, from whence moſt of the gold was brought, and receiving advice that it was generally a rocky country, pretty well repleniſh'd with rivers, in whoſe lands were found a pretty deal of gold duſt; he went thither in perſon, in order to build a fort there that might command the natives; having firſt ſent twelve of his ſhips back to Spain, and ſo diſpoſed of the reſt as to prevent a mutiny in his abſence: For the Adventurers, having flatter'd themſelves that they ſhould immediately poſſeſs mountains of gold, when they found there was a great deal of labour and fatigue to be undergone, in building forts and towns, and making diſcoveries, before they muſt expect to accompliſh their ends; they formed a conſpiracy againſt the Admiral, and had even laid a deſign to run away with the remaining ſhips, and return to Spain: But COLUMBUS, having diſcover'd the plot, and ſo diſpoſed things as to prevent a mutiny for the future, he ſet out for the country of Ciboa, with a ſtrong party of men, and ſome horſes and mules; and here he erected a fortreſs, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas, in which he left a garriſon of four hundred men, and upwards, and then return'd to his ſhips in the harbour of Iſabella.

In this expedition, the Admiral obſerves, that the natives were under the greateſt conſternation when they ſaw their horſes; and, tho' the Indians would ſometimes venture to engage their foot, a ſingle horſeman might drive hundreds of 'em before him. They did not think themſelves ſecure, even when there was a deep river between them and the horſe; for they imagin'd the creature could fly; and, as the Poet ſuggeſts, perhaps they took the horſe and the rider for one animal.

The Admiral, having put the town of Iſabella and the fort of St. Thomas in a poſture of defence, and left a ſufficient body of troops in the country, to keep the natives in awe, determin'd to go upon new diſcoveries: Whereupon he nominated a Council of his principal officers, to take the government of the iſland upon them in his abſence, in which his brother JAMES COLUMBUS was to preſide, and then ſet ſail to the weſtward, with three ſhips, for Cuba, not knowing yet whether it were an iſland, or part of the continent. In this voyage he met with ſeveral good harbours and rivers, and found the country to be very fruitful. He alſo diſcover'd the iſland of Jamaica, to the ſouthward of Cuba; which he commends as a more populous, pleaſant and fruitful country than either Cuba or Hiſpaniola; and relates, that it was inhabited by a warlike people, who attack'd his men with their bows and arrows, and would not permit him to make a ſettlement on the iſland: Whereupon he return'd to Cuba, determining to ſail along the coaſt, five or ſix hundred leagues to the weſtward, 'till he found whether it was an iſland or not; but he met with ſo many ſmall iſlands, rocks and ſands on the coaſt, together with bad weather, as made moſt of his men ſickly, as well as himſelf; and he was obliged to return to the town of Iſabella in Hiſpaniola, without effecting his deſign.

While the Admiral was abſent, Don PETER MARGARETTE, to whom he had given the command of the flying-army that was to keep the country in ſubjection, aſpiring after the ſole command of the iſland, and refuſing to obey the Council the Admiral entruſted with the government; finding he could not obtain his ends, left the country, and tranſported himſelf to Spain: Whereupon his troops diſpers'd themſelves, and, committing great outrages, ſeveral of the Caciques of the iſland aſſembled their forces in their defence, and cut off a great many of the Spaniards; but the Admiral being return'd, aſſembled his ſcatter'd forces, and with the aſſiſtance of the Cacique GUACANAGARI, his faithful Ally, ſubdued all the country under the obedience of his Catholick Majeſty; tho', 'tis ſaid, one of the Indian armies that oppoſed him conſiſted of an hundred thouſand men; and all the Admiral's troops, that took the field, amounted to no more than two hundred foot, twenty horſe, and twenty great dogs. But, if we conſider the conſternation the natives muſt be in, when they were attack'd with fire-arms, and eſpecially cannon, which they had never ſeen before; I don't think theſe accounts very improbable: Nor were the horſe and dogs, it ſeems, leſs terrible to them than the great-guns, as they were not able to eſcape from them when they fled.

Certain it is, the inhabitants of Hiſpaniola were ſubdued in this ſecond voyage of COLUMBUS, who impoſed a tribute on them; and having taken CAUNABO, the moſt powerful Cacique or Prince of the iſland, priſoner, ſent him to Spain. This Cacique acknowledg'd, that it was he that deſtroy'd the firſt Spaniſh fort, call'd The Nativity, and put to the ſword above twenty of the garriſon the Admiral had left there.

The tribute the natives of Ciboa (where the gold was found) agreed to pay the Spaniards, was a large horſe-bell full of gold duſt for every head above fourteen years of age, once a quarter; and the reſt were to pay twenty-five pounds of cotton per head every three months. And now the Spaniards had no enemies remaining in the iſland; but ſuffer'd very much from the unhealthfulneſs of the climate, one half of them being ſwept away by peſtilential diſtempers; and the frequent mutinies of the Spaniards againſt the Admiral (who was a foreigner) and their diſſentions among themſelves, were ſtill more fatal to them, and retarded their making farther diſcoveries for ſome time. And here it may be proper to take ſome notice of the religion and cuſtoms of the natives, when the Spaniards firſt arrived at

Hiſpaniola; of which the Admiral himſelf gives us the following account.

The religion of the natives of Hiſpaniola, when Columbus arrived there.

He ſays, that every one of their Kings or Caciques (who were very numerous) had a houſe ſet apart for their images, which they call'd Cemi's: That theſe images were either of carv'd wood or ſtone, and the natives pray'd to them, and perform'd ſuch acts of worſhip and adoration as the Catholicks did to their images in their churches: That theſe images bore the name of their fathers, grandfathers, or other more remote anceſtors; and that they were nine or ten of them frequently in one houſe or temple: That they ſhew'd more devotion and reverence to ſome than they did to others, and addreſs'd themſelves to different images on different occaſions; to ſome they pray'd for health, to others for plenty, and to others for ſeaſonable weather, ſucceſs in their enterprizes, &c. But that theſe they worſhipp'd as inferior deities, and had a much greater veneration for the Sun, of which planet however they made no image or reſemblance.

That the Cacique ſeem'd to be Chief Prieſt of his temple, as well as Sovereign of his people; and made uſe of many holy cheats to keep his people in awe, and draw money from them; cauſing anſwers to be given as from the mouth of the image addreſs'd to, as was practiſed by ſome oracles of old, and is by ſome miracle-mongers among the Papiſts at preſent.

They had various ways of diſpoſing of their dead: Some they buried in caves, others they burnt in the houſes where they died; but their Caciques and Great men were embowel'd and dry'd, in order to preſerve the corpſe as long as poſſible.

After death, they apprehended they ſhould paſs to ſome delightful plains (by their deſcription not unlike the Elyſian fields) where they ſhould meet with their anceſtors, kindred and friends, and enjoy all the pleaſures that food, women, or the moſt charming ſituation could afford; and, laſtly, that they had Phyſicians amongſt them that adminiſter'd medicinal herbs, roots and plants to their patients; but pretended to effect the cure chiefly by magick, or the aſſiſtance of demons, with whom, they taught the people, they convers'd.

The Admiral, having ſettled the government of the iſland, and built three fortreſſes, beſides that of Iſabella, to preſerve his conqueſt, thought fit to return to Spain; for he found ſo many ill offices had been done him by his enemies, that the Court of Spain neglected to ſend him any farther reinforcements, to enable him to extend his diſcoveries. He ſeem'd under a neceſſity therefore of attending their Catholick Majeſties in perſon, in order to ſet matters right, and procure ſuch ſupplies as were wanting; and accordingly, ſetting ſail to the eaſtward on the 10th of March, the wind being directly againſt him he arrived, with infinite labour, at the Caribbee iſlands the 10th of April; where he took in freſh proviſions. Had he ſtood to the northward, inſtead of plying to the eaſt, as all ſhipping do now that come for Cuba or Hiſpaniola, he would ſoon have come into the way of the weſterly winds, and might have arrived in Spain as ſoon as he did at the Caribbees; but, labouring thus againſt the trade-winds, which ſit conſtantly from the north-eaſt, or thereabouts, near the Tropic of Cancer, he made it the 9th of June before he came upon the coaſt of Spain, being near three months after his ſetting ſail from the town of Iſabella.

The Admiral, attending their Catholick Majeſties at Burgos, preſented them with ſuch foreign plants and animals as he judg'd would be moſt acceptable to them, and with ſome gold plate and gold duſt, but in no great quantities, and was in appearance graciouſly received: But the Court were much diſappointed that they received little more than trifles for all the expence they had been at; they expected to have entered immediately on mountains of gold, and to have loaden their ſhips home with it; whereas they could not yet hear of any mines that were opened, and met only with ſmall quantities of the duſt that was waſhed down from the mountains, or in the ſands of rivers.

This, with the practices of the Admiral's enemies, who inſinuated that he was not equal to the great work he had undertaken, and by no means qualified to civilize and govern barbarous nations, very much abated the zeal of the Spaniſh Court for ſupporting and enlarging their diſcoveries in the new world; inſomuch, that the Admiral was forc'd to remain near two years at the Court of Spain, before he could obtain the ſupplies he ſollicited for.

And notwithſtanding the Admiral appears to have been a very great and good man, yet there ſeems to have been ſome errors in his conduct, that very much retarded his further diſcoveries, and rendered the enterprize leſs advantageous to himſelf and his royal employers, than it might have been in his life-time.

When the Spaniards appeared ſo ſanguine on his firſt diſcovery, as to equip him out immediately for a ſecond voyage, with ſeventeen ſhips, crouded with men and all manner of neceſſaries, had he employed a dozen of theſe ſhips as many different ways on his arrival at Hiſpaniola, inſtead of ſending them home again with trifles, he had probably diſcovered the rich treaſures of Mexico and Peru in that voyage, and encreas'd the great opinion the Spaniards entertained of him on his firſt ſucceſs; inſtead of which, not finding their expectations anſwered, they began to quarrel with the Admiral, grew cool upon the matter, and not long after, in a manner, became his enemies; inſomuch that he was in great danger of loſing his head, inſtead of receiving a reward for the inexpreſſible labour and hazards he had undergone, to add another world to their dominions, as will appear in the following relation.

The Admiral, after near two years attendance at the Court of Spain, having, at length, procured ſix ſhips, ſet ſail on the 30th of May, 1498, for America again, and in his way touch'd at the Maderas. He afterwards made the iſland of Ferro, the moſt weſterly of the Canaries, from whence he detach'd three of his ſhips directly for Hiſpaniola, and with the other three bent his courſe towards the iſlands of Cape Verd, which lie in fifteen degrees north latitude: Here he touch'd again; and, having taken in ſome refreſhments, held on his courſe to the ſouth-weſt, in expectation of diſcovering the continent, till he came into five degrees north latitude; but meeting here with calms, and exceſive hot weather, with abundance of thunder and lightening, he was deterred from ſailing any further to the ſouth, and bent his courſe to the north-weſt, till he came into ſeven degrees north latitude, and then he ſteer'd due weſt; which courſe having continued ſome days, he diſcovered a large iſland on the 1ſt of Auguſt, to which he gave the name of the

Trinity, which lies near the mouth of the river Oroonoko in South-America; and in a day or two after, he made the continent of Paria or Guiana, now called New-Andaluſia, lying about ſeven degrees ſouth of Barbados.

The Admiral going on ſhore on the 5th of Auguſt, bartered away ſome trifles with the natives of Paria, and obſerved they were rather whiter than thoſe of Hiſpaniola; that the men wore their hair long, and had little aprons and caps of cotton-linnen; that the women wore little gold plates and chains of pearl about their necks, but had no aprons or covering for their nudities; and that they were generally a harmleſs inoffenſive people (not canibals as ſome repreſent them.)

The Admiral having ſpent about a fortnight upon the coaſt of Paria, in getting what intelligence he could of that continent, ſet ſail directly for Hiſpaniola, and arrived at St. Domingo, a town that his Brother (and Lieutenant) had built on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, and ſo named in memory of their Father **Dominic**, on the 30th of Auguſt, 1498. The continual labour and watchings the Admiral had endured in attempting to diſcover the continent, made the ſight of Hiſpaniola very acceptable to him, where he hoped to have enjoyed ſome eaſe and ſatisfaction after numberleſs hazards and fatigues; but to his great mortification he found the iſland in the utmoſt diſtraction: He had left his Brother his Lieutenant, as has been related, during his abſence, and one **Francis Roldan**, a Spaniard, in the quality of Chief Juſtice, who agreed pretty well in their reſpective commands for the firſt year after the Admiral's return to Spain; but there being no news what was become of him, and generally believed that he was loſt, **Roldan**, 'tis ſaid, began to entertain thoughts of ſetting up for himſelf, and expelling the Admiral's brothers from the iſland, repreſenting that the family of **Columbus** were foreigners, who had formed a deſign of aggrandizing themſelves at the coſt of the Spaniards, and intended to uſurp the dominion of their fellow-adventurers, as well as of the lands they had diſcovered and conquered with their Arms: And to gain the Indians, he obſerved, that the Admiral had impoſed a tribute on them, to enrich himſelf, without the knowledge of the king of Spain, and deſigned to uſe them as his ſlaves; and by theſe ſeditious diſcourſes, made ſuch a party among the Spaniards and Indians, as had very near occaſioned a general revolt. It was with a great deal of difficulty, therefore, that **James Columbus** preſerved part of the iſland under his obedience, till the Admiral returned: Nor could he himſelf accommodate the matter, and reduce the country to a ſtate of tranquillity, till he conſented to confirm **Roldan** perpetual chief Juſtice of the iſland.

And now applying himſelf to the digging of the gold mines, he found ſuch plenty of that metal, that one man frequently got five marks of gold in a day's time; by which means **Columbus** and his family were in a fair way of becoming immenſely rich, when another inſurrection was raiſed againſt him by **Alonzo de Ojeda**, a conſiderable Spaniard, whom he had employed to make diſcoveries upon the coaſt of Paria: And tho' the Admiral, by his excellent conduct, found means to maintain his authority in the iſland, and depreſs his enemies there; yet they appeared too hard for him in the Court of Spain, by the malicious ſtories they tranſmitted thither. They repreſented him to the King, as ambitious, covetous, and tyrannical; that he had no true notions of government, and uſed both Spaniards and Indians as ſlaves; that he poſſeſs'd himſelf of vaſt treaſures, while he concealed the richeſt mines from the King's officers: And theſe gentlemen having friends and relations in the Court of Spain to back their complaints and malicious ſuggeſtions, at length work'd him out of the King's favour. But perhaps nothing was a greater inducement to King **Ferdinand** to deprive him of his government, than the heaps of gold he was told would flow into his treaſury, on his removing the Admiral: His Majeſty therefore ſent over **Francis Bovadilla**, a Spaniſh Knight, to Hiſpaniola, to enquire into the Admiral's conduct, giving him authority to apprehend him, and ſend him to Spain, if he thought fit, requiring all the Commanders and Officers of the iſland to aſſiſt **Bovadilla**: He ſent a letter to the Admiral himſelf alſo, commanding him to obey this new Governor.

Columbus, on the arrival of **Bovadilla** with theſe orders, ſurrendered himſelf upon the firſt ſummons (tho' he was now in a condition to have held the iſland againſt all the power the Spaniards could have ſent thither;) believing that on his repreſenting his caſe to the King and Queen of Spain, of whom he had deſerv'd ſo well, he ſhould be reſtored to his command, eſpecially as he was conſcious his enemies could prove none of the things they had laid to his charge.

The inſolent **Bovadilla** made the moſt of his commiſſion; he immediately took poſſeſſion of the Admiral's palaces, and all his effects, and clapping him and his brother in irons, ſent them both priſoners to Spain: The Captain of the ſhip, indeed, aſhamed to ſee this Great man in fetters, offered to eaſe him of them; but he was reſolved to carry them to Europe, as an evidence perhaps of Spaniſh gratitude; for he could not believe that **Bovadilla** durſt have uſed him in this barbarous manner, if he had not expreſs orders for it from Court. However, their Catholick Majeſties no ſooner heard of the Admiral's arrival, but they ſent orders to releaſe him, and invite him to Court, aſſuring him that **Bovadilla** had exceeded his commiſſion, and that his eſtate ſhould be reſtored, and he ſhould be continued in the command of all he had diſcovered in the new world; for it evidently appeared that the complaints that had been brought againſt him, proceeded either from ſelf-intereſt, or malice. But notwithſtanding the Admiral was innocent, and had the titles of Admiral and Vice-roy of the Indies continued to him, he appears to have been actually deprived of his government of Hiſpaniola, and another was ſent thither in his room, that would be more acceptable to the Spaniards, as well as the Indians, as was ſuppoſed, and bring more treaſure into their Majeſties coffers: Which the Admiral ſo much reſented, that he had determined to retire, and lead a private life, without attempting any further diſcoveries; for he reflected, that if what he had done for the Spaniſh nation could not induce them to uſe him well, nothing that he could do hereafter would. But the King, either conſidering what diſhonour the laying the Admiral aſide might reflect upon him, or imagining he might make yet more profitable diſcoveries, perſuaded COLUMBUS to put to ſea again, veſted with the like powers he had conferred on him in his former voyages.

Accordingly the Admiral ſet ſail from Cadiz with four ſhips from 50 to 70 tun, and 140 men, on the 9th of May, 1502; and, touching at the Canaries on the 20th of the ſame month, where he took in wood and water, he ſailed from thence the 24th, and arrived at Martinico, one of the Caribbee iſlands, the 15th of June, and the latter end of the ſame month came before St. Domingo, in Hiſpaniola: But the Admiral was not ſuffered to enter that port, tho' moſt of his eſtate and effects lay thereabouts, and he had repreſented to the Spaniſh Governor, that one of his ſhips was much damaged, and he apprehended a ſtorm. From whence, 'tis too plain, that the Court of Spain had given orders, that he ſhould never more reſide in Hiſpaniola, which he had conquered for them. The Admiral, however, had the good fortune to get into a little creek in the iſland, where he weathered a very terrible ſtorm, in which BOVADILLA his great enemy, and fourteen ſhips loaden with treaſure, and bound for Spain, periſhed.

The Admiral, after the ſtorm was over, left the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and ſailing to the weſtward, paſs'd by the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Jamaica, from whence continuing his courſe, he arrived at the iſland of Guayana, in the gulph of Honduras, where he met with a canoe as long as a galley, and eight foot wide, made of one tree; which being loaden with ſuch merchandize as the neighbouring continent afforded, and having twenty-five men, and ſeveral women and children on board, bound for the coaſt of Mexico, he made them priſoners: He found on board the canoe ſeveral large pieces of cotton-linnen, quilts, and quilted waiſtcoats, without ſleeves, finely wrought, and dyed of ſeveral colours. The women on board the canoe wrapp'd themſelves up in pieces of cotton-linnen, or had cloths of the bigneſs of handkerchiefs to cover their nudities: There were found alſo on board the canoe, wooden ſwords, edg'd with flints, and hatchets made of copper: They had alſo bells, plates, and crucibles of copper to melt their metal in.

Their proviſions were maize or Indian-corn, ſeveral ſorts of roots, and cacao-nuts, of which chocolate is made.

The Admiral having taken out of the canoe ſuch things as he lik'd, and given the Indians ſuch European goods in return, as were moſt acceptable to them, he diſmiſs'd the canoe, and all the people in it, except one old man he detained to inform him of the ſtate of the neighbouring continent, and to ſerve him for an interpreter among the natives: The Indians, who were already on board the Admiral, it ſeems did not perfectly underſtand the language of thoſe of the continent, that were taken in the canoe; but learn'd, however, thus much from them, that north-weſt of the province of Honduras, on which coaſt the Spaniards lay at this time, there lived a potent Prince (afterwards found to be the Emperor of Mexico) and that to the ſouth-eaſt of Honduras was a narrow ſtrait, that led to a vaſt ocean (afterwards known by the name of the South-ſea) which the Admiral determined to ſearch out, rightly conjecturing, that over that ſea he ſhould find a way to the treaſures and ſpices of the Eaſt-Indies: But the misfortune was, that the ſame word which ſignified a ſtrait by ſea, might be, and really ought to have been, on that occaſion, interpreted an iſthmus by land; and if he had underſtood theſe Indians right, they would have informed him, that there was a narrow neck of land, afterwards called the Iſthmus of Darien, that ſeparated the North and South-ſeas, or the Atlantic from the Pacific-ocean. This miſtake cauſed the Admiral an infinite deal of trouble and fatigue; for upon this intelligence he returned to the eaſtward, in order to find out the imaginary ſtraight, labouring againſt the trade-winds and currents, which conſtantly ſit to the weſtward in the north-ſea. As he ſailed to the eaſtward along the coaſt of Honduras, his people frequently went on ſhore and traffick'd with the natives, exchanging bells, glittering beads and toys, for thin gold plates; and here they were furniſhed with water and freſh proviſions, ſuch as veniſon, geeſe, hens, fiſh, and beans, like kidney-beans. Moſt of theſe people went naked, only their heads were covered with a piece of cotton-linnen, as were alſo their nudities; and ſome of them had ſhort quilted waiſtcoaſts of cotton, which I find ſerved them for armour as well as cloathing, and would defend them againſt a ſtroke of their wooden ſwords: Thoſe that were naked, had the figures of beaſts, birds, caſtles, &c. painted on their arms and bodies; and on rejoicing-days, when they would be very fine, they painted their faces red or black, or marked themſelves with long ſtrokes of various colours, which made them look very deformed in the eyes of the Spaniards, how agreeable ſoever they might appear to one another: They adorn'd their necks, ears and noſes, with thin gold-plates, and thoſe hung at their ears, ſtretched them to ſuch a prodigious ſize, that the Admiral gave the coaſt of Honduras the name of De las Orejas, or, the Country of Ears.

Mexico diſcovered

The Admiral under a great miſtake.

The Admiral ſail'd along this coaſt to the eaſtward, 'till he came to the Cape, which he named Gracias a Dios, or Thanks be to God; becauſe he was no longer obliged to ſtruggle againſt the winds and currents; for here the coaſt bending to the ſouth, he continued his voyage without any difficulty, by the aſſiſtance of the eaſterly trade-winds. The Admiral found the people here very jealous the Spaniards had ſome deſign upon their country, and came down armed, in great numbers, with bows and arrows, ſpears and clubs, as if they intended to diſpute their landing: But afterwards, finding the Spaniards only wanted to trade with them, they became more tractable, and exchanged cotton-linnen, and plates of gold for ſome European toys. But, it ſeems, one of the Admiral's people taking out a pen and ink, and beginning to write down his obſervations on the people and country, the natives immediately fled, and left all the things behind them they had received of the Spaniards: From whence the Admiral conceived they thought they ſhould be bewitched, if they converſed any longer with his men. It is remarkable alſo, that here the Spaniards met with ſeveral dead bodies embalm'd, and wrapp'd in cotton ſheets, and ſo perfectly dry, that they had no manner of ill-ſcent. Theſe were repoſited in tombs, in a large wooden houſe or temple, and over each tomb was laid a board, with the figures of beaſts carv'd on it; and on ſome, the figures of the perſons deceaſed, adorned with beads, gold plates, &c.

On the ſecond of November, the Admiral continuing his voyage to the eaſtward, came to a large commodious harbour, to which he gave the name of Porto Bello, which it retains to this day; it lies in the province of Terra-firma Proper, in 10 degrees north latitude. Here he met with a great many Indian houſes well inhabited; and, on the iſlands near the ſhore, he found a great deal of Indian-corn, and other refreſhments, from whence he gave thoſe iſlands the name of the Baſtimento's, or, the Iſlands of Proviſion. Here the Admiral, underſtanding that there were gold mines in the province of Veragua, which lies to the weſtward of Terra-firma, he returned again to that coaſt, where he met with ſuch ſtormy weather, that it almoſt deſtroyed his ſhips, and reduced his men to deſpair: But the weather favouring him at length, he ſent ſome men a-ſhore in ſearch of the golden mountains he had heard ſo much of, and they had the ſatisfaction of gathering ſome gold, at the roots of trees, and near the ſurface of the earth; which made the Admiral determine to ſettle a colony in Veragua, and leave his brother Governor of it 'till he returned to Spain for further reinforcements.

Accordingly he built a little town and fort, in which he left his brother, and a garriſon of eighty men, ſupplying them with arms, ammunition and proviſions: But apprehending the friendſhip of the natives was not to be depended upon, before he ſet ſail, he ordered his brother to make the Cacique or Prince of that part of the country, with his family, and the principal natives, priſoners; which he did, and ſent them on board the Spaniſh ſhips: But the Cacique, and moſt of the priſoners, jumping into the ſea, and making their eſcapes, raiſed the whole country upon the Spaniards; and killing ſome, and wounding others, oblig'd them to quit their new ſettlement; and it was with great difficulty that the reſt eſcap'd to their ſhips, one of which was ſo eaten up with worms, that they were obliged to leave her behind. After this unfortunate rencounter the Admiral ſet ſail with the three remaining ſhips, in a miſerable ſhatter'd condition, and arriv'd again at Porto Bello; where he was forced to leave another of his ſhips, ſhe was ſo diſabled by the tempeſtuous weather they had on this coaſt, or the worm. From Porto Bello, he directed his courſe north, 'till he made the great iſland of Cuba, and on Midſummer-day they arrived at Jamaica, their ſhips ſo leaky, that they found it almoſt impoſſible to keep them above water 'till they got to ſhore. Whereupon they run them both a-ground in a ſmall creek cloſe together, about a muſket-ſhot from land, where they ſupported and ſhored up the ſhips with timber, and liv'd on board them above a year, trafficking with the country people for proviſions; but they did not care to lie on ſhore for fear of being ſurprized and deſtroyed by the natives, if any quarrel ſhould happen between them and the Spaniards.

In the mean time, the Admiral ſent over ſome of his crew to Hiſpaniola, in open canoes, to get ſhips to carry him and his company off. This was a very hazardous enterprize; for theſe canoes, which are only ſmall boats made out of trunks of trees, were to paſs the ocean about fifty leagues, and are in danger of being overſet in every little ſtorm. However, they arrived ſafe at Hiſpaniola; but the Governor, who was an enemy to the Admiral, delay'd ſending ſhips ſo long, that his people mutinied, and one half of them left him, and went on ſhore on the iſland, where they committed great outrages, 'till the Admiral fought them, and reduced them to their duty by force, many of the Spaniards being killed on both ſides in the engagement. At length, the Admiral's people having bought and fitted out a ſhip, at his charge, in the iſland of Hiſpaniola (in which they had no aſſiſtance from the Governor) they came back to Jamaica, and brought the Admiral off, after he had ſpent above a year there, in great diſtreſs, and lain moſt of the time bed-rid with the gout. The Admiral arrived at St. Domingo, in Hiſpaniola, the 13th of Auguſt, 1504; and, having ſettled his affairs in this iſland, where he had a good eſtate, and effects of value, he returned to Spain, where his Catholick Majeſty receiv'd him, in appearance, very graciouſly; but it ſeems was contriving, at the ſame time, to deprive him of moſt of the advantages he had ſtipulated to allow him, on the Admiral's undertaking the diſcovery of that new world: For his great patroneſs Queen ISABELLA was now dead, and moſt of the Court envied him the wealth and honour he had acquired, how juſtly ſoever he merited them, and that chiefly, becauſe he was a foreigner. But, notwithſtanding the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny the malice of his enemies could make, it does not appear that any thing was fix'd upon him, that could ſully his character, unleſs it was his too great zeal to ſerve the ungrateful Spaniards, and enlarge their dominions, by bringing the innocent, inoffenſive Indians under the ſubjection of that cruel and haughty people. But he, as well as the reſt of the Popiſh world, it ſeems, was then of opinion, that his Holineſs had the diſpoſal of all Pagan countries, and could confer them on whom he pleaſed: Or, that all Infidel nations ought of right to become ſlaves to the Chriſtians. Theſe notions he certainly went upon, or he could not with any colour of juſtice have ſubdued Hiſpaniola, and made the Indians of this and other places captives, who received him as a friend, traffick'd with his people, and furniſhed them with whatever their reſpective countries afforded.

If we conſider, I ſay, that the Spaniards could have no right to invade the Indians, enſlave them, or deprive them of their country; even this memorable enterprize of COLUMBUS cannot be defended. However, in the light he viewed things, with all his prejudices and prepoſſeſſions about him; as he thought he was doing GOD good ſervice, by enlarging the bounds of Chriſtendom, and reducing the nations of this new world, to ſubmit to the Goſpel; or, which he took to be the ſame thing, to the Pope and his Catholick Majeſty; it muſt be admitted he intended well, tho' all he did was not ſtrictly juſt.

And what was the end of all this mighty diſcovery in regard to himſelf? He was indeed, at firſt highly careſs'd and honoured, his family ennobled and vaſtly enrich'd: But if we conſider the infinite hazards and labours he underwent, even in his old age, and that he ſaw himſelf at laſt about to be deprived of ſo many years toil and perplexity; we cannot wonder it had an effect upon his health, which the numerous hardſhips he had ſuffered had already greatly impaired: It is rather to be admired he ſtruggled ſo long under a train of calamities, of which the ingratitude of the Spaniards was not the leaſt. This, it appears, ſat heavy upon him; and being retired to the city of Validolid, we find he there left this life for a better, on the 20th of May, 1506; dying, 'tis ſaid, with abundance of reſignation, under a ſenſe, no doubt, that the moſt important ſervices, attended by the moſt ſurpriſing ſucceſs, were thrown away upon an ungrateful nation: He ſaw they could not procure him a continuance of the fame he had ſo juſtly acquired, or a moment's repoſe in his old age; and that there was no reſt, or real felicity, to be found on this ſide the grave.

After his death, indeed, his Catholick Majeſty was ſo juſt to this Great man, as to bury him magnificently in the Cathedral of Seville, and to erect a tomb to his memory, with this inſcription: THAT COLUMBUS HAD GIVEN A NEW WORLD TO CASTILE AND LEON.

From this relation it appears, that the Admiral in perſon diſcovered the Lucayo's, or Bahama iſlands, the great iſlands of Cuba, Hiſpaniola, and Porto-Rico, with ſeveral of the Caribbee Iſlands; that he afterwards diſcovered the countries of Paria, and Guiana, near the mouth of the river Oroonoko, in South-America, and the iſland of Trinity, which lies in 10 degrees north latitude, before the mouth of the ſaid river Oroonoko; that he alſo diſcovered Yucatan, a province of Mexico, the Bay of Honduras, and all that coaſt which runs ſouth-eaſt from thence, as far as Porto Bello, and the river or gulph of Darien, and received ſome intelligence of that vaſt ocean, which has ſince obtained the name of the South-ſeas: So that all thoſe, who afterwards extended the diſcoveries of the Spaniards in the new world, only improv'd what the great COLUMBUS had begun; and yet we find one of them (viz.) AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, of whom I am to treat in the next place, had the good fortune to give his name to that vaſt continent.

Americus Veſputius the ſecond Diſcoverer

The enemies of COLUMBUS having given the Court of Spain an ill opinion of him, it appears they employed AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, a Florentine, in the year 1497, to improve and enlarge the diſcoveries begun by that Great man; but however fortunate this gentleman might be in making diſcoveries, he gives the lameſt account of them of any man that ever was employed in ſuch an undertaking. He ſays, he touched at the Canaries in this voyage, and, having ſailed a thouſand leagues to the weſtward, arrived at a country ſituated in 16 degrees of north latitude, which muſt be ſome of the Caribbee iſlands: He ſailed near nine hundred leagues further weſtward afterwards, and came to a country under the Tropic of Cancer, which, by the latitude and diſtance to the weſtward, ſeems to be part of Mexico. He did not attempt to make ſettlements any where, and probably was not provided for it, but ſatisfied himſelf with having trafficked with ſome of the Indians for trifles, and fought with others, whoſe arms were like thoſe COLUMBUS met with in other places.

He made another voyage in the ſervice of the Spaniard, the following year 1498; and ſailing to the ſouth-weſt, paſſed the Equator, and came to a country in five degrees of north latitude; which, in all likelihood, was Surinam, in the province of Guiana. Here he traded with the natives for pearls, and ſome gold, which they exchanged for glaſs and toys, and returned home by Antegoa, one of the Leeward iſlands.

EMANUEL, King of Portugal, afterwards entertained AMERICUS VESPUTIUS in his ſervice; and in May 1501, he ſailed from Liſbon with three ſhips; and, coming again upon the continent of South-America, in five degrees of ſouth latitude, he ſailed afterwards along that coaſt to the ſouthward, till he came into 52 degrees of ſouth latitude, when the cold and tempeſtuous weather obliged him to return home. Thus having diſcovered a continent in the new world, little inferior, in dimenſions, to that of the old, he was ſo happy as to give his name to the whole, which, from him, has ever ſince gone under the name of America, tho' he never attempted to make one ſettlement in it, either for the King of Spain, or the King of Portugal, who employed him in theſe diſcoveries; while COLUMBUS, who firſt went in ſearch of this continent, and made ſuch acquiſitions in it for the Spaniard, did not give his name to one ſingle place. But 'tis obſervable, that both theſe enterprizing gentlemen were Italians; and, as their anceſtors had formerly the honour of ſubduing the greateſt part of the old world; ſo theſe traced out the way to the new, and gave the Spaniards an opportunity of conquering the greateſt part of this new world.

Cabot's diſcoveries.

The next, or rather a cotemporary Diſcoverer with AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, was CABOT, an Italian alſo, or at leaſt of Italian extraction; for ſome affirm, he was born at Briſtol in England of Genoeſe parents. This gentleman was employed by King HENRY VII. to find out a paſſage to China, and the Eaſt-Indies, by the north-weſt; and accordingly he ſet out from England, in the year 1498, and ſail'd along the continent of America, to 67 degrees of northern latitude; but his men murmuring at the hardſhips they underwent in that cold climate, he returned home, bringing with him only ſome of the ſavage natives of thoſe frozen regions. (The ſame CABOT, or his ſon, 'tis ſaid, firſt attempted the finding a way to China by the north-eaſt, and in that voyage diſcovered the way to Archangel in Muſcovy by the North Cape.) But to return to the Weſt.

Thus have we ſeen that vaſt continent of America, diſcovered (from 67 degrees north latitude to 52 ſouth) within the compaſs of about ten years; but the Spaniards did not penetrate far into the inland country, 'till ſome years afterwards.

The diſcoveries of Vaſco Nunez de Balboa.

The next conſiderable Diſcoverer, was VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA, who proſecuting what had been begun by COLUMBUS, made an entire conqueſt of Cuba, and found it to be an iſland; then he ſail'd to the river of Darien, on the iſthmus of America, where COLUMBUS had attempted to make a ſettlement, but was driven from it. Here VASCO built a fort and town, which he named Sancta Maria del Antigua, or Old St. Mary's; and cultivating a correſpondence with the Caciques, or petty Kings thereabouts, they ſhew'd him the way to the South-ſea, over thoſe vaſt mountains that run along the middle of the iſthmus, parallel to the North and South-ſeas; and tho' it was not more than three or fourſcore miles from the one ſea to the other, yet their way lay over ſuch craggy precipices, and was incumbered with ſuch thick woods, that they travelled 25 days before they came in ſight of the South-ſea: And there VASCO, upon the higheſt mountain, erected croſſes, and took poſſeſſion of the country for their Catholick Majeſties; as he did ſoon after of the South-ſea itſelf, and of all its coaſts and bays for the crown of Caſtile and Leon, in the year 1513. He aftewards erected the fortreſs of Panama on the South-ſea, and fitted out a fleet to make further diſcoveries on that ocean; for which ſervices the Court of Spain made him Governor of Cuba and Panama, and Admiral of the South-ſeas. But, the King of Spain ſending over PEDRARIAS, Vice-roy of Darien and the continent, with a ſuperior command to that of VASCO NUNEZ, the Vice-roy took an opportunity to pick a quarrel with VASCO, and cauſ'd him to be put to death under a colour of law.

Fernando Cortez's diſcoveries and conqueſts.

The next great Diſcoverer and Conqueror, was FERNANDO CORTEZ, who began the conqueſt of Mexico in the year 1518; of which I ſhall give a particular account in this work.

Magellan's diſcoveries.

The famous MAGELLAN, in 1520, diſcovered the ſtraights (to which he gave his name) in South-America; from whence he ſailed thro' the South-ſea to the Eaſt-Indies, being the firſt Commander that attempted that paſſage: His ſhip ſurrounded the globe, and returned ſafe home, tho' he had the misfortune to be killed in an iſland of the Eaſt-Indies. But I refer the Reader to the former volumes of *Modern Hiſtory* for a full account of this firſt voyage round the globe.

Pizarro' Almagro their diſcoveries and conqueſts.

The laſt diſcoveries I ſhall mention in this Introduction, are FRANCIS PIZARRO, DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO, and FERNANDO DE LUQUE, who, in confederacy or partnerſhip, undertook the diſcovery of Peru, from Panama by ſea, in the year 1525, and afterwards made a conqueſt of great part of that extenſive empire. Of all which diſcoveries and conqueſts, the Reader will meet with a particular account in the hiſtory of America.

THE

THE PRESENT STATE OF AMERICA in general.

CHAP. I.

Of the name, and ſeveral grand diviſions of AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

The name

THE natives of this new world had no general name for their country when the Spaniards arriv'd amongſt them in the 15th century; but the moſt conſiderable empire in North America, went under the name of Mexico, and that in the ſouth, under the name of Peru. AMERICA VESPUSIUS, who diſcover'd the eaſtern coaſt of South America, had the honour firſt of communicating his name to the whole continent, which it retains to this day.

America ſubject to four European Princes.

As the greateſt and beſt part of America is now under dominion of four European Monarchs; namely, of the Kings of Spain, Portugal, Great Britain and France, I ſhall throw the whole into four grand diviſions, and treat of them as ſubject to one or other of theſe four Princes; tho' it muſt be confeſs'd, many nations of the inland Indians ſtill retain their original freedom, and own no ſubjection to any foreign power: And there are ſome ſmall ſettlements in America belonging to the Dutch, the Dane and ~~the~~ other European powers; but theſe will be taken notice of, and deſcribed in treating of thoſe countries that lie contiguous to one or the other of the aboveſaid four grand diviſions reſpectively.

The Spaniſh dominions in America.

And firſt, I ſhall deſcribe the Spaniſh dominions in America, which comprehend, 1. Old Mexico, or New Spain; 2. New Mexico; and 3. Florida (in North America;) 4. Terra Firma; 5. Peru; 6. Chili; 7. Patagonia, or, the Terra Magellenica; 8. Paragua, or La Plata; 9. the country of the Amazons; and, 10. the iſlands belonging to Spain, both in North and South America.

The Spaniſh territories upon the continent lie contiguous, and, according to their accounts, extend from 45 degrees north latitude to the Streights of Magellan, which lie in 54 degrees of ſouth latitude, and, conſequently, take up 99 degrees of latitude, which allowing 70 miles to a degree, makes the length near 7000 miles; but the breadth is very unequal, and, in many places, very uncertain: However, thus much is certain, that in ſome parts, the Spaniſh America is near 1500 miles broad, and in others, not 100 miles broad.

The dominions of Portugal.

2. The ſecond grand diviſion of America is that under the dominion of Portugal, which conſiſts of the country of Braſil, extending from the mouth of the river Amazon, under the Equator, to the mouth of the river La Plata, which lies in 35 degrees of ſouth latitude; being 2400 miles and upwards, if we meaſure in a direct line, from north to ſouth; but if we take in the winding of the ſhores, Braſil will be found to have a ſea-coaſt of near 4000 miles, tho' it is not 200 miles broad in many places. Neither the Spaniſh or Portugueſe America extend to any great diſtance from the ſea-coaſt; tho' theſe Powers lay claim to the whole continent of South America. The natives, who live 2 or 300 miles from the ſea-coaſt, ſcarce own any ſubjection to either of them.

CHAP. I.

The Britiſh dominion there.

3. The third grand diviſion of America is that under the dominion of the King of Great-Britain; which lies along the eaſtern coaſt of North America, from 31 degrees to 51 north latitude, comprehending, 1. Carolina (in which Georgia is included;) 2. Virginia; 3. Maryland; 4. Penſilvania; 5. New Jerſey; 6. New York; 7. New England; 8. New Scotland and new Britain; 9. the iſlands belonging to Great-Britain; and, laſtly, Hudſon's Bay, which lies moſt to the northward of any of our ſettlements, and is detach'd from the reſt.

The Britiſh dominions, that lie contiguous on the continent, run from the ſouth-weſt to the north-eaſt, and are upwards of 1500 miles in length, but breadth ſcarce 200 in many places.

The territories claim'd by France.

4. The fourth grand diviſion of America is that which the French pretend is ſubject to them; and, according to their maps, extends from the north ſide of the Gulph of Mexico or Florida, to the north of Canada, that is from the latitude of 28 to 52 degrees and upwards of northern latitude; ſo that they would have us believe, their territories extend near 1700 miles in length from north to ſouth, and are little leſs in breadth from eaſt to weſt, for their maps lay them down between their Britiſh dominions on the eaſt, and New Mexico on the weſt, comprehending moſt part of Florida and Canada, to which their Geographers have given the name of Louiſiana and New France.

The Spaniards and Engliſh more right to Florida than the French.

But Florida and Canada may with much more propriety be aſſigned to the Spaniards and the Engliſh, than to the French; for the Spaniards firſt diſcovered and made ſettlements in South Florida, ſome of which they poſſeſs at this day, as they do the entire weſt ſide of Florida and Canada: The Engliſh, on the other hand, have been long poſſeſs'd of Virginia and Carolina, which were originally part of Florida, and of ſeveral places in Canada; while the French have only two or three little ſettlements on the Gulph of Florida or Mexico, near the mouth of the river Miſſiſippi, to entitle them to Florida; and a man may travel ſome hundreds of miles, both in Florida and Canada, without meeting with a French ſettlement, or even with a ſingle Frenchman. To ſay the truth, very few of the Indians of Florida or Canada are yet ſubject to any European power; and a very ſmall part of their country the property of any foreigner. The only juſt and legal way of becoming proprietors of any part of either, is by treaty with the natives, and giving them what they eſteem a valuable conſideration for it; as our adventurers in Georgia actually do for whatever they intend to plant or cultivate.

The maps of theſe countries ought to be corrected.

We are extremely weak, in aſſigning this fine country, containing a ſquare of 1500 miles of a ſide, to France, which lies on the back of all the Britiſh ſettlements; and that for no other reaſon, than that the French have aſſurance enough to lay claim to it, eſpecially ſince this claim, if it be allow'd, muſt for ever exclude us from extending our ſettlements to the weſtward: I hope, therefore, our Britiſh Geographers will be commanded by their ſuperiors, to blot Louiſiana and New France out of their maps, and reſtore the primitive names of Florida and Canada to thoſe countries; and that they ſhall not be ſuffer'd ſtupidly to follow the French Geography, and give that people a colour for their encroachments on the Britiſh plantations.

France already looks upon the great rivers of Miſſiſippi and St. Laurence as her own, and will, no doubt, if ever it is in her power, ſwallow up all thoſe countries that border upon them, or which lie between the mouths of thoſe two rivers, in which ſpace lie moſt of the Britiſh dominions on the continent of America. But I ſhall further explain the dangerous conſequences of permitting ſuch an alteration in our maps, when I come to treat of Florida and Canada, and the Engliſh dominions that lie contiguous to thoſe countries: In the mean time, I ſhall apply myſelf to enquire into the preſent ſtate of the Spaniſh territories in America, deſcribing the ſeveral ſubdiviſions of that empire; and firſt treat of that of Mexico, or New Spain.

CHAP. II.

The preſent ſtate of Mexico:

Deſcribing the ſituation and extent of Mexico, *or* New Spain; *and the face of the country.*

CHAP. II.

The ſituation and extent of Mexico.

MEXICO is bounded by New Mexico or Granada, and Florida, on the north; by the Gulph of Mexico, and the north ſea, on the north-eaſt; by Terra Firma Proper, in South America, on the ſouth-eaſt; and by the Pacific Ocean, or South-ſea, on the ſouth-weſt; and lies between 7 degrees and 28 degrees of north-latitude; and between the 83d and 116th degrees of weſtern longitude from the meridian of London, ſtretching along the South-ſea 2000 miles and upwards; and on the North-ſea, and the Gulph of Mexico, more than 1500 miles; but the breadth is very unequal; for upon the confines of New Mexico, where it extends from the Gulph of California on the weſt, to Florida on the eaſt, it is upwards of 600 miles broad; and in the province of Veragua, from the North-ſea on the north-eaſt, to the South-ſea on the ſouth-weſt, being the narroweſt part of the iſthmus, it is very little more than 60 miles broad; and the form is ſo irregular, that it can only be comprehended by a view of the following map of Mexico.

The face of the country.

Mountains.

Valleys.

Flat country.

Mexico is very much encumber'd with mountains, which are, for the moſt part, cover'd with woods; but there are a chain of hills higher than uſual, that run almoſt the whole length of it, from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt: From theſe we deſcend to other hills, on either ſide conſiderably lower; and between the hills, are many fine fruitful valleys, but ſcarce any plains of a conſiderable extent. Which way ſoever we turn our eyes, the proſpect is bounded by hills and woods, 'till we come near the North, or South-ſeas: But the lands, near the ſea-coaſt, eſpecially on the North-ſea, are ſo flat and low, that they lie under water great part of the rainy ſeaſon; and upon theſe moraſſes and bogs, are thickets of Bamboo canes, mangroves, thorns and briars, ſo cloſely mix'd and interwoven, that it is almoſt impoſſible to penetrate them, without cutting a way through with a hatchet. There are, indeed, ſome ſandy bays, where it is tolerable landing; but there is much more of the mangrove land, where a man muſt wade up to the middle in mud, before he can get to the dry ground. Beyond the mangroves, indeed, we meet with fine ſavannahs or meadows, lying between little riſing hills; and on the north-weſt coaſt of the South-ſea, near the Gulph of California, the mountains come almoſt cloſe to the ſhore; and there is none of theſe moraſſes or mangrove lands, that we find in other places.

Vulcano's and earthquakes.

And it is very remarkable, that the mountains on the weſt ſide of Mexico, are moſt of them vulcano's, from whence fire and ſmoke are perpetually iſſuing; and this is ſuppoſed to be the occaſion of thoſe frequent earthquakes that happen on this coaſt, in which whole towns are ſometimes buried.

Woods.

Upon theſe mountains, there is a great variety of fine, large timber, and little or no underwood: A man may ride through them without any difficulty; whereas the woods upon the coaſt in the flat country, are ſo full of buſhes and underwood, that there is ſcarce any breaking through them, as has been obſerv'd already.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſeas, gulphs, or bays, capes, lakes, rivers, and ſprings in Mexico.

CHAP. III.

The ſeas of Mexico.

THE ſeas of Mexico are, either the Gulph of Mexico, and the North-ſea, on the north-eaſt, or the Pacific Ocean, on the ſouth-weſt.

The chief bays and gulphs on the north-ſide.

In the Gulph of Mexico, lies the famous Bay of Campeachy, between 18 and 20 degrees north latitude, where the greateſt quantities of Logwood are cut. And between Jucatan and Honduras, is another great bay, call'd the Gulph of Honduras, lying between the 15th and 18th degree of north latitude. The chief capes in theſe ſeas, are, 1. Cape Condecedo; and 2. Cape Catorh: The firſt the north-weſt, and the other the north-eaſt point of Jucatan; 3. Cape Honduras; 4. Cape Cameron, on the north of the province of Honduras; and, 5. Cape Gratia Dios, being the north-eaſt point, a promontory of the ſame province. In the Pacific Ocean, are the Gulph of Salinas, or Nicoya, in 10 degrees north latitude; and the Gulph of Amapalla, in 12 degrees north latitude: and the Capes are, Cape Blanco, in 9 degrees north latitude, and Cape Corientes, in 20 degrees north latitude.

Cape Condecedo.
Cape Catorh.
Cape Honduras.
Cape Cameron.
Cape Gratia Dios.
Gulphs on the ſouth-ſide.
Cape Blanco.
Cape Corientes.

Lake of Nicaragua.

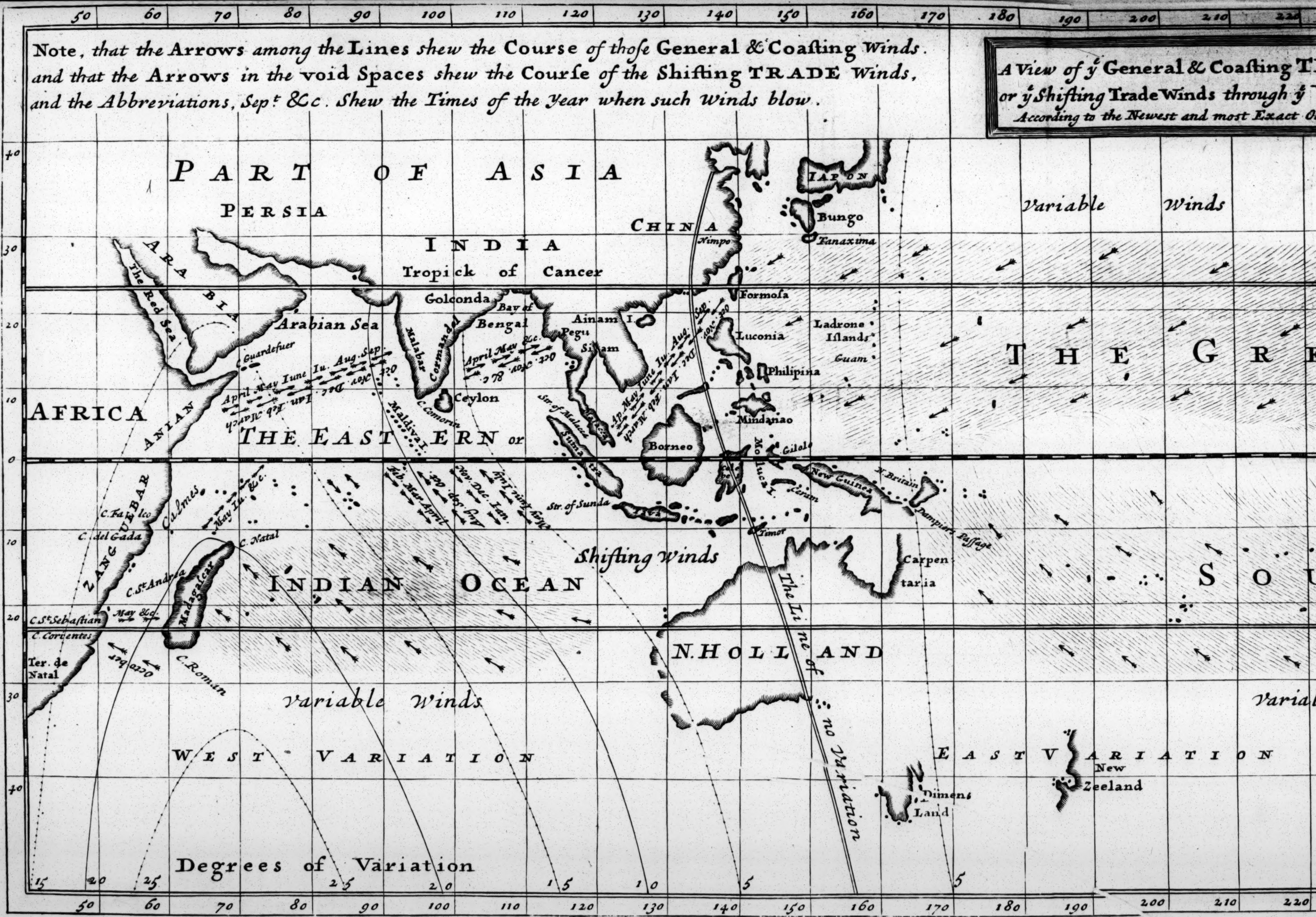
Lake of Mexico.

The chief lakes are, that of Nicaragua, in the province of the ſame name, which has a communication with the North-ſea by the river of Nicaragua; and the other way extends almoſt to the South-ſea: And, 2. the Lake of Mexico, in which the Metropolis ſtands. Theſe, and the reſt of the lakes with which this country abounds, will be more particularly deſcrib'd in treating of the reſpective provinces.

3 MA 53

A View of yᵉ General & Coaſting T
or yᵉ Shifting Trade Winds through yᵉ
According to the Newest and most Exact O

Note, that the Arrows among the Lines ſhew the Courſe of thoſe General & Coaſting Winds. and that the Arrows in the void Spaces ſhew the Courſe of the Shifting TRADE Winds, and the Abbreviations, Sepᵗ. &c. Shew the Times of the Year when ſuch Winds blow.



50
60
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80
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100
110
120
130
140
150
160
170
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20
30
40
PART OF ASIA
PERSIA
INDIA
CHINA
Nimpo
IAPON
Bungo
Tanaxima
Variable Winds
ARABIA
The Red Sea
Tropick of Cancer
Golconda
Bay of Bengal
Ainam I.
Pegu
Siam
Formosa
Luconia
Ladrone Islands
Guam
Philipina
Arabian Sea
Malabar
Cormandel
C. Guardefuer
April May June Iu. Aug. Sep.
Oct. Nov. Dec. Ian. Feb. March
April May &c.
Oct. Nov. &c.
Ceylon
C. Comorin
Maldivi I.
AFRICA
ANIAN
THE EASTERN or
Str. of Malacca
Sumatra
Ap. May June Iu. Aug. Sep.
Oct. Nov. Dec. Ian. Feb. March
Borneo
Mindanao
Gilolo
Moluca I.
Ceram
New Guinea
N. Britain
THE GR
ZANGUEBAR
C. Fa lco
C. del Gada
Calmes
May Iu. &c.
C. Natal
Feb. Mar. April
Aug. Sep. Oct.
Nov. Dec. Ian.
May Iune Iuly
Str. of Sunda
Iava
Timor
Dampiers Passage
Shifting Winds
Carpentaria
C. St. Andrea
Madagascar
INDIAN OCEAN
SOU
C. St. Sebastian
C. Corientes
May &c.
Octo ber
Ter. de Natal
C. Roman
N. HOLLAND
The Line of no Variation
Variable Winds
Varia
WEST VARIATION
EAST VARIATION
New Zeeland
Diments Land
Degrees of Variation
15
20
25
25
20
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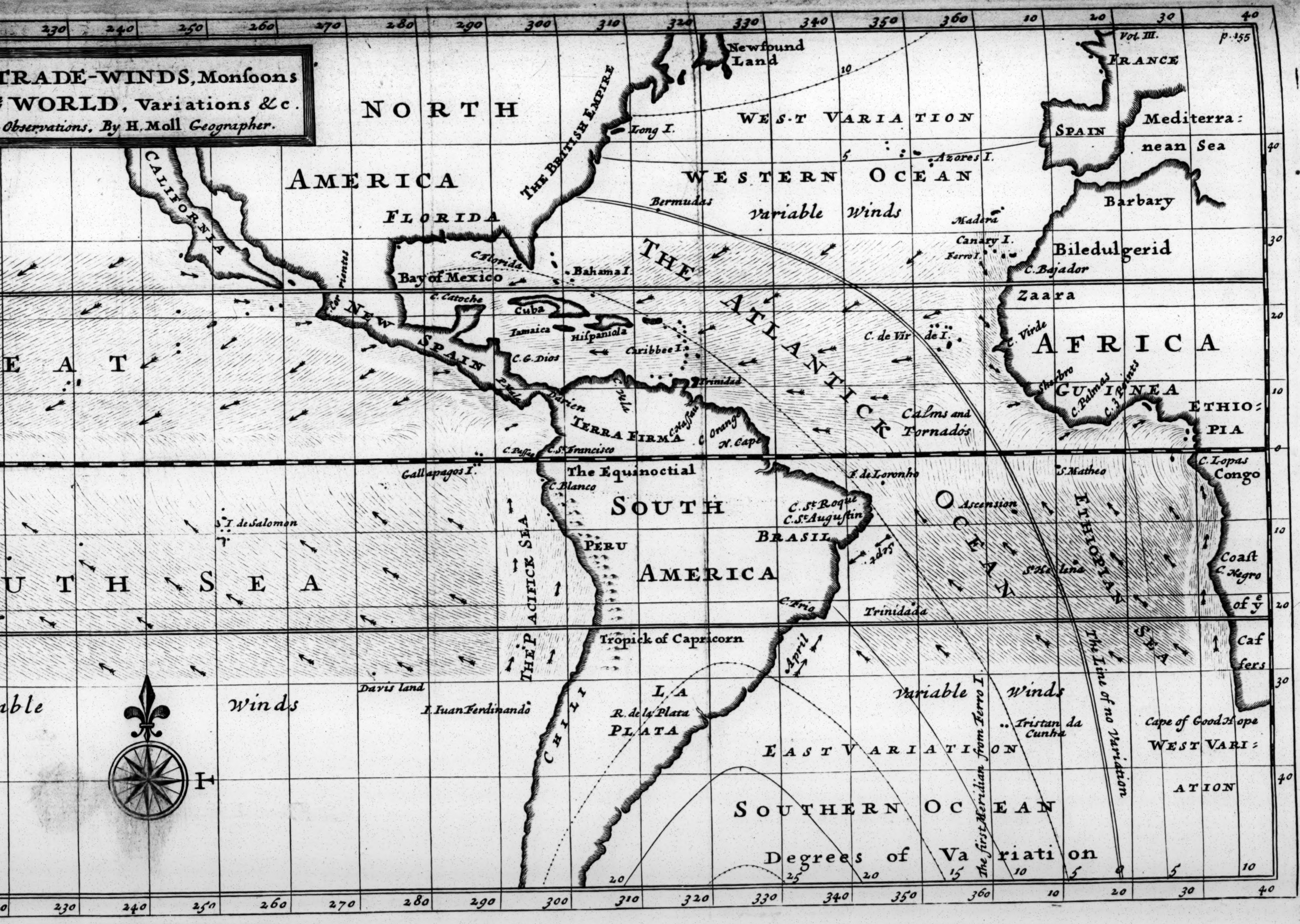
10
5
5


TRADE-WINDS, Monsoons
WORLD, Variations &c.
Observations. By H. Moll Geographer.
NORTH AMERICA
CALIFORNIA
THE BRITISH EMPIRE
Newfound Land
Long I.
FLORIDA
C. Florida
Bay of Mexico
Bahama I.
C. Catoche
Cuba
Jamaica
Hispaniola
Caribbee I.
NEW SPAIN
C. G. Dios
Darien
TERRA FIRMA
Trinidad
C. Orang
N. Cape
C. S. Francisco
Gallapagos I.
The Equinoctial
C. Blanco
SOUTH AMERICA
PERU
BRASIL
C. St. Roque
C. St. Augustin
C. Frio
Tropick of Capricorn
CHILI
LA PLATA
R. de la Plata
THE PACIFICK SEA
I. de Salomon
Davis land
I. Iuan Ferdinando
EAT
UTH SEA
able
Winds
WEST VARIATION
WESTERN OCEAN
variable Winds
Azores I.
Bermudas
Madera
Canary I.
Ferro I.
THE ATLANTICK OCEAN
C. de Vir de I.
Calms and Tornados
F. de Loronho
Ascension
S. Helena
Trinidada
April
variable Winds
Tristan da Cunha
EAST VARIATION
SOUTHERN OCEAN
Degrees of Variation
The first Meridian from Ferro I.
The Line of no Variation
FRANCE
SPAIN
Mediterranean Sea
Barbary
Biledulgerid
C. Bajador
Zaara
C. Virde
AFRICA
Sherbro
GUINEA
C. Palmas
C. 3 Points
ETHIOPIA
S. Matheo
C. Lopas
Congo
ETHIOPIAN SEA
Coast C. Negro of ye Caffers
Cape of Good Hope
WEST VARIATION
230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340 350 360 10 20 30 40
40 30 20 10 0 10 20 30 40
20 25 20 15 10 5 0 5 10

Chief rivers. The North river. Panuco river.

The principal rivers in Mexico are, 1. the North river, which riſes in New Mexico; and, after running a very long courſe to the ſouth-eaſt, falls into the Gulph of Mexico, in 26 degrees north latitude.

2. The river of Panuco, or Tompeque, which riſes very far within the land, and running eaſtward, falls into the Gulph of Mexico, in 23 degrees, 50 minutes, north latitude.

Alvarado river.

3. The river Alvarado, compoſed of three rivers, which, riſing in different parts of the country, unite their ſtreams, and fall into the Gulph of Mexico, in 19 degrees north-latitude, 6 leagues to the eaſtward of Vera Cruz.

Tobaſco river.

4. Tobaſco river, which riſing not far from the South-ſea, runs to the north-eaſt, and falls into the Bay of Campeachy, in 19 degrees north latitude to the eaſtward of Tobaſco river.

Xagua.

5. The river Xagua, which riſes in the province of Honduras, and, taking its courſe to the north-eaſt, falls into the North-ſea, near Cape Gratia Dios, in 14 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude. And,

Yara river.

6. The river Yara, which riſing in the province of Nicaragua, to the northward of the lake of that name, runs eaſt, and falls into the North-ſea, in 13 degrees north latitude. Theſe rivers are moderately large, and would be navigable ſome of them, for great ſhips, if they were not choak'd up with bars of ſand at their entrance. However, boats and ſmall veſſels may enter them, and frequently do ſail up them many miles.

There are a multitude of other rivers, which riſing in the neighbouring hills, fall into the Gulph of Mexico, and the North-ſea, eſpecially during the rainy ſeaſon: Theſe over-flow all the low lands; but when fair weather returns, they are dried up, and ſcarce any freſh water is to be met with, in many places.

Roſario river.

The chief rivers of Mexico, which falls into the South-ſea, are, 1. Roſario, which runs from eaſt to weſt, and falls into the South-ſea, in 22 degrees, 51 minutes ſouth latitude: Some gold mines lying within two or three leagues of this river, the ſands of it are rich in gold.

Teguantipique.

2. The river Teguantipique, which riſes not far from the North-ſea, and running weſtward, falls into the South-ſea in 15 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, near a Town of the ſame name.

Lempa river.

3. The river Lempa, ſaid to be the largeſt in this country, runs from north to ſouth, and falls into the South-ſea in 13 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, near the town of Trinidad.

As to hot baths and medicinal ſprings, Mexico abounds with them; eſpecially thoſe places which lie near the burning mountains: And, in the dry ſeaſon, the waters of many of their lakes and rivers are ſalt or brackiſh; but their waters will be treated of more particularly in the reſpective provinces where they lie.

CHAP. IV.

Of the winds and tides, the temperature of the air, and ſeaſons of Mexico.

Winds of Mexico. Trade winds. Winds under the Equator.

IN every ocean, whether the Indian, Atlantic, or Pacifick Ocean, the wind continually blows from eaſt to weſt, between the latitudes of 30 north and ſouth (a little diſtance from land); only to the northward of the Equator it inclines north-eaſt, and to the ſouthward of the Equator, ſouth-eaſt; to which rule there is only this exception, that under the Line, and for two or three degrees on each ſide, the winds are variable, and perpetually changing; and ſometimes there is ſo little wind, and ſuch calms, under the Line, that a ſhip ſhall not ſail a league in a month's time.

Munſoons. Sea and land breezes.

However, upon every coaſt, almoſt, within the latitude of 30 north or ſouth, there are other periodical winds and ſtorms that return at certain ſeaſons of the year, call'd Munſoons; and there are, during the fair ſeaſon, land and ſea breezes, which conſtantly take their turns at ſtated hours every day, and particularly upon the north and ſouth coaſt of Mexico, the Country I am now deſcribing.

The land breezes begin here late in the evening, and blow 'till ſix or ſeven the next morning, when they die away inſenſibly; and from that time 'till near noon, it is generally calm. About noon the ſea breeze riſes, and refreſhes the inhabitants, who would, otherwiſe, faint with heat; the forenoon, therefore, is much the hotteſt time of the day within the Tropics. But the land winds are not hot in Mexico, as they are in the Eaſt-Indies, where they blow over a long tract of burning ſand: On the contrary, 'tis obſerv'd, that the winds, which blow from the mountains in the middle of this country, are colder than thoſe that come from the ſea.

There are ſome hours difference on different coaſts, as to the riſing of the ſea and land breezes. In ſome places the ſea breezes begin at nine or ten o'clock, or at eleven at fartheſt; but at others, they do not ſet in 'till one in the afternoon: In like manner, the land breezes begin ſome hours before midnight on ſome coaſts, and not 'till after midnight on others. And it is obſerv'd, that theſe ſea and land breezes very ſeldom blow directly on or off the ſhore, but obliquely; as where the coaſt runs north and ſouth, theſe winds blow from the north-weſt, or north-eaſt; and in ſouth latitude, from the ſouth-weſt or ſouth-eaſt: And Mr. DAMPIER, I perceive, takes the ſea breezes to be nothing elſe but the true trade-wind, which always blows from the north-eaſt or the ſouth-eaſt, or pretty near thoſe points; and that theſe winds only ceaſe blowing upon the coaſt for about twelve hours every night, when the land wind prevails: For he obſerves, that ſuch promontories and head-lands as run far out into the ſea, have much more of the ſea breeze than bays and creeks, which are almoſt ſurrounded by the land; and, conſequently, ſuch parts of the coaſt are much hotter than thoſe that lie open to the ocean.

Storms.

The rainy ſeaſon, which begins uſually in May, and laſts 'till September, is introduced with thunder and lightening, tornadoes and hurricanes, when the wind blows almoſt from every point of the compaſs; but the worſt weather is in June and July. DAMPIER informs us alſo, that there are ſtrong north winds that blow in the Gulph of Mexico, and in the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras, between the months of October and March, about the full and change of the Moon, and are moſt violent in December and January.

Tides.

As to tides, DAMPIER obſerves, there are no places in the ocean without them; but that they riſe higheſt, and run ſtrongeſt, in narrow channels, bays and creeks, or up the mouths of rivers; and that on ſuch coaſts as have no bays or rivers, the tides are but weak, and ſcarce perceptible: That in the Bay of Campeachy, in the Gulph of Mexico, the tide runs very ſtrong, but does not riſe more than ſix or ſeven foot: On the other hand, in the Gulph of St. Michael's, on the coaſt of the South-ſea, he obſerv'd the tides roſe eighteen or twenty foot, while, in ſmall iſlands at a diſtance from the continent, it ſcarce riſes a foot and a half.

Wet and dry ſeaſons.

It is obſerv'd, that as the Sun approaches either of the Tropics, it carries wet weather ſo far with it; and when it is fartheſt from either Tropic, then the weather is fair under that Tropic. On the contrary, thoſe people who live without the Tropics, have their fair weather when the ſun is neareſt them, and wet weather when it is at the greateſt diſtance from them.

In Mexico, their rainy ſeaſon begins in April or May, and laſts 'till September, and ſometimes longer. It begins, as has been obſerv'd, with tornadoes, or tempeſts, firſt one in a day, afterwards more, encreaſing 'till the month of June, and then it rains for two months every day, great part of the four and twenty hours; but leſs in the morning, and in the day-time, than in the night: Thoſe, therefore, that are oblig'd to travel during this ſeaſon, ſet out early in the morning, that they may come to an end of their journey before the rain begins. And it is obſerv'd, that the rains continue much longer in bays upon the ſea-coaſts, and particularly in the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, than on capes and headlands, and higher up the country. In ſome bays, 'tis ſaid, the rainy ſeaſon continues near two thirds of the year.

Temperature of the air.

Theſe rains, which overflow all the flat country, the land and ſea breezes that blow alternately, and their numerous lakes, render the air cool, and make even the Torrid Zone habitable and pleaſant; the heats whereof would otherwiſe have been as inſupportable as the antients imagined them. The cooleſt part of the year is in the months of July and Auguſt, when the low lands lie under water: Then the natives really complain of cold, morning and evening, as they do in the ſucceeding months 'till February; though the weather then ſeems very moderate to an European conſtitution. The tops of the higheſt mountains are indeed ſometimes very cold, being cover'd with ſnow even in 16 or 18 degrees of north latitude; but here are very few towns. The people chuſe to reſide on thoſe eminences between the mountains and the flat country, where the air is moſt agreeable, and the earth moſt fruitful. The hotteſt time of the year is in February, March, and the beginning of April; for then the ſun is ſeldom obſcur'd by clouds, the waters are every where dried up, and it is very difficult then to meet with freſh water in ſome places.

Seed time and harveſt.

The chief ſeaſon for ſowing, or rather planting their Indian-corn, tho it will grow and come to maturity at any time almoſt, is in May and June (the beginning of the rainy ſeaſon) and they reap it in October, when the rains are over; their trees are ever green, and their fruits bloſſom and ripen almoſt all the year round: But I ſhall enlarge on this article, when I come to treat of their plants, corn and huſbandry.

CHAP. V.

Of the provinces Mexico *is divided into, its ſubdiviſions, and chief towns, with their publick and private buildings and furniture.*

CHAP. V.
Provinces.

MEXICO, or New Spain, is divided into three Audiences; viz. 1. The Audience of Guadalajara, or New Galicia; 2. The Audience of Mexico; and, 3. The Audience of Guatimala.

Guadalajara Audience.

The Audience of Guadalajara, or Galicia, is bounded by New Mexico on the north-weſt, by the Gulph of Mexico on the eaſt, by the Audience of Mexico on the ſouth-eaſt, and by the South-ſea and the Gulph of California on the ſouth-weſt, being 800 miles in length, and generally 500 or 600 miles broad, and is ſubdivided into the following ſeven provinces; viz. 1. Guadalajara Proper; 2. Zacatecas; 3. New Biſcay; 4. Cinoloa; 5. Culiacan; 6. Chametlan; and, 7. Xaliſco.

Subdiviſions of it.

Guadalajara Proper.

1. The province of Guadalajara Proper is bounded by New Mexico towards the north, by Mexico Audience on the ſouth-eaſt, and by the Pacific Ocean on the weſt. It is a plentiful country, and hath ſeveral ſilver mines in it. The chief town is Guadalajara, ſituated on a river of the ſame name, in 20 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, 108 degrees weſt of London. It is the capital of the whole Audience, the ſeat of their courts of Juſtice, and a Biſhop's ſee. There are ſeveral churches in it, beſides the cathedral, and ſome monaſteries and nunneries; but I meet with no further deſcription of this place.

Guadalajara city.

Zacatecas province.

2. The province of Zacatecas, bounded by New Biſcay on the north, by Mexico Proper and Panuco on the eaſt, by Guadalajara on the ſouth, and by Chametlan and Culiacan on the weſt. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Zacatecas, ſituated 40 leagues north of Guadalajara, and about 80 north-weſt of the city of Mexico. The town conſiſts of five or ſix hundred Houſes, and the Spaniards keep a good garriſon in it to defend their ſilver mines. 2. Nombre de Dios, a large, populous town, ſituated in 25 degrees north latitude, and 109 degrees weſt of London; and, 3. Durango, ſituated at the conflux of ſeveral rivers, 8 leagues north-weſt of Nombre de Dios.

Zacatecas town.

Nombre de Dios town.

Durango.

The eaſt part of this province has plenty of corn and fruit, and the weſt is no leſs famous for its ſilver mines.

New Biſcay province.

3. The province of New Biſcay, bounded by New Mexico on the north, by part of Florida and Panuco on the eaſt, by Zacatecas on the ſouth, and by Culiacan on the weſt. The chief towns whereof are, 1. St. Barbara, ſituated in 26 degrees north latitude, 108 degrees weſt of London; and, 2. St. John's, ſituated 70 miles north of St. Barbara.

St. Barbara town.

St. John's town.

This province alſo is rich in ſilver mines.

Cinoloa province.

4. The province of Cinoloa, bounded by New Mexico on the north-eaſt and the north-weſt, by Culiacan on the ſouth-eaſt, and by the Gulph of California on the ſouth-weſt: The chief town whereof is Cinoloa, ſituated in 26 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, and 112 degrees weſt longitude: In this province are rich paſture grounds, well water'd with the rivulets that fall from the mountains; and here is great plenty of Cotton.

Cinoloa town.

Culiacan province.

5. The province of Culiacan, bounded by New Biſcay and Zacatecas on the north-eaſt; by Cinoloa on the north-weſt; by Chametlan on the ſouth-eaſt; and by the Gulph of California on the ſouth-weſt: The chief town whereof is Culiacan, ſituated in 24 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, and in 112 degrees of weſt longitude.

Culiacan town.

Chametlan province.

6. The province of Chametlan, bounded by Zacatecas on the north-eaſt; by Culiacan on the north-weſt; by Xaliſco and Guadalajara on the ſouth-eaſt; and the South-ſea on the ſouth-weſt: The chief town whereof is St. Sebaſtian, ſituated on a river of the ſame name, about 40 miles to the eaſtward of the South-ſea, in 23 degrees of north-latitude.

St. Sebaſtian town.

This province hath both gold and ſilver mines in it.

Xaliſco province.

7. The province of Xaliſco is bounded by Guadalajara and Chametlan on the north; by Mecho-

Xaliſco town. Compoſtella town. Santa Pecaque town.

acan on the eaſt; and by the South-ſea on the ſouth and weſt: The chief towns whereof are, 1. Xaliſco, ſituated near the South-ſea, in 20 degrees ſouth-latitude, weſt longitude 111; 2. Compoſtella, ſituated alſo near the South-ſea, about 20 leagues to the northward of Xaliſco, a rich town lying in the neighbourhood of ſeveral ſilver mines; 3. Santa Pecaque, where the Spaniards of Compoſtella keep a great many hundred ſlaves, that work in their ſilver mines. This town, DAMPIER relates, the Buccaneers (among whom he ſerved) plunder'd in the year 1686; but being attack'd by a great body of Spaniſh horſe, they loſt fifty of their men.

Mexico Audience. Its ſubdiviſions. Mexico Proper.

The Audience of Mexico is bounded by that of Guadalajara on the north-weſt; by the Gulph of Mexico on the eaſt; by the Audience of Guatimala on the ſouth eaſt; and by the South-ſea on the ſouth-weſt; and contains nine provinces; viz. 1. Mexico proper; 2. Mechoacan; 3. Panuco; 4. Tlaſcala; 5. Guaxaca; 6. Tabaſco; 7. Jucatan; 8. Chiapa; and, 9. Soconuſco. The province of Mexico Proper is bounded by Panuco on the north, Tlaſcala on the eaſt; by Mechoacan towards the ſouth, and Xaliſco on the weſt.

Mexico city.

This province is ſaid to exceed all the provinces of America, in ſpacious extenſive vallies, in the richneſs of its arable lands, paſturage and variety of fruits: The great lakes and rivers, and the neighbourhood of the ſea, alſo furniſh them with plenty of excellent fiſh; and give them great advantages in trade, both foreign and domeſtick. The chief towns of Mexico Proper are, 1. Mexico, the metropolis of the whole viceroyalty now, and anciently of the empire of Mexico, ſituated in 20 degrees of north latitude, 103 degrees weſt of London; in a ſpacious lake, that lies on the eaſt ſide of a valley, about 14 Spaniſh leagues in length, 7 in breadth, and upwards of 40 in compaſs; the valley being ſurrounded by mountains on all ſides, which in the loweſt part are 42500 yards above the lake, according to GEMELLI CARERI, who was upon the ſpot; but ſurely there muſt be a cypher too much in this account: For, if he means perpendicular height, the loweſt mountains cannot be more than 4250 yards above the level of the lake.

The town is a perfect ſquare, each ſide half a league; and, conſequently, the circumference of the whole about two leagues. There is a great ſquare, or parade, in the middle of it, from whence the ſtreets run quite through the town in a direct line, either north and ſouth, or eaſt and weſt, croſſing each other at right angles; ſo that the length and breadth of the place may be diſcern'd at the corner of any ſtreet. They are all wide, and well paved, but generally dirty. The town ſtands, great part of it, upon a bog or moraſs, which occaſions the foundations of ſome of them to ſink; and, what is ſtill worſe, there are ſo many rivers that fall from the mountains into the lake, that the town is often in danger of being overflowed; many of the houſes and inhabitants have been actually ſwept away by floods, tho' they have been at a vaſt expence in making canals, dikes and ſluices to carry off the waters. They have ſometimes found the hazard and inconveniencies of their ſituation ſo great, that it has been debated, whether they ſhould not abandon the city, and build another upon better ground. But they have hitherto been diverted from that reſolution by ſeveral conſiderations: 1. By the vaſt expence it would be, to build ſuch another city: 2. By the coolneſs of the Situation, occaſioned by the lake, which they ſhould want on higher ground: And, laſtly, by the natural ſtrength of the city, there being no approaching it but by the five cauſeys that have been made between the city and the main land. This the ancient Mexicans, as well as the Spaniards, look'd upon to be ſo great a ſecurity, that they never erected walls or gates about it. The churches and houſes are built of ſtone or brick, three ſtories high, where the ground will bear it: but they cannot lay their foundations very deep, for the reaſons already mention'd. Mexico is an archbiſhoprick; and there are in it, beſides the cathedral and parochial churches, twenty-nine monaſteries, and two and twenty nunneries, and contains, as is computed, about one hundred thouſand inhabitants. But, as moſt of the lands in the neighbourhood belong to the churches and religious houſes, which are all vaſtly rich, there are not many Spaniſh noblemen and gentlemen in the place; and among the meaner ſort of people, the Spaniards do not ſeem to make a tenth part of the inhabitants. The bulk of the people are Blacks or Mulattoes; there having been abundance of Black ſlaves brought thither, who by one means or other obtain'd their freedom, and married with the natives: Their deſcendants are very numerous. There is alſo a ſtrange mixture of Spaniſh and Indian blood. The pure Spaniards, and thoſe that are deſcended from Spaniſh anceſtors on both ſides, are a very ſmall number, both here and in other towns of Mexico. But I ſhall not enlarge on this head here, having reſerv'd a chapter on purpoſe to treat of the preſent inhabitants of Mexico.

Neither ſhall I dwell upon their trade and manufactures, having aſſign'd a particular chapter to treat of theſe: I ſhall only obſerve, that the value of their merchandize is not to be computed; this being the great mart for all goods brought from the Eaſt-Indies or Europe. Thoſe of the Eaſt-Indies they receive from Acapulco, a ſea-port on the South-ſea; and thoſe of Europe from La Vera Cruz, ſituated on the North-ſea: And their own native treaſures, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, &c. added to the former, make the ſhops and markets of Mexico the richeſt that are to be found in any town in the world.

Their churches and monaſteries are proportionably rich and ſplendid, and their revenues ſurpriſingly great. The cathedral, like moſt others, is built in form of a croſs, lofty and ſpacious; the painting, gilding and carving exquiſite; and it contains abundance of fine altars and chapels on each ſide, the high altar ſtanding in the middle of the choir. The revenues belonging to the Archbiſhop, Dean and Chapter, and other Eccleſiaſticks of this cathedral, are equal to the beauty and magnificence of the buildings. There are belonging to it nine Canons, five dignified Prieſts, viz. the Dean, Arch-deacon, Schoolmaſter, Chanter and Treaſurer; ſix Demi-canons, and ſix Half-Demi-canons, one head Sacriſtan, four Curates choſen by the Viceroy, twelve royal Chaplains elected by the Chapter, and eight others. The archbiſhop's conſtant annual revenue (beſides caſual fines, &c. which amount to near as much) is ſixty thouſand pieces of eight, near fifteen thouſand pounds ſterling per annum. The Dean's revenue is eleven thouſand pieces of eight per annum, and the other four dignified Prieſts have eight thouſand per annum each; the Canons ſix thouſand; the Demi-canons five thouſand; the Half Demi-canons three thouſand; each Curate four thouſand; every Chaplain three hundred, and the inferior officers and attendants in proportion. All the Eccleſiaſticks belonging to this church are three hundred in number;

ber; and it is computed, the entire annual revenue of the cathedral of Mexico, amounts to three hundred thouſand pieces of eight (each piece four ſhillings and ſix pence engliſh); at leaſt, this was the ſtate of it in the year 1698, about forty years ſince, as GEMELLI CARERI relates, who was then upon the ſpot, and is eſteemed one of the moſt judicious and faithful writers that ever travell'd.

What is moſt remarkable beſides in Mexico, is the vaſt ſpacious market-place, or ſquare, in the middle of the town; on one ſide whereof runs a cloiſter, under which are ſome of the richeſt ſhops in the world; and on the other, ſtands the magnificent Palace of the Viceroy, built about a large ſquare; the principal front to the market-place not inferior to that of Naples, in which the courts of Juſtice are held.

The palace of the Marquis DE VALLE, the ſucceſſor of the celebrated CORTEZ, who conquer'd Mexico, is built on the ground where one of the palaces of the Emperor MONTEZUMA ſtood, and admir'd for its dimenſions and ſtructure.

Beſide the churches and monaſteries in this city, there are ſeveral hoſpitals richly endow'd; among the reſt, there is one for young maids that are orphans, who are maintain'd handſomely while they live ſingle, and allowed five hundred pieces of eight each when they marry. There is another hoſpital erected for thoſe who have been unfortunate in venereal encounters, which has a revenue of thirty-ſix thouſand pieces of eight per annum, and is a royal foundation; and there is a third hoſpital only for ſick Prieſts: And GEMELLI relates, that when he was in this city, the Archbiſhop, Dr. FRANCIS D'AGUAR, gave that year all his revenues to the poor, and an hundred thouſand pieces of eight more: For, I find, in this rich city, there are a multitude of wretched objects; but none poorer than the Spaniards themſelves, who are above working, tho' not above thieving, it ſeems: For the ſame writer relates, that he ſaw the Viceroy ſitting on his tribunal, aſſiſted by five other Judges, and that there were brought before him no leſs than four hundred Spaniards for theft; adding, that tho' a ſtranger be never ſo much upon his guard, it is difficult for him to get out of the city without loſing either his money or effects: That, as theſe idle Spaniards apply themſelves to no other buſineſs but lying, ſharping, and cheating, they are ſuch maſters of theſe arts, that no honeſt man can defend himſelf againſt them: They chuſe this way of life rather than buſineſs; tho' all that will work are better paid for their labour here than in any place in the world.

The ſeveral trades, I perceive, have their reſpective ſtreets or quarters. There is a ſpacious ſtreet, which runs from the market, where the Goldſmiths expoſe their rich goods to ſale; and here are to be ſeen, 'tis ſaid, the value of many millions of Gold, Silver and Jewels. The ſtreet of St. Auſtin, where the Mercers expoſe their rich Silks to ſale, has a very grand and beautiful appearance; and the ſtreet called Tacuba, where thoſe tradeſmen reſide that deal in Braſs, Streel, and Iron ware, is very long and ſpacious: but the Steet, call'd Eagle-ſtreet, inhabited by the Nobility, Gentry, and great Lawyers, is ſaid to excel all the reſt in magnificence. Here are no ordinary houſes or tradeſmens ſhops intermix'd with them; and in this ſtreet ſtands the Marquis d'VALLE's fine palace, already mention'd.

There is alſo a pleaſant Park, well planted, and adorn'd with fountains and water-works; whither the quality of both ſexes, and the gay part of the town reſort every evening, ſome in coaches, and others on horſeback: And here the young Cavaliers endeavour to recommend themſelves to the Ladies, by feats of activity and horſemanſhip. Several hundreds of coaches are frequently ſeen here, with numerous retinues of Black ſlaves, in the richeſt liveries, moving gently along, backwards and forwards, as at the Ring in Hyde-Park.

The lakes of Mexico.

Another diverſion of the citizens, is fiſhing in boats upon the lake, whither they carry wine and cold proviſions to regale themſelves with upon the water: And this brings me to give ſome deſcription of the Lake, on the weſt-ſide whereof Mexico is ſituated. This lake is about five leagues in length, from north to ſouth; but the breadth is very unequal; the greateſt breadth is ſomething more than four leagues; but the north-end of it is ſcarce half ſo broad. North of this lake, there are three others, which have a communication with it by rivers or canals; and on the ſouth there are two other lakes, divided from it only by a cauſey. There are ſeveral rivers that riſe in the adjacent mountains, and fall into theſe lakes, on the eaſt and weſt; which are the occaſion of thoſe terrible inundations ſome years in the rainy ſeaſon. The waters of theſe lakes are not fit for all uſes; one of them is ſo ſalt, that they make Salt of the waters: And tho' ſome travellers relate, that in ſeveral places they are ſweet and wholeſome; yet, I perceive, the water they drink is brought from a mountain that lies a good diſtance from the town, by a ſpacious aqueduct, ſupported by arches.

The neighbourhood of Mexico is render'd extremely pleaſant, by the numerous palaces, country-ſeats, monaſteries, and villages, either on the iſlands in the lakes, or on the banks of the ſeveral lakes within view of the city; to which the citizens reſort in boats, when they are diſpoſed to retire from the hurry of the town.

Acapulco town.

The ſecond town I ſhall deſcribe in Mexico-Proper is Acapulco, a celebrated port on the South-ſea, in 17 degrees north latitude, and in 102 degrees of weſtern longitude; about two hundred and forty miles to the ſouthward of the city of Mexico. At this port all the merchandize of Europe and America is ſhipp'd for China and the Phillippine iſlands in the Eaſt-Indies; and here the ſhips annually arrive in January from China, the Eaſt-Indies, and Peru, with the merchandize of thoſe countries; which makes the Fair that is held here at that time one of the greateſt in the world. GEMELLI, who was upon the ſpot, ſays, that ſome millions of pieces of eight are return'd here during the fair. But tho' it is then crowded with wealthy Merchants, it has at other times the appearance of a mean village. Except the caſtle and the harbour, there is little worth notice; the town conſiſting only of two or three hundred thatch'd houſes, inhabited by Blacks and Mulattoes, a religious cloiſter or two, and an hoſpital. The town lies at the foot of ſome high mountains, which cover it on the eaſt, and render it very unhealthful. The Spaniards therefore, and even the Governor himſelf, deſert the place as ſoon as the Fair is over. The harbour indeed, is an excellent one, very ſecure and ſpacious; it has a narrow winding entrance, defended by platforms of great guns; and within is incloſed by high mountains, that ſurround it like a wall, and ſo deep, that the ſhipping may come up cloſe to the ſhore, and be faſtened to the trees on the beach. The Governor of the caſtle, who is alſo the chief Civil Magiſtrate in this part of the country, makes his poſt worth twenty thouſand pieces of eight per annum, ariſing chiefly from the profits of the Fair. The

Comptroller of the cuſtoms makes little leſs: and the Curate (the Parſon of the place) whoſe ſtated revenue is no more than one hundred and eighty pieces of eight per annum, makes fourteen thouſand frequently; for he extorts moſt extravagant fees from the friends of ſuch rich Merchants as die there, or on board the ſhips that arrive at Acapulco, and are buried there. GEMELLI relates, that this Prieſt will not be ſatisfied ſometimes with leſs than a thouſand pieces of eight for his burial-fees. It is exceſſive dear living in this place during the Fair; the Negroe Porters expect three pieces of eight a day for carrying goods, and people pay a dollar a day for their ordinary: Inns, it ſeems, there are none in the place; or rather, all the houſes in the town are inns during the Fair; the people making it their buſineſs to accommodate ſtrangers with lodgings; but there are multitudes that lie in huts and tents for want of room in the town.

Port Marquis town.

Two leagues to the ſouthward of this place is another port, called Port Marquis, where ſhipping ſometimes puts in; but the town conſiſts only of a few Fiſhermen's huts, and the harbour is neither ſo commodious or ſecure as the former.

Pachuca town.

The laſt town I ſhall mention in the province of Mexico is Pachuca, which having ſeveral rich ſilver mines near it, the ſilver is refined here, and caſt into pigs or bars, fit for tranſportation. The town is ſituated about 60 miles north of the city of Mexico.

Mechoacan province.

Colima town.

Navidad town.

The province of Mechoacan is bounded by Panuco on the north, by Mexico Proper on the eaſt, by the South-ſea toward the ſouth, and by Guadalajara on the weſt. In this province alſo are mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper; and the country produces Cotton and Cocoa Nuts, of which Chocolate is made: It affords good corn and paſturage alſo; and, being well water'd with rivers and ſprings, is eſteem'd one of the moſt pleaſant and healthful provinces in the Audience of Mexico. The chief towns are, 1. Mechoacan the capital, ſituate in 20 degrees north latitude, and in 105 degrees weſt longitude, upon the ſide of a lake; and is about 150 miles to the weſtward of the city of Mexico: It is a Biſhop's ſee, Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of Mexico; but I meet with no farther deſcription of it. 2. Colima, ſituate in 18 degrees north latitude, not far from the coaſt of the South-ſea: The town is ſaid to be rich and ſpacious, and to ſtand upon a river in one of the moſt pleaſant and fruitful valleys of this province, near which is a vulcano, the flames whereof are ſeen at ſea. 3. Navidad, or the Port of Nativity, ſituate on the South-ſea, a little to the weſtward of Colima, in 18 degrees north latitude. This is a good harbour; and, the neighbouring country affording timber, the Spaniards build ſome of the largeſt ſhips here they have in the South-ſea.

Panuco province.

St. Lewis de Tampice town.

St. Eſtevan, or Panuco town.

St. Jago town.

Potoſi town.

The province of Panuco is bounded by part of Florida on the north; by the Gulph of Mexico on the eaſt; by Tlaſcala and Mexico Proper on the ſouth; and by Mechoacan and Guadalajara on the weſt. This province has ſome Silver mines; is tolerably fertile on the ſouth next to Mexico; and the Spaniards uſed to make a great deal of Salt in that part of it which lies on the Gulph of Mexico. The chief towns are, 1. St. Lewis de Tampice, which lies juſt under the Tropic of Cancer, in 101 degrees of weſt longitude, and on the north ſide of the river of Panuco, near its mouth. 2. St. Eſtevan Puerto, formerly called Panuco, the capital of the province, ſituated on the ſouth-ſide of the river Panuco. 3. St. Jago de los Valles, ſituated 5 leagues ſouth-weſt of St. Eſtevan. This town is moſt taken notice of for the ſalt-works near it, and the garriſon the Spaniards have here to awe the natives. 4. The laſt town I ſhall mention is St. Lewis de Potoſi, an inland place to the north-weſt of St. Jago de los Valles, probably named Potoſi, from a Silver mine near it, reſembling that of Potoſi in Peru.

Tlaſcala province.

Tlaſcala town.

Los Angelos town.

VeraCruz, or Ulva town.

The province of Tlaſcala, or Los Angelos, is bounded by Panuco on the north; by the Gulph of Mexico on the eaſt; by Guaxaca and the South-ſea on the ſouth; and by Mechoacan and Mexico Proper on the weſt. This province is ſaid to be the beſt peopled by Indians of any in Mexico; the natives having been exempted from tribute, and well uſed by the Spaniards, on account of their joining Cortez, and aſſiſting him in his conqueſt of Mexico. It is a plentiful country, abounding in ſugar, corn, cattle and rich paſtures; nor is there any want of veniſon or wild-fowl: Here are alſo ſome Silver mines, Copperas, Allum, liquid Amber, and fragrant Gums; with abundance of Cochineel. The province is alſo well water'd with rivers, the chief whereof is that of Zahnah, or Zacadula, which runs almoſt the whole length of the province, frequently overflows the flat country, and falls into the South-ſea to the weſtward of Acapulco. The chief towns are, 1. Tlaſcala, ſituate in 19 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, in a fruitful plain, 20 leagues to the eaſtward of the city of Mexico; once a large populous place, capital of the province; but now dwindled to a village, having little remarkable in it but a monaſtery of Franciſcans. 2. Puelba de los Angelos, or the city of Angels, ſituate in 19 degrees of north latitude, on the banks of the river Zacatula, in a fine valley, 25 leagues to the eaſtward of Mexico. The buildings are chiefly of ſtone, and the form of it like that of other Spaniſh towns: A ſpacious ſquare in the middle, from whence run the principal ſtreets in a direct line, which are croſs'd by others at right angles. The great ſquare is encompaſs'd on three ſides with a ſtately uniform piazza, under which are the ſhops of the principal tradeſmen; and on the fourth ſide of the ſquare is the cathedral, with a moſt beautiful front: This is, in every reſpect, a finer ſquare than that of Mexico, according to GEMELLI, who view'd both of them. The ſtreets alſo are much cleaner; and there are a great many beautiful and magnificent parochial and conventual churches, with ſeveral rich monaſteries and nunneries: But ſome parts of this fine town, I perceive, are ſubject to inundations, as well as Mexico. It is the ſee of a Biſhop, Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of Mexico, whoſe annual revenue is fourſcore thouſand pieces of eight per annum; and there are two hundred thouſand more paid annually to the Canons and Officers of the church; the whole revenues whereof amount to three hundred thouſand pieces of eight per annum. The people of this city in general are exceeding wealthy; tho' the Laity in this part of the world, cannot pretend to vie with the Clergy, either in eſtates or influence. 3. Vera Cruz, or Ulva, ſituate in the Gulph of Mexico, in 18 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, and in 100 degrees of weſtern longitude, lying about ſixty-five or ſeventy leagues ſouth-eaſt of the city of Mexico, in a barren ſandy plain; but conſiderable upon account of an excellent harbour, defended by its natural ſituation within the rocks, and by a caſtle and forts at the entrance: It is alſo of importance, on account of the Flotilla's reſorting hither to receive the Gold and Silver found in the mines of Mexico; and its being a mart for all manner of merchandize and rich goods that are brought hither to the Fair from China, Eaſt-Indies, Peru, and Europe.

Ulva, or Old Vera Cruz.

Guaxaca province.

Spirito Sancto town.

Guaxata town.

Guatulco harbour.

Tecoantipeque.

The town extends itſelf from eaſt to weſt, being much longer than broad; but it is not more than half a league in circumference. The walls are of very little uſe, the ſands being level with the tops of them in many places; but the caſtle and forts are ſo ſituated, as to be a defence to the ſhips in the harbour. The air is very unhealthful, eſpecially during the north-winds, which blow frequently on this coaſt. The place is alſo very poor, being inhabited by Blacks and Mulattoes, and ſome few Spaniards; unleſs when the Flota is there, and then vaſt multitudes reſort to Vera Cruz from all parts, living in little huts or tents while the fleet remains there; but, upon the departure of the fleet, all people of ſubſtance retire into the country, as well on account of their healths, as becauſe their effects are not in any ſecurity there, the town having been ſeveral times plundered by Buccaneers or Pirates. I don't find there is more than one pariſh-church in the place, but there are ſome convents and an hoſpital that have churches belonging to them. The houſes are, for the moſt part, thatch'd cottages; the owners moſt of them fiſhermen. The ordinary garriſon the Spaniards have here, conſiſts of a troop of ſixty horſe, and two companies of foot; which are ſcarce ſufficient to defend the town againſt the Buccaneers. It was near this place, viz. at Ulva, or old Vera Cruz, that CORTEZ landed, when he enter'd on the conqueſt of Mexico; but the old town, not having ſo commodious an harbour, was deſerted; and there are now ſcarce any remains of it. The province of Guaxaca, or Guaxata, is bounded by the North-ſea on the north; by Tabaſco on the eaſt; by the South-ſea on the ſouth; and by Tlaſcala, or Los Angelos, towards the weſt. The chief towns are, 1. Spirito Sancto, ſituate in 17 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, and in 97 degrees of weſtern longitude, at the foot of certain mountains near the South-ſea. 2. Guaxata, the capital, ſituate in a fine valley on the banks of the river Alvarado, about twenty leagues to the ſouthward of La Vera Cruz: It is a Biſhop's ſee, Suffragan of Mexico, and ſaid to be a rich, well built town, and the country about it full of villages. 3. Guatulco, or Aquatulco, ſituate on the South-ſea, in 15 degrees and a half north latitude, and 98 degrees of weſtern longitude, once a good Spaniſh town; but, having been frequently plundered by Enemies and Pirates, was totally deſerted; and there is now ſcarce any remains of the town but a ſmall chappel, and is only mention'd here for its excellent harbour, which, our Seamen relate, is one of the moſt commodious on the coaſt of Mexico. 4. Tecoantipeque, ſituated to the eaſtward of Guatulco, on a river that falls into the South-ſea, ſaid to be a well built town; but has been plunder'd, I perceive, more than once by the Buccaneers.

The air of this province is good, and the lands fruitful: They have great numbers of Horſes, Mules, Sheep and Oxen; and, abounding in Mulberry-trees, make more Silk than any part of Mexico. Here are alſo rich Mines of Gold and Silver, and Gold Sands in ſeveral of their rivers. It produces Caſſia, Cochineel, Corn, Cotton, Sugar, Cocoa-nuts, Plantains, and a variety of other fruits. The province is mountainous, like the reſt of Mexico; but has ſeveral fine valleys in it, particularly that of Guaxaca, which is 16 leagues in length, and full of villages; and the country extending both to the North and the South-ſeas, is extremely well ſituated for trade.

Tabaſco province.

The province of Tabaſco is bounded by the Bay of Campeachy on the north; by Jucatan on the eaſt; by Chiapa on the ſouth; and by Guaxaca on the weſt; and was heretofore deem'd a part of Jucatan. As moſt part of this province lies on the Bay of Campeachy, where the Logwood grows which our Dyers uſe, the land is generally ſo flat and low, that it remains under water great part of the year. DAMPIER relates, that it rains nine months in the year here; and that the Logwood-cutters work in the water uſually up to their knees, when they fell thoſe trees; and they can ſcarce find a dry piece of ground to build their huts on; that there are woods and thickets of Mangrooves, Bambow-canes and Briars on the coaſt, that grow in the water a yard deep, and are almoſt impenetrable: However, farther up in the country, are fine ſavannahs, or meadow-grounds, and gentle riſing hills on the ſides of them, planted with Guava's, Cocoa-nut-trees, and other fruits; and hills beyond them, on which grow Cedar, Brazil-wood, and other good timber. In the valleys between the hills, they have Indian-corn, Rice, Barley, and all manner of garden ſtuff; and the Spaniards have introduced Grapes, Figs, Lemons, Oranges, and other European fruits: Here are alſo found Deer, and a ſpecies of wild Hogs, proper to America, and almoſt all ſorts of European cattle. But, though the ſea-coaſts of this province are overflow'd ſix or ſeven months of the year, it is ſo hot and dry there for three months, viz. in February, March, and April, that there is ſcarce any enduring it, or any freſh water to be found; which makes the country very unhealthful, and is the reaſon, poſſibly, that there are no towns near the coaſt; for, as for Tabaſco, ſo much talked of, I find ſcarce any traces of it, only a large river of that name; on the banks whereof are ſome ſtraggling Indian houſes, and Fiſhermen's huts; but nothing that has the appearance of a town. DAMPIER, who lived among the Jamaica Logwood-cutters a great while, in the Bay of Campeachy, aſſures us, there is not ſo much as an Indian village, much leſs a Spaniſh town, within four or five leagues of the coaſt, in the Bay of Campeachy, for ſeveral hundred miles. He adds, that it is very pleaſant ſailing up the river Tabaſco, the banks being planted with tall Cabbage-trees an hundred foot high, and with the largeſt Cotton and other Timber-trees, that are to be met with any where: That, eight leagues up the river, the Spaniards have a breaſt-work and a ſmall guard to watch the Buccaneers, who ſometimes venture up, and have actually plunder'd the town call'd Villa de Moſc, which lies four leagues higher than the breaſt-work; and this ſeems to me to be the chief town in the country; for he tells us, here is a fort and a church in it, and that it is inhabited by Spaniards and Indians: That thus far the ſhips come up with European goods in the months of November or December, and ſtay here 'till June or July, taking Cocoa and other native commodities in return: That all the Merchants and Tradeſmen in the country reſort hither at Chriſtmas, which very much enriches the place. He mentions alſo the town of Eſtape, lying on the ſame river, four leagues beyond Villa de Moſc; ſaid to be a town of pretty good trade, and of ſuch force, that it repulſed Captain HEWET, when he attack'd it with two hundred deſperate Buccaneers. He mentions a floua flouriſhing town, call'd Halpo, alſo higher up the river of Tabaſco.

Jucatan province.

The province of Jucatan, or Yucatan, is a peninſula, ſituated in the Gulph of Mexico, between the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras: The iſthmus whereof has the provinces of Tabaſco and Chiapa on the weſt. This peninſula extends from 16 to 21 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, and lies between the 89th and 94th degrees of weſt longitude: It is generally flat, low land, ſcarce any hills, unleſs in the weſtern part of it, near the iſthmus: It is now thinly inhabited, eſpecially near the coaſts; though it was very full of people before the Spaniards deſtroyed the natives. This country is not agreeable to European conſtitutions, the air being exceſſive hot, and the lands near the coaſt frequently under water. The chief produce of the country is Cotton, Salt, and Logwood; and the Indians employ themſelves pretty much in fiſhing. The only Spaniſh town on this extenſive coaſt is Campeachy, ſituate on the weſt-ſide of the peninſula, in 19 degrees odd minutes north latitude: It ſtands in a bending of the land, but open to the ſea; and, being built of ſtone, and ſurrounded with a good wall, makes a fine appearance: It has a citadel for its defence; notwithſtanding which, it has been twice taken by the Buccaneers, viz. in the years 1650, and 1678; the laſt time by ſurpriſe, the Buccaneers enter'd the gates in the day-time without oppoſition, the Spaniards looking upon them to be a party of their own garriſon, returned from an expedition out of the country. There are two inland Spaniſh towns of ſome note in Jucatan, viz. Merida and Valladolid. The town of Merida is ſituated in 20 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, between thirty and forty miles from the North-ſea, and is a Biſhop's ſee; but I meet with no farther deſcription of it. The town of Valladolid is ſituated on the eaſt-ſide of the peninſula, in 19 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, about thirty miles within land, and forty to the weſtward of the iſland of Cozumel.

Campeachy town.

Merida town.

Valladolid town.

Cozumel iſland.

Chiapa province.

The province of Chiapa is an inland country, bounded by Tabaſco on the north; by Jucatan on the eaſt; and by Soconuſco on the ſouth: It is mountainous, but well wooded and watered, and has ſeveral fruitful valleys, where they feed great herds of cattel; and they have a pretty briſk trade with the neighbouring provinces. The chief town is Chiapa, or Cividad Real, ſituate in 16 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, in a plain, ſurrounded by mountains, at an equal diſtance almoſt from the North and South-ſea: It is a Biſhop's ſee, and the ſeat of their courts of Juſtice; and there are ſome monaſteries in the town; but I don't find it is either rich or populous. There is another town called Chiapa de los Indos, becauſe it is inhabited by the natives, the largeſt Indian town in the country, and ſituate about 12 leagues from Spaniſh Chiapa.

Chiapa town.

Soconuſco province.

The province of Soconuſco is bounded by Chiapa on the north; by Guatimala towards the eaſt; and by the South-ſea on the ſouth and weſt: It lies along the coaſt of the South-ſea for above an hundred miles, and is not a very fruitful country; neither do they ſeem to have much trade: Our ſeamen obſerve, that it is very mountainous; and that the higheſt mountain, which is a vulcano, goes by the name of Soconuſco: That to the ſouth-eaſt of this vulcano runs a river, on the banks whereof is ſituated a large Indian town; and that both the town and the river take their names from the vulcano.

Soconuſco town.

Guatimala Audience.

The Audience of Guatimala is bounded by that of Mexico on the north-weſt; by the North-ſea on the north-eaſt; by the province of Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper, in South-America, on the ſouth-eaſt; and by the South-ſea on the ſouth-weſt; being about 1000 miles in length from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt; but ſcarce half ſo broad in any part, and in ſome not 100 miles broad. This Audience is ſubdivided into ſix provinces; viz, 1. Vera Paz; 2. Guatimala Proper; 3. Honduras; 4. Nicaragua; 5. Coſta Rica; and 6. Veragua.

Subdiviſion of it.

Vera Paz province.

The province of Vera Paz is bounded by the Gulph of Honduras and Jucatan on the north; by the province of Honduras on the eaſt; by Guatamala Proper on the ſouth; and by Chiapa towards the weſt. It is ſaid to have had the name of Vera Paz, or True Peace, given it by the Spaniards; becauſe the natives ſubmitted, and made peace with them voluntarily. It is a woody mountainous country, ſubject to earthquakes, and neither fruitful or populous. The Spaniards mention two towns; viz. Vera Paz, or Coban, and St. Peter's, both of them ſituated a little to the ſouthward of the bay of Honduras; but travellers have not thought them worth a particular deſcription. Coban, or Vera Paz, is found in our maps, in 15 degrees north latitude, and St. Peter's a little to the ſouth-eaſt of it.

Vera Paz, or Coban town, and St. Peter's.

Guatimala province.

The province of Guatimala Proper is bounded by Vera Paz towards the north; by Nicaragua and Honduras on the eaſt; and by the South-ſea on the ſouth-weſt. It is a mountainous country, every mountain almoſt a vulcano, and ſubject to earthquakes and fiery eruptions; as Dampier, Captain Rogers, and others relate, who were very well acquainted with the coaſt. There are, however, many fruitful valleys, abounding in corn and paſturage, and rich drugs for dying; viz. Indico, Otta, Silweſter, and Cochineel; and great herds of cattle; ſeveral Sugar plantations, and ſome Silver mines; and, as it lies along the coaſt of the South-ſea, is well ſupplied with fiſh. It is agreed, by all, to be an exceeding fruitful country; nor are the heats ſo intolerable as might be expected between the Tropics, the earth being refreſhed by the annual rains, and the land and ſea-breezes, which ſucceed each other every day at ſtated hours. The chief towns are, 1. Guatimala, or St. Jago de Guatimala, the capital, ſituate in 14 degrees north latitude, 8 or 9 leagues from the South-ſea. There is a famous mountain, with two tops, 2 or 3 leagues from this city; out of one of which iſſues water, and out of the other fire. At the bottom of this mountain ſtood the old town of Guatimala, once deſtroyed by a fiery eruption, and a ſecond time by water iſſuing from the other head; which induced the Spaniards to build a new city 3 leagues from thence: However, at this diſtance, the town is ſometimes covered with aſhes from the fiery vulcano, which throws out ſtones and pieces of rocks as big as a houſe, and is obſerved to burn moſt fiercely during the rainy ſeaſon. The new town lies on a river in a fine valley, and is one of the largeſt cities in Spaniſh America, containing upwards of eight thouſand families: It is the ſeat of the Preſident, and of the courts of juſtice of this Audience; a Biſhop's ſee, Suffragan of Mezico; a univerſity; and has ſeveral fine monaſteries: The cathedral and parochial churches alſo are exceeding rich. 2. Trinidad, or Sonſonate, a port town, ſituate on the bay of the South-ſea, 100 miles ſouth-eaſt

Guatimala town.

Guatimala vulcano.

Trinidad town.

St. Michael's, a port town. Amapalla town.

of Guatimala, in 13 degrees north latitude: It conſiſts of four or five hundred Spaniſh families, beſides Mulattoes and Indians, and has five churches. 3. St. Michael's, another port-town to the eaſtward of Sonſonate, having ſeven or eight hundred houſes, and ſeveral fine churches; and near it is a great vulcano, called the vulcano of St. Michael's; beyond which is a large lake, the banks whereof are well inhabited by Spaniards, Mulattoes, and Indians. 4. Amapalla, ſituate on a fine bay to the eaſtward of St. Michael's; in which are above an hundred Spaniſh families, who have a briſk trade for their Cochineel, Cocoa, Hides, Indico, &c.

Honduras province.

The province of Honduras, or Comaiagua, is bounded by the Gulph of Honduras and the North-ſea on the north and eaſt; by Guatimala Proper and Nicaragua on the ſouth; and by Vera Paz on the weſt. The air of this country is ſaid to be generally good, and the ſoil rich in corn and paſturage, occaſioned by the annual floods of their numerous rivers, and was exceedingly populous, 'till the natives were deſtroyed by the Spaniards, who tortured and put many of them to death, 'tis ſaid, to make them diſcover their Gold and Silver, and killed many more, by obliging them to work in the mines, and carry burthens beyond their ſtrength. It is even ſaid, in a letter to CHARLES V. written by the Biſhop of Chiapa, that the Spaniards murdered two millions of people in this province; but this account muſt certainly be very extravagant, there being ſcarce ſo many people in it, if it be true, as moſt writers agree, that America was not ſo well peopled as Europe, when the Spaniards came thither. The chief towns are, 1. Valladolid, or Comaiagua, ſituate in 14 degrees of north latitude, and 91 degrees of weſtern longitude, in a pleaſant valley, on the weſt ſide of a river, which falls into the gulph of Honduras, 80 miles north of the town. Here the Silver is refined, which is dug in the adjacent mountains. It is the reſidence of the Governor of the province, and a Biſhop's ſee, Suffragan of Mexico. 2. Truxillo, ſituate in 15 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, on a bay of the ſea, on the north ſide of the province: It ſtands on an eminence between two rivers, the mouths whereof, and ſome iſlands that lie before it, form the harbour, which is defended by a caſtle; but the place has however been plundered ſeveral times by the Buccaneers. 3. Gracias a Dios, ſituated at the mouth of a river near the north-eaſt Cape, or Promontory of Honduras. It ſtands on a mountain near a fine fruitful valley, and hath ſome Gold mines in the neighbourhood of it.

Valladolid town. Truxillo town. Gracias a Dios.

Nicaragua province.

The province of Nicaragua is bounded by Honduras on the north, by the North-ſea on the eaſt, by Coſta Rica towards the ſouth-eaſt, and by the South-ſea on the ſouth-weſt: This country conſiſts of mountains, valleys, and ſpacious lakes, with fine ſavannahs, or meadows, in which feed numerous herds of cattle: They have alſo Sugar plantations, and a variety of pleaſant fruits: And their conſtant ſea and land breezes, with that extenſive lake, that runs quite croſs it, renders this province cool and healthful; inſomuch, that ſome of our countrymen that have reſided here, call it the paradiſe of the Indies: But the vulcano's in their mountains, and the earthquakes occaſioned by them, too often diſturb their repoſe. The weſt end of the great lake I have mentioned, lies within a few leagues of the South-ſea, and ſtretching to the weſtward, falls into the North-ſea by a narrow channel, uſually called the river of Nicaragua; but this channel, it ſeems, is ſo obſtructed by rocks, and the river falls down ſuch precipices frequently, that the navigation is ſcarce practicable: Nor do the Spaniards care to move theſe obſtructions, leſt ſome other nations ſhould find a way through this lake to their ſettlements on the South-ſea; for the head of the lake is not more than four or five leagues diſtant from the South-ſea. It is of a good depth after paſſing the narrow channel from the North-ſea, and upwards of an 100 miles in length, and thirty or forty in breadth: It ebbs and flows like the ſea, and the banks of it are pretty well inhabited, on account of the plenty of good fiſh in it, and other conveniences; but it is pretty much infeſted by Crocodiles and Alligators.

Nicaragua lake.

Leon town.

The chief towns in this province are, 1. The city of Leon, ſituate towards the weſt end of the ſaid lake, in 11 degrees and a half of north latitude, about 20 miles to the eaſtward of the South-ſea: It ſtands in a plain at the foot of a piqued mountain, call'd, the vulcano of Leon. It is a Biſhop's ſee, and, beſides the cathedral, has ſeveral churches and monaſteries, and about a thouſand houſes, whereof the Governors and ſome of the principal inhabitants make a grand appearance; but they are moſt of them low built on account of earthquakes. The riches of the place has tempted the Buccaneers to plunder it ſeveral times, and particularly the crew that DAMPIER ſail'd with in the year 1684, who ſet fire to the place, on the Governor's refuſing them a ſum of money: And, perhaps, the eaſineſs of acceſs to this city, was one great inducement to their attempting it; for DAMPIER relates, that the way to it lay through fine level ſavannahs or meadows: Nor does he mention any fortifications about it, only ſome breaſt-works in the way thither. 2. Ria Lexa, or Rea Lejo, ſituate on the South-ſea, being the port-town to the city of Leon, and ſituate 20 miles weſt of it. The town ſtands in a plain on a ſmall river, is pretty large, and, according to DAMPIER, has three churches and an hoſpital; but is a very ſickly place, on account of the creeks and ſalt marſhes that lie about it, and occaſion a very nauſeous ſmell. 3. Granada, ſituate on the ſouth ſide of the lake of Nicaragua, about 60 miles ſouth-eaſt of Leon, a good trading town, with ſome fortifications about it; and yet it was taken and plundered by the Buccaneers in the year 1686. 4. St. John's, ſituate on the north ſide of the river of Nicaragua, about 100 miles to the weſtward of the North ſea; but I meet with no farther deſcription of it.

Ria Lexa town. Granada town. St. John's.

Coſta Rica province.

The province of Coſta Rica, or the Rich coaſt, is bounded by Nicaragua on the north; by the North-ſea on the eaſt; by Veragua on the ſouth-eaſt; and by the South-ſea on the ſouth-weſt; extending 200 miles along the South-ſea coaſt, and about 60 miles along the coaſt of the North-ſea. This is a mountainous barren country; but inexpreſſibly rich in Gold and Silver mines, from whence its ſhores obtained the name of the rich coaſt. The chief towns are, 1. Nicoya, ſituated 30 miles to the eaſtward of a bay of the South-ſea, to which, however, it gives its name, and lies in 10 degrees, odd minutes, north latitude, conſiſting of about fourſcore houſes. The bay is much frequented by the Spaniſh ſhipping, being a commodious harbour, and ſeveral rivers falling into it; but what is moſt conſiderable, is a Pearl fiſhery the Spaniards have here, which yields them a conſiderable

Nicoya town.

The crown mountains.

Carthage town.

ſiderable profit: This may well be called the rich coaſt therefore, when the ſea and the land yield ſuch valuable treaſures. All our Seamen take notice of the mountains near this coaſt, both on account of their vaſt height, and the figure they make at ſea: They are called the Crown Mountains, and are five or ſix ridges of hills, gradually ſurmounting each other, and reſembling a crown at a diſtance. But to return to the town of Nicoya: This alſo was taken and plundered by the Buccaneers in the year 1687, who extorted a conſiderable ſum from the Governor, for not ſetting it on fire; ſo exceeding weak do the Spaniards appear to be in thoſe parts. 2. The ſecond town I ſhall mention, is Carthage, the capital, which is ſituated alſo 30 or 40 miles within the land to the eaſtward of Nicoya; but I meet with no farther deſcription of it: As it is a barren country, there are few towns in it, and thoſe are not very conſiderable.

Veragua province.

Santa Fe town.

Conception town.

Puebla Nova.

Chiriqui town.

La Villia town.

The province of Veragua is bounded by the North-ſea on the north; by the province of Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper in ſouth America, and by the Gulph of Panama on the eaſt; by the South-ſea on the ſouth, and by Coſta Rica on the weſt. This is a mountainous barren country; but then their mountains are well cloathed with timber, and near the coaſt of the North and South-ſeas, the land is low and incumber'd with thickets of Mangroves and Bamboa-canes, and generally very unhealthful; but they have mines of Gold and Silver, not inferior to thoſe of Coſta Rica; and in their rivers, which fall from the mountains, is frequently found Gold-duſt: But the courſe of their rivers is very ſhort and rapid, eſpecially thoſe that fall into the North-ſea, the mountains lying very near that ſhore; nor are they far from the coaſt of the South-ſea. The chief towns are, 1. Santa Fe, or St. Faith's, ſituate in the middle of the province, in 9 degrees of north latitude, and 83 degrees of weſtern longitude; where, 'tis ſaid, the Spaniards melt their Gold into bars; but their capital is ſaid to be, 2. The Town of Conception, ſituate on a bay of the North-ſea, 40 miles north of Santa Fe; but I meet with no farther deſcription of either of theſe towns. 3. Puebla Nova, or New Town, ſituate at the mouth of a river, which runs into the South-Sea, encompaſſed with bogs and moraſſes; ſaid to be a large place, but of no force, being taken by a crew of Buccaneers, with whom Dampier ſail'd in the year 1685. 4. Chiriqui, ſituate on a river, that falls into the South-ſea, about 3 miles from its mouth, and upwards of 40 miles to the weſtward of Puebla Nova. This town alſo was taken by the Buccaneers in 1686. As was, 5. La Villia, on the ſame coaſt, where the Buccaneers ſurprized three hundred Spaniards in the church at high-maſs, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a vaſt treaſure in bullion and rich merchandize; but falling into an ambuſcade afterwards, loſt moſt part of their plunder; however, they carried off their priſoners, and had upwards of ten thouſand pieces of eight paid them for their ranſom.

Having given a deſcription of modern Mexico, and ſome of the chief Spaniſh towns; I proceed to deſcribe the towns and villages of the Indians, both ancient and modern, with the form of their houſes, and the materials, of which they were, or are built, with their furniture, as far as we can learn theſe particulars from the firſt diſcoverers, or from travellers that have lately viſited thoſe countries; and firſt I ſhall treat of the city of Old Mexico.

Old Mexico deſcribed.

Buildings.

Furniture.

What the form of the old city was, no author, that I have met with, attempts to deſcribe, any more than the dimenſions: But, as it ſtood on the ſame ground the preſent city ſtands on, there is reaſon to believe it was ſquare, as modern Mexico is, or pretty near that figure; and the dimenſions may be gathered from the number of families that reſided in it, which the hiſtories of that conqueſt make to be about ſixty thouſand. Theſe hiſtories inform us alſo, that there was a vaſt ſquare in the middle of the city, which, in the time of their great Fair, contained an hundred thouſand people, that reſorted thither with their goods and merchandizes, and lodged in the booths and tents they erected in that ſquare: That the town was divided into two parts; the one inhabited by the Court, the Nobility, and perſons of diſtinction; and the other by Tradeſmen and people of inferior rank: That the former was much the largeſt part; where the ſtreets were ſpacious, the houſes of white hewn ſtone, one ſtory high; and that they had flat roofs adorn'd with battlements: That their cielings were of Cedar, Cypreſs, or other odoriferous wood; and their hangings were either of furs and beautiful feathers, or painted cottonlinen, with a variety of figures of birds, beaſts, or plants. The only furniture mention'd beſides, are their beds and chairs, which do not ſeem ſuitable to the reſt; for their beds were no better than mats, and their chairs of wood; nor were any of the Nobility ſerved in plate: This was the prerogative only of the Emperor, the reſt eat out of earthen diſhes.

Palaces.

The only publick buildings writers give us any deſcription of, are the Emperor's palaces, and their temples; and theſe deſcriptions are not ſo full as could be wiſhed.

The palace where Montezuma, the laſt Emperor reſided, ſufficiently ſhew'd the magnificence of that Prince, ſays the *Hiſtory of the Conqueſt*: The pile was ſo very large, that it opened with thirty gates, into as many different ſtreets; the principal front making one ſide of the great ſquare above-mention'd. The materials of this building were poliſh'd Jaſper, black, red and white; and over each gate, in a large ſhield, were the arms of Montezuma, being a Griffin, half Eagle and half Lion, with the wings extended, and a Tiger in his talons.

This palace conſiſted of ſeveral ſquare courts, ſo vaſtly extenſive, that here were apartments for three thouſand of his women, and a proportionable number of other domeſticks; and might rather be ſtyled a ſeparate city, than a palace.

The palace aſſign'd to Cortez and his army was vaſtly large, containing commodious rooms and apartments for his five hundred Spaniards, and for ſeveral thouſand Tlaſcalans, his Indian allies; the whole being ſurrounded with a thick ſtone-wall, and flank'd with ſtately towers, at convenient diſtances. In ſeveral of the ſtreets of Mexico were canals, with bridges over them, and many thouſand boats ply'd upon the water to bring in proviſions, and for the ſervice or pleaſure of the inhabitants. There were two vaſt aqueducts alſo made by the Emperor Montezuma, which brought in freſh water from a mountain 3 miles diſtance, ſupplying the palaces and the numerous fountains in the high-ſtreets with water.

Beſides the two palaces already mentioned, Montezuma had ſeveral pleaſure-houſes in and about the city: In one of which were great galleries, ſupported by pillars of Jaſper, in which were kept every ſpecies of land-fowls and birds that Mexico produced: The ſea-fowls were preſerved and fed in reſervoirs of ſalt-water; and thoſe that were bred in lakes and rivers, in others of freſh water; and ſo numerous were the feather'd race of all kinds, that it is ſaid to be the buſineſs of three hundred men to feed and look after them.

In another ſquare, of the ſame palace, were kept all manner of wild beaſts, in their reſpective dens and cages, in a moſt regular order; and in another part of this palace were apartments for dwarfs and monſters, fools and naturals, of the human ſpecies, kept for the ſport or ſervice of the Court.

Here were alſo armories, well repleniſhed with armour, and all manner of Indian weapons; of which I ſhall give a particular account under another head: And in the ſame quarter were ſeen the artificers at work that form'd and clean'd theſe arms.

All theſe palaces had ſpacious and elegant gardens, not planted with fruit, but laid out in fine ſhady walks, beds of fragrant and medicinal herbs, and parterres of beautiful flowers; with magnificent ſummer-houſes, bagnio's, arbours, and fountains, that might have vied with any thing of that kind in Europe in thoſe days.

But there was a building, in the moſt ſolitary part of theſe gardens, which ſurprized the Spaniards, 'tis ſaid, more than any thing they met with; and that was an edifice, call'd, the Houſe of Sorrow; to which the Emperor uſed to retire on the death of his near relations, or on any calamity, publick or private: It was ſo contrived, as to inſpire thoſe that approached it with gloomy melancholy thoughts; the roof, the cieling, and ſides were black; and only light enough let in to diſcover the diſmal obſcurity. Here he uſed to remain 'till the time of mourning and humiliation were over; and here, if we may credit thoſe authors who writ the *Conqueſt of Mexico*, MONTEZUMA uſed to converſe familiarly with the Prince of darkneſs: But thoſe who read theſe gentlemen, are at liberty to believe as much or as little as they pleaſe of ſuch relations.

Temples.

I come, in the next place, to the deſcription of the Mexican temples, the principal whereof was dedicated to Witzliputſli, the God of War: This ſtood on a ſpacious ſquare, ſurrounded by a wall of hewn ſtone, wrought on the outſide with various knots of twiſted ſerpents: At a little diſtance from the principal gate was a place of worſhip, built of ſtone, and aſcended on the outſide by thirty ſteps, on the top whereof was a long flat roof, and the front of it adorned with the ſculls of men that had been ſacrificed, placed in rows one above another, which half covered this edifice.

On each ſide of the grand ſquare was a magnificent gate, and over every one of them four ſtatues, ſuppoſed to repreſent ſome ſubordinate deities; for all that entered the gates ſeem'd to adore them. Under the wall, on the inſide, were the apartments of the Prieſts, and of their officers and ſervants; and yet the ſquare was ſo very extenſive, that there was room left for eight or ten thouſand perſons to dance on their ſolemn feſtivals.

In the middle of the ſquare was an edifice of a pyramidal form; three ſides whereof were ſmooth, and the fourth contained an hundred and twenty ſtone ſteps, by which they aſcended to the top, that was a flat of 40 foot ſquare, laid with Jaſper of all colours. The rails, or balluſtrade, that ſurrounded this, were of a ſerpentine form, covered with a ſtone as black as jet, and joined with a red and white cement, that was very ornamental.

On each ſide, within the rails, was a marble ſtatue, ſupporting a vaſt candleſtick, and between them a green ſtone, five ſpans high from the floor, which terminated in a point; and on this they extended the human victims they ſacrificed, throwing them on their backs, and ripping them open with knives made of flint; after which, they tore out their hearts, and offered them to their idols: For, on the farther ſide, oppoſite to the ſtairs, ſtood a chapel of exquiſite materials and architecture, where the idol was placed on an altar. This image was of human form, and ſat on a throne, ſuſtained by an azure globe, which they called heaven; from the ſides whereof iſſued four rods, their ends reſembling the heads of ſerpents: On the head of the image was a helmet, adorn'd with plumes of various colours; its countenance was ſevere and terrible, and much deformed by two blue bands, which bound the forehead and the noſe; in the right hand it held a twining ſerpent, that ſerved for a ſtaff; and in the left four arrows, which were revered as the gift of heaven: It bore a ſhield alſo, adorned with fine white plumes in the form of a croſs. On the left hand was another chapel of the ſame form, in which was the image of Tlalock, another of their gods; reſembling the former however in every reſpect; They were eſteemed friends, or rather ſo intimately united, that they aſcribed to them the ſame attributes, and paid them the ſame honours. The walls and altars of theſe chapels were immenſely rich, covered with jewels and precious ſtones, ſet on feathers of various colours.

There were eight of theſe temples in Mexico, of the like architecture and equal wealth, beſides two thouſand ſmall ones, dedicated to as many different gods; every ſtreet having its tutelary deity; every diſtreſs or calamity its particular altar, to which they had recourſe for a remedy of their ſeveral ſufferings: But, having reſerved a chapter on purpoſe to treat of their religion, I forbear enlarging on that ſubject here.

Some other ancient towns deſcribed.

Thoſe, who have written the *Conqueſt of Mexico*, have given us an account of ſeveral other noble cities and towns in that empire, whoſe buildings were little inferior to the capital; particularly Iztacpalapa, ſituate on an iſland in the lake about two leagues from Mexico, and with which it had a communication by a ſpacious ſtone cauſey. The Spaniards, who paſſed through this city in their firſt march to Mexico, relate, that it conſiſted of ten thouſand houſes, many of which were built like thoſe of Mexico, with flat roofs, battlements, and cedar cielings; and that the rooms of the Cacique's palace were hung with cotton linen finely painted: That, among other curioſities in his garden, he had a ſquare reſervoir of ſtone, with ſtairs on every ſide going down to the bottom, each ſide containing four hundred paces. Another city they paſſed through, called Cholula, which for beauty they compared to Valladolid in Spain, and aſſure us, that it contained twenty thouſand ſouls, and had ſuburbs of equal dimenſions.

The city of Tlaſcala alſo, they inform us, was built with ſtone and brick, and the houſes had flat roofs, with battlements of terraſſes, like thoſe of Mexico: That it was ſituated on four eminencies, which were united and defended by a ſtone wall: So well were theſe people verſed in architecture in thoſe days; and yet I do not find that there are any towns in the country now built of brick or ſtone, except thoſe in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards. I proceed therefore, in the laſt place, to deſcribe the towns there are in Mexico at this day, inhabited by ſuch Indians as are not come into the Spaniſh modes of building, with the form of their houſes and their furniture.

Indian towns.

Even thoſe Indians that have ſubmitted to the Spaniards, and embraced their religion (if they have not intermarried with them, and are not inhabitants of their great towns) live in thatch'd cottages, and obſerve very little regularity in laying out their ſtreets; their houſes neither ſtand contiguous, or in any order, but are diſperſed here and there, as in our villages, every one having his ſeparate plantation; only they have one common guard-houſe, or fort, ſituate on an eminence, whither they reſort on the approach of an enemy, or when they aſſemble in council.

They never lay any deep foundations; their houſes ſtand in a manner upon the ſurface of the ground: They ſet up ſmall poſts, ſeven or eight foot high, two or three foot aſunder; and, having ſplinter'd up the intervals, cover them with clay: The roof is made like that of an ordinary barn, and covered uſually with Palmeto leaves: The length of the building is about 24 foot, and half as broad as it is long: The fire-hearth is in the middle of the houſe, and they have a hole over it to let out the ſmoke, but no chimnies: They build but one floor, and have no partitions; all the houſe is but one room: Inſtead of beds they uſe hammocks, which are hung up on the principal beam, from one end to the other of the houſe; nor have they any other ſeats or tables, but blocks of wood: Their furniture conſiſts of pots and pans, and other kitchen utenſils, with Calabaſhes or Gourds of an uncommon ſize to hold their liquor; and their arms, bows, arrows, launces, darts, and quivers, with their tools, are hung round the cottage as ornaments.

Their guard-houſe is about 130 foot long, and 25 broad; the walls 9 or 10 foot high, and the top of the roof about 20 foot in height, and thatch'd with Palmeto leaves, as the private houſes are; but they have narrow loop-holes on the ſides, from whence they can annoy an enemy with their arrows. Theſe houſes, as has been obſerved, are generally ſituated on an eminence; and the ground is cleared of wood and ſhrubs for a good ſpace about them, that an enemy may find no ſhelter from their arrows, or any place to lie concealed. They have ſtrong doors to defend the entrance to theſe houſes; but the Spaniards, it ſeems, eaſily burn down theſe little fortreſſes, by ſhooting flaming arrows into the thatch.

CHAP. VI.

Of the perſons and habits of the Mexicans; *of their genius and temper, arts, manufactures, diet, exerciſes, and diverſions.*

The various inhabitants of Mexico.

THERE is at preſent a great variety of inhabitants in Mexico; viz. 1. The native Indians; 2. the Spaniards, and other Europeans; 3. The deſcendants of the Spaniards unmix'd, who are called Crioli; 4. The Meſtices, or Meſties, the iſſue of a Spaniard and an American; 5. The Fine Meſties, the iſſue of ſuch iſſue; 6. The Terceroons dez Indies, the children of the laſt, intermarried with pure Spaniards; 7. The Quarteroons dez Indies, whoſe poſterity are allowed the ſame privileges as pure Spaniards. The Blacks alſo are pretty numerous, having been carried over to the Indies from Africa, and by one means or other obtained their freedom. The iſſue of a Spaniard (or other European) by one of theſe female Negroes, is call'd a Mulattoe: The deſcendants of theſe alſo are call'd Mulattoes, tho' again intermarried with Spaniards, and as white as the Spaniards themſelves; and can never enjoy the privileges of Spaniards unleſs they can conceal their deſcent, which they frequently do, by removing from the place of their nativity. And there is alſo a mingled breed of Negroes and Indians, whoſe deſcendants are ever excluded from the privileges of Spaniards 'till their anceſtors are forgotten: But, beſides theſe, there are ſome commonwealths of Blacks, in ſeveral parts of Mexico, that own no ſubjection to the Spaniards: Theſe were conſtituted out of the Negroes that run away from their maſters into the woods and mountains; and, at length, became ſo formidable, that the Spaniards were forced to enter into treaties with them, and grant them their liberties, and permit them to be governed by their own Magiſtrates, on condition they would put a ſtop to their depredations.

Negroe commonwealths.

The perſons of the Indians.

I proceed, in the next place, to deſcribe the perſons and habits of the native Mexicans.

The Indians, I find, are generally of a middle ſtature, and their complexions a deep olive, darker than that of the Portugueze: The men have ſtreight clean limbs, are big-boned, and well ſhaped, ſcarce a crooked or deformed perſon is to be found among them: They are nimble and active, and run very ſwiftly: The women are moderately fat, and well-ſhaped; and the faces, both of men and women (who have not taken pains to alter the natural ſhape) are round: Their eyes large, either black or grey, lively and ſparkling: Their fore-heads are high; their noſes ſhort; the mouth of a moderate ſize; their lips thin; their chins and cheeks well proportion'd; and all of them have fine ſets of teeth: The features both of men and women generally good.

In the wearing of their hair, which is always black, they differ very much; in ſome places the men wear it ſhort, and the women long; and in others it is juſt the reverſe: Some are proud of having long hair hang down their backs; others wear it ſhort, juſt below their ears, and ſome tie it up behind; but all agree in ſuffering no hair to remain upon them, unleſs the hair of their heads, and over their eyes; the reſt is pull'd off by tweazers as ſoon as ever it appears, which is the buſineſs of the old women it ſeems; inſomuch, that the Spaniards did not find a beard in the country, or any hair below the waiſt, when they arrived among them. There are ſome nations of Indians that take abundance of pains to render their countenances deformed; they do not only flat the noſes of their new born infants, but ſo preſs and ſqueeze their heads between two boards, that they make them perfectly flat; while others endeavour to mould their tender ſkulls into the ſhape of a ſugar-loaf: And there are ſcarce any of them but diſfigure their faces and bodies with paint, and rub themſelves over with oil or fat: They begin to anoint and paint their children very young, and the women are the operators: The colours they chiefly affect are a lively red, blue or yellow; and ſometimes they make the figures of men, beaſts, birds, or plants, on every part of the body, but chiefly on the face: They draw theſe figures on the ſkin with wooden pencils, gnaw'd at the end to the ſoftneſs of a bruſh; renewing the paint from time to time, 'till the colours are fix'd: But the way they often take to render the figures laſting and indelible, is by pricking the ſkin with a thorn 'till the blood follows, and then rubbing the paint in with their hands: Some nations of Mexicans, when they go to the wars, paint their faces red, and their bodies with other colours, according to their ſeveral fancies; but this is uſually waſhed off at night, and renewed every morning.

The habits of the Indians.

As to their habits, moſt of the Mexican nations were ſome habit or other; but there are Indians that go perfectly naked. GIMELLI relates, that he ſaw ſome of the Chichimecas, when he was at Mexico,

who

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who had no part of their bodies covered, but their nudities; all the reſt of the body was naked, and ſtain'd with ſeveral colours: That their faces were ſtreak'd with black lines, made by pricking the ſkin, and rubbing in the black liquor: That ſome of theſe wore Stags ſkulls on their heads with the horns on; others had a Lion's, a Tyger's, or a Wolf's head upon their own, faſtened about their necks with part of the beaſt's ſkin: Theſe are worn as triumphs of their victories over thoſe animals. But they are ambitious of nothing ſo much as of killing a Spaniard, that they may fix his head on their own, and triumph in the deſtruction of their moſt dreaded enemy.

There is another nation in Veragua, where the men cloath nothing but the Penis, which the inferior people wrap up in a leaf, and thoſe of better quality incloſe in a caſe of gold and ſilver, of the faſhion of a cone or extinguiſher, and adorn it with jewels, letting the Scrotum hang over in full view: But even theſe people, on feſtivals, and other ſolemn occaſions, have a white or black cotton garment, like a Plowman's frock, that reaches down to their heels; and if an European gives them a ſhirt, or any other cloathing, they immediately put it on, and reckon themſelves very fine. But if they have no cloaths, they ſeldom want ornaments for the face, ears, and neck, beſides the painting of their ſkins, already mentioned. The men have always a thin plate of gold or ſilver, hanging over their lips, of an oval figure, and a piece being cut out of the upper ſide, it is almoſt of the form of a creſcent, the points whereof gently pinch the bridle of the noſe, and faſten it on; the middle of this plate is about the thickneſs of a guinea, and grows gradually thinner towards the edges. This is the ſize of the plate they wear when they aſſemble in council, or at a feſtival; but they have one much leſs, that does not reach their lips, which they wear at other times.

Ornaments.

The women, inſtead of a plate, wear a ring of the like ſize, which goes through the bridle of the noſe, and by its weight ſometimes draws it down to the mouth. Both men and women lay the larger ornaments aſide while they are eating at an entertainment, and then put them on again, and the leſſer ſort do not hinder their eating. Their great men alſo wear two gold plates, of the ſhape of an heart, a ſpan long, at each ear, being faſtned to it by a gold ring, which ſtretches the ear to an immoderate ſize, and occaſioned COLUMBUS to give this province the name of the Country of Ears. They alſo wear a kind of coronet or bandage of gold or ſilver about their heads, eight or nine inches broad, and indented on the upper ſide; others have only a bandage of cane painted red, ſtuck round with beautiful feathers ſtanding upright: And almoſt all the Indians of both ſexes wear ſtrings or chains of beads, teeth, ſhells, and other toys, hanging from the neck down to their breaſts: Every perſon almoſt has three or four hundred of theſe chains on, and the larger and heavier they are, the more ornamental; the meaneſt woman, when ſhe is dreſs'd, has fifteen or twenty pound weight of theſe ſtrings, ſome carry thirty, and the men as much more: But theſe are worn only at feſtivals, and on ſolemn occaſions. The women carry the men's ornaments in baskets on their ſhoulders to their aſſemblies, where they put them on, and will dance with that weight about them: The women, beſides their ear-rings and necklaces, have ſome of them bracelets of the ſame materials on their arms.

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Habits of the ancient Mexicans.

As to the Mexicans, that lived in towns when the Spaniards arrived there, they had moſt of them ſome cloathing, although thoſe that inhabited the country, had little or no cloathing, any more than they have at this day. What the general habit of the Mexicans was, when the Spaniards firſt came among them, I don't find any where particularly deſcribed. They tell us, indeed, that MONTEZUMA, the emperor, when he met CORTEZ at his entrance into Mexico, had on a robe of fine painted cotton linen, that trail'd upon the ground, and was covered in a manner with glittering jewels, and precious ſtones; that he wore a crown of gold, in form of a mitre, had ſhoes of hammer'd gold, and a kind of Roman buſkin about his legs.

The Spaniards alſo relate, that the High-prieſt wore on his head a crown of beautiful feathers of various colours, with golden pendants, enrich'd with emeralds at his ears, and that he was cloathed in a veſt, and a fine ſcarlet robe over it; and in the pictures they have given us of the Prieſts, it appears, they had ſandals on their feet, but their legs were bare, which makes it reaſonable to believe, that the generality of the people, even in their capital city, wore neither ſtockings or ſhoes, if the reſt of their bodies were cloathed; and in other pictures they have given us the upper part of the body naked.

Habits of the Spaniſh Indians.

I proceed in the next place to ſhew how the Indians are cloathed, that live in the Spaniſh towns, or are under their government; and theſe GEMELLI CARERI informs us, wear a ſhort waiſtcoat and wide breeches, with a ſhort cloak of various colours over all; and ſome of them have ſandals on their feet, but go bare-legg'd; that the women wear a waiſtcoat of cotton linnen, over which they have a frock or ſhift, and a ſtrait petticoat of various colours; and when they go abroad, have another cloth wrapped about them.

Of the Blacks and Mulattoes.

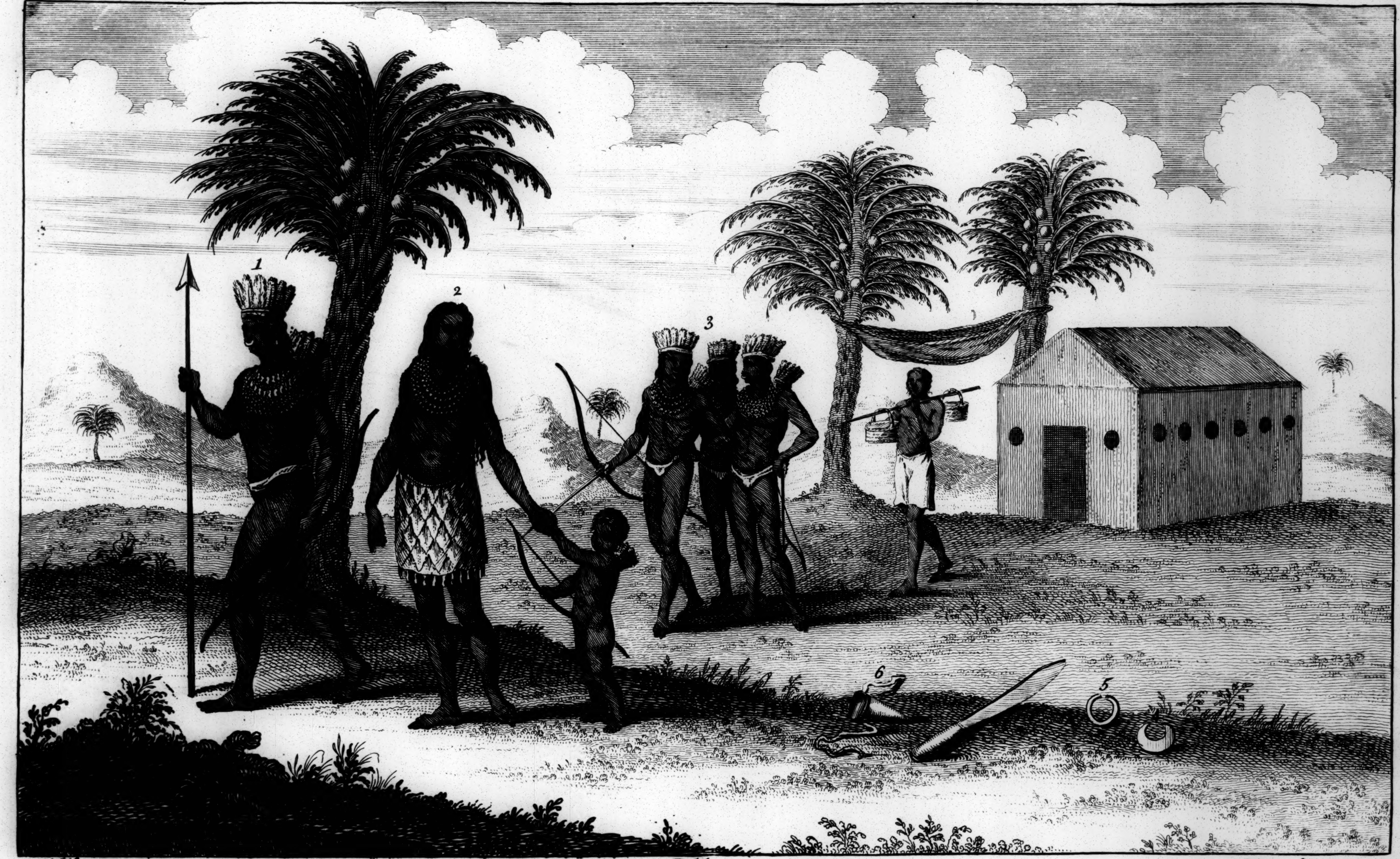
That the Meſtige, Mulattoe and Black women, who make the greateſt part of the Mexican women, not being allowed to wear veils, or cloath themſelves after the Spaniſh faſhion, and deſpiſing the Indian habit, go in an extravagant dreſs, wearing a kind of petticoat about their ſhoulders, like a cloak. Mr. DAMPIER relates, that the country Indians, who are civiliz'd, in ſome provinces wear a ſhort waiſtcoat and breeches, and have a Palm-leaf for a hat, which is their holiday-dreſs; that they have no ſhoes or ſtockings, nor do they wear ſo much as a waiſtcoat on working-days; that the women have a cotton linen petticoat, and a kind of frock, that reaches down to their knees, the boſom whereof is open and finely work'd; that they tie their hair up in a knot behind, and in this dreſs they think themſelves very fine. He does not inform us, whether they have any other covering for their heads, beſides their hair.

The genius of the Mexicans.

As to the genius and temper of the Mexicans, it ſeems, there is a wide difference between what they were when the Spaniards arrived amongſt them, and what we find them to be at this day: They are far from being improv'd either in arts or morals. The firſt adventurers inform us, that they were a wonderful ingenious people, inoffenſive and hoſpitable; and, except in the matter of human ſacrifices, and their idolatrous worſhip, which their ſuperſtition required, there was very little reformation wanting; nay, we are aſſured, that the generality of the people deteſted theſe ſacrifices, and were weary of their ſuperſtition.

Good artificers.

It appears, they were no mean artificers in painting, ſtatuary and building: That they uſed both



1 A King or Chief
2 His Lady
3 Attendants

THE INDIANS Marching on a Visit or to a Feast.

4 The Lip piece
5 the Nose ring
6 the Cone

3 MA 53

the pencil, and the beautiful feathers of birds, in drawing and forming of pictures; and without any manner of iron tool, hew'd out vaſt pillars and ſlabs of marble out of the rock, and poliſh'd them, as they did ſeveral precious ſtones and jewels; that they made arms, defenſive and offenſive; wrought mines of gold, ſilver and copper, melted and ſeparated theſe metals, and afterwards wrought them into plates and veſſels; and all this, as has been obſerved, without being acquainted with iron. We find alſo, that they built great towns, removed ſtones of prodigious ſize from place to place; and yet had no horſes, oxen, or other cattle for draught, but all their carriages were drawn by men. They had alſo images of gold and ſilver, wood and ſtone, and yet not an iron tool to work with. And how did they carve and engrave, paint and build, remains very much a ſecret to us. The Spaniards were ſo intent upon plundering their gold and ſilver, that they neglected to make proper obſervations on theſe articles; at leaſt, they did not think fit to tranſmit theſe matters to poſterity: We have only lame and imperfect accounts of the arts and manufactures of the Indians; we only know, that there were magnificent buildings, images, pictures, veſſels, and utenſils of gold, ſilver, earth and wood; but how they form'd them without the help of iron tools, is, in a great meaſure, a myſtery to us. We know, indeed, that ſharp flints ſerved them inſtead of axes, knives and ſwords: That with theſe they form'd the edges of theſe tools; but how they could grave or carve their hardeſt ſtones with ſuch inſtruments, is paſt my apprehenſion; and, though I don't ſuppoſe they excelled, or even equalled the Europeans in building, carving or painting, yet it ſhews a vaſt genius and uncommon application, that they were able, in ſuch circumſtances, and with no better inſtruments, to perform any thing of this kind.

It may be objected here, perhaps, that if the Indians were ſuch ingenious artiſts two or three hundred years ago, it is ſtrange that there is now none of them left. To which I anſwer, as to the matter of fact, that they had ſuch buildings, images, pictures, and utenſils, is averred and confirmed by the concurrent teſtimony of many thouſands of eye-witneſſes, and was never controverted or denied by any adventurer or traveller that has viſited thoſe countries. And there are ſufficient reaſons to be given for the neglect and diſuſe of theſe arts at this day: In the firſt place, the Spaniards, under pretence of zeal for deſtroying the temples and idols of the Mexicans, but, in reality, that none of the gold and ſilver, and other treaſures of the Mexicans might be concealed from them, pull'd down and demoliſhed every town where theſe arts flouriſhed, and moſt of the people of thoſe towns, leaving ſcarce any remains of their antiquities. Secondly, they reduced the natives to the moſt abject ſlavery, compelling thoſe they left alive, to work in the mines, and ſupply the place of beaſts of burthen; by which means they deſtroyed more of them than they had done by the ſword, and entirely diſcouraged the reſt from attempting to preſerve or improve any art or ſcience among them: And, thirdly, ſince the Europeans poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe countries, and have been provided with all manner of tools and inſtruments to perform theſe things in a better manner than the Indians could be ſuppoſed to do under ſo many diſadvantages, it is no wonder, that the natives neglected the working in that manner they were uſed to before, and threw away their country tools and implements, for thoſe which were ſo much better adapted to the purpoſes above-mentioned.

As to the virtues of the ancient Mexicans, they do not ſeem to have been defective either in point of temperance, fortitude, or military ſkill: Both their policy and ſtratagems were admirable, conſidering the diſadvantages under which they labour'd; and that they had an enemy to oppoſe, verſed in the modern art of war; poſſeſs'd of gun-powder, artillery, arms, armour and horſes, which the Indians had never ſeen or heard of 'till then.

Manufactures.

The principal manufacture of the ancient Mexicans was cotton linen, which they ſpun and wove, and afterwards painted with the figures of men, animals, trees, flowers, &c. Theſe they always made fit and proportionable for the uſes they deſign'd them, and never cut any of their linen. They uſed the ſinews of animals inſtead of thread, and bones inſtead of needles. The feather manufacture alſo was very great: They ſtripp'd and plunder'd every feather'd animal, to make their pictures, and adorn their houſes or their perſons. Architecture alſo muſt be deem'd another of their arts in towns, and almoſt every man made his own arms. They had no other veſſels upon the water in their ſeas, lakes or rivers, but canoes or periagoes, which only differ in their dimenſions: They are both of them made out of the body of a tree, and carry from three men to threeſcore. They firſt hew'd one ſide of the tree flat with their flint hatchets, and then burnt it hollow with coals, ſmooth'd it, and form'd the ends ſomething like a boat, which they puſh'd along with ſmall flat ſtaves, but knew nothing of either ſails or oars. Theſe kind of veſſels are found very uſeful to this day, and they have now a much eaſier way of framing them by the help of European tools. Their ſkill in phyſick, their diſeaſes, and methods of cure, will be treated of under another head.

The Mexicans degenerated.

I proceed, in the next place, to ſhew how the modern Mexicans are degenerated from their anceſtors. Gemelli Careri relates, that the preſent Mexicans are cowardly and cruel: That they have no ſenſe of honour, are drown'd in vice, and die without any concern or apprehenſions of futurity; but ſeems to intimate, that the hard uſage of the Spaniards is the occaſion of this change: For he ſays, they make them work in their mines, and treat them worſe than ſlaves; nay, that they ſuffer the Negroe ſlaves to abuſe and inſult them; and, if they happen to get any thing by their labour, the rapacious Spaniſh Governors and Officers take it from them: And it is no wonder that this uſage has made them perfectly careleſs; for to what purpoſe ſhould a man labour for what he can never poſſeſs ſecurely? Or why ſhould he be concern'd at dying, when it relieves him from ſomething worſe than death? But Gemelli adds, that the Mulattoes in Mexico, which are the moſt numerous body of people in that city, are ſtill worſe than the Indians, greater cheats and thieves than the former; and, in ſhort, that there is not one honeſt, fair-dealing man in an hundred amongſt them: Nor does Gemelli give the Spaniards themſelves, that reſide in that city, a better character: For he ſays, he ſaw four hundred Spaniards brought before a Court of Juſtice there for theft, at one time: That they are many of them idle, ſlothful vagabonds, and turn ſharpers to get a livelihood; and that it is almoſt impoſſible for a ſtranger to eſcape being robb'd by them. Whether the Meſtizes, or mixed breed, have better morals, he does not inform us;

but ſurely there muſt be ſome of better principles amongſt them, or it would be impoſſible for the Government to ſubſiſt long. Thus much, however, may be concluded from the relations of all travellers, that the preſent inhabitants of Mexico, of what nation, tribe, or denomination ſoever, are more vicious and effeminate than the Indians which the Spaniards found there, and might be beaten out of that country with as much eaſe almoſt as the ancient Spaniards made that conqueſt, if they were not to be ſupported or reinforced from Europe.

Genius of the Indians that have preſerved their liberties.

I come, in the next place, to enquire into the character of the Indians in the open country, that do not live in towns, and have ſtill preſerved their liberties, of which there are yet great numbers; and many more that only obey them occaſionally, when they happen to reſide in the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh towns, or are oblig'd to yield a forced obedience when the Spaniſh troops are amongſt them. Theſe, DAMPIER and other late adventurers informs us, are people of great humanity, ſtill brave, generous, active, and unacquainted with the ſordid vices of thoſe that live in towns, whom the Europeans have corrupted. DAMPIER, in his Second Volume, Part II. p. 115, ſays of the Indians, they are an inoffenſive people, kind to ſtrangers, and even to the Spaniards, who uſe them worſe than ſlaves, when they get them into their power; thoſe of the open country ſpending great part of their time in hunting, ſhooting, or fiſhing, as the ancients did: Every man builds his own houſe, and makes his own arms, tools, and implements of huſbandry. They cultivate but little ground, planting juſt enough Indian-corn, roots and fruit, to ſerve the neceſſities of the family; and theſe plantations are the buſineſs of the women altogether, after the men have cleared the ground. The women alſo ſpin, and weave their cotton linnen. They do all the houſhold buſineſs; and, what is ſtill harder upon them, they carry the baggage upon a march, and ſerve their huſbands inſtead of porters and packhorſes; and that with all imaginable chearfulneſs and alacrity. They are never known to murmur or ſpeak diſreſpectfully to their huſbands; nor is a man ever heard to give his wife any hard ill-natur'd language: On the contrary, they are admir'd by our people for the mutual love and kindneſs that ſeems to reign in their families: But more of this under the head of marriage.

The diet and exerciſes of the Indians.

I proceed in the next place, to treat of their diet, exerciſe, feſtivals and diverſions, which will diſcover more of the temper and diſpoſition of theſe Indians, who ſtill enjoy their liberties. Their principal food is either Indian corn, parch'd and ground into flour, and made into thin cakes; fruit, particularly Plantains, roots, and ſometimes fiſh, wild Hogs, Deer, or other veniſon. They go out a hunting and ſhooting frequently in companies a week or a fortnight for food, every man carrying with him his bow and arrows, or a gun, if he can procure one, a ſpear, a hatchet, and a long knife. Each man alſo takes a dog or two with him to beat for game. Some women alſo go with them to carry their proviſions, namely roaſted Plantains, Bonanoes, Yams, Potatoes, and the flour of Caſſavi roots; which will be deſcrib'd hereafter: They carry alſo in their baſkets parch'd Indian-corn ground to flour, with Calabaſhes or Gourds for their drink, and pipkins to dreſs their food. The beaſts they hunt, are chiefly Pecary or Warree (two ſorts of wild Hogs peculiar to America) and they meet with great variety of fowls. They lodge at night whereever they happen to be at ſun-ſet, chuſing to be near ſome river and on the brow of a hill, if they can find ſuch a ſituation. They hang up their hammocks between the trees, and have ſcarce any other covering, but a Plantain-leaf, only they make a fire near their hammocks; they begin their hunting again at ſun-riſe the next morning; their game, the Pecary and Warree, are not ſwift of foot, and uſually go together in droves of two or three hundred; but ſometimes they hunt a whole day without meeting any: When the beaſt is tired or wounded, he will ſtand at bay with the dogs, 'till the maſter comes up and ſhoots him; after which, the Indian ſtrikes his ſpear into the creature, to let out the blood, embowels it, and cuts the beaſt in two pieces, carrying them on a ſtick laid croſs his ſhoulder, to the place where they have appointed their women to meet them; here they cut off the head of the Hog, quarter and flee it. What they intend to preſerve, they dry upon a wooden grate (which is call'd a Barbacue) making a fire of woodcoals under it; this they renew for three or four days, or a weak, till the meat is as dry as a chip, and the pieces will keep a great while. The men are ſo good as to aſſiſt the women to carry the veniſon home, when they have a great deal of it; and when their ſtock of proviſions is almoſt ſpent, they go out again to look for more.

As to their cookery, whether their fleſh is dried or freſh killed, they cut it into ſmall pieces, and throw it into a pipkin, adding ſome roots, green Plantains, or other fruits, with a great deal of Pepper, ſtewing them together ſeven or eight hours, and not ſuffering them to boil; this reduces all the ingredients to a pulp or hotch-potch, and is for their ſet-meal at noon. When it is poured out into an earthen-diſh or calabaſh, and being ſet upon a wooden-block, that ſerves them for a table, they ſit round it on leſſer blocks, every one having a calabaſh of water ſtanding by him on the ground, into which they frequently dip their fingers while they are eating (theſe calabaſhes, or gourds, ſerve them for bottles, and, when they are cut in half, for bowls, baſons, or drinking-cups.) They have ſeldom more than one ſet-meal, but they eat Plantains and other fruit, raw or roaſted, almoſt all day long. They have alſo the flour of Indian-wheat, or of the Caſſavi-root, with which they ſometimes make a kind of gruel, or elſe make into paſte, and bake as hard as biſcuit; and either the flour or biſcuits made of it, they have always by them, eſpecially when they are on a journey, or in hunting; theſe ſerving them both for meat and drink, mix'd with water and fruit, when they want more ſubſtantial food.

There is ſcarce any fleſh, fiſh, or fowl, but what the natives of Mexico eat either ſtewed or barbacued, that is, broil'd over a wooden grate, or upon the coals; and I don't perceive they uſe either knives, forks, or ſpoons in eating; but take up the ſtew'd hotch-potch with their right-hand, and fill their mouths with it; and the broil'd fleſh they tear off the bones with their teeth, unleſs thoſe, that have learn'd better of the Europeans, and conform themſelves to Spaniſh cuſtoms. Every thing they eat is high-ſeaſon'd with Pepper, and Salt too, if they can get it; but, as Salt is ſcarce in many places, they are content with ſtroaking their meat upon a lump of Salt, before they put it into their mouths.

As to Chocolate, this ſerves both for meat and drink, in almoſt every province of Mexico, both among the civiliz'd and barbarous Indians, if they can get it; but this is ſo much uſed by the Spaniards, and ſo much of it exported to Europe, that it is pretty ſcarce among the foreſt Indians.

They have a great variety of liquors: The readieſt and moſt ordinary drink is water, with the flour of Indian-corn infuſed in it, and drunk off preſently: This, DAMPIER ſays, the natives call Poſole, and the Engliſh, Poor ſoul, becauſe it juſt ſerves to keep them alive on a march, when they can get no other proviſion.

Againſt an entertainment, they frequently ſteep twenty or thirty baskets of Indian-corn, and after the water is impregnated, the women chew more of the ſame corn and ſpit into it, which ferments and works the liquor like yeaſt; and when it has done working, they draw the liquor clear off, and it proves very intoxicating, but taſtes pretty much like ſour ſmall-beer.

Miſlaw is another liquor, and of this they have two ſorts; one made of Plantains freſh gather'd, and the other of dried ones; the firſt they roaſt, and peeling of the rind, maſh them in a bowl of water till they are diſſolved, and then drink the mixt liquor; the other is made of cakes, or lumps of Plantains dry'd over a ſlow fire; this they carry with them on journeys, and drink it, diſſolv'd in water. Green and half-ripe Plantains they alſo eat inſtead of bread, boiling or roaſting them firſt, as they do alſo Yams and Potatoes. The Caſſavi-root, already mentioned, of which the Indians make bread, is firſt boil'd and ſqueez'd, then dried, ground and made into paſte or biſcuit; and tho' this kind of bread is very wholeſome, when it is thus cook'd, yet if it be eaten before it is boil'd, and the juice ſqueez'd from it, it is rank poiſon. As for green herbs and ſallads, I don't find the Indians of the open country eat any. As their Pine-apples are one of the moſt delicious fruits of America, an infuſion of theſe is one of their beloved liquors; and indeed they may drink of all manner of fruits almoſt, as well as grain, adding honey to them at their entertainments. But as to wine, their country affords none; for their Grapes will not ripen kindly in the rainy ſeaſon, and the heats at other times make the liquor ſour; and this is the reaſon, that ſcarce any countries between the Tropics afford good wine.

Their feaſts.

The Indians ſcarce undertake any buſineſs of conſequence, without making an entertainment. If they propoſe entering into a war, either with the Spaniards, or any Indian nation; their Chiefs are ſummon'd to a conſultation, where they eat and drink plentifully, before they enter on their debates. A hunting-match, which laſts uſually ſome weeks, is preceded alſo by a drunken-bout. At weddings, and other joyful occaſions, they have their feaſts, where they continue drinking two or three days, 'till all the liquor is out: And, as they are very quarrelſome in their drink, the maſter of the houſe always ſecures their arms before they begin to be merry; for they never go without their arms, if it be but to next door: They uſually get exceeding drunk, inſomuch that they can neither ſtand nor go; and, having ſlept till they have recover'd their ſenſes, they move off.

The men, it ſeems, drink to one another at meals, as the Europeans do; but never to the women; the women always ſtand by, and wait upon their huſbands, while they are eating and drinking, ſerving them with liquor; and, even when they are at home, the wife does not eat 'till the huſband has done: But the females feaſt, and are as merry as the men among themſelves: They are not afraid of being very drunk neither, 'tis ſaid. However, till their huſbands are recovered, they take care to keep ſober, and, when they perceive the men overcome with liquor, they will take them up, and put them into hammocks, waiting on them, and ſprinkling them with water, 'till they are in a condition to return home.

Nothing is more univerſally drank in the city of Mexico itſelf, and in ſuch towns as are under the dominion of the Spaniards, than Chocolate. GEMELLI informs us, that to every pound of the Cocoa-nut the Europeans add a pound of ſugar, and an ounce of Cinnamon; but that neither the Spaniards there, nor the Indians, uſe any Venella in it, looking upon them as unwholeſome: But to every pound of Cocoa they add two ounces of the flour of Indian-corn, to make it froth. This drink was not uſed by the Indians before the Spaniards arrived there. They diſtil a ſpirit alſo from a plant called Magey, which is very intoxicating, and ſo generally drank, that GEMELLI tells us, the exciſe of it came to eleven hundred thouſand pieces of eight per annum in Mexico; that the Indians committed ſuch outrages, when they were intoxicated with this liquor, that it was prohibited for a time; but, while he was at Mexico orders came from the King of Spain to take off the prohibition; and both Europeans and Indians now drink it again.

I muſt not forget, that the Indians ſmoak as well as drink, ſince it was from them we firſt learnt the uſe of Tobacco about two hundred years ago; but what the natives plant is not ſo good as that the Engliſh plant and cure in Virginia: They neither underſtand, nor will take the pains to cultivate it as our people do; and, if they taught us to take Tobacco, we taught them to improve it, and the uſe of pipes; for the way they ſmoak'd it, was by lighting one end of a roll they made with the leaf, and holding the other end of the roll in their mouths; and, when it was half burnt out, they threw the remainder away: Others contented themſelves with the ſmell of the Tobacco. A boy, having lighted one end of the roll, went round the company, and blew it in their faces; and this is done in ſome of the provinces of Mexico by the natives to this day.

Exerciſes and diverſions.

Their principal exerciſes, or rather employments, as has been touch'd already, are hunting, ſhooting, and fiſhing; for theſe they are in a manner forced into, in order to make proviſion for their families. Every man breeds up his ſon to theſe exerciſes; and they are ſo dextrous at them while they are children, that a boy of eight years of age, 'tis ſaid, will ſplit a cane ſet up at 20 yards diſtance, with his bow and arrow, and hit a bird flying. But the moſt dextrous people are the Moſqueto Indians, natives of the province of Honduras, as all travellers relate. DAMPIER ſays, theſe people are tall, well-made, ſtrong and nimble: That they are long viſaged, have lank black hair, a ſtern look, are hard favour'd, and of a dark copper complexion: That they are bred to throw the lance, harpoon, and dart, and draw the bow, from their infancy; and that they will put by and parry any of theſe miſſive weapons thrown at them, with a ſmall cane, not bigger than a gun-ſtick, tho' the arrows and darts fly very thick. Theſe people inhabit on the ſea-ſhore, or the banks of rivers; and their principal employment is to ſtrike fiſh, particularly the Manatee and Tortoiſe: The Manatee is what the ancients called the Sea-horſe, an amphibious animal, that lives in the ſalt-water, but eats weeds and graſs on ſhore like a Cow; and from thence, and from its ſize and figure, is frequently called the

Moſqueto Indians.

Sea-cow. The Engliſh Privateers and Buccaneers, that cruize on the Mexican coaſt, have uſually one or two of theſe Moſqueto men on board, to ſtrike Manatee, Tortoiſe, and other fiſh; and they will take and kill fiſh enough to maintain a ſhip's crew of an hundred men. When they ſerve the Engliſh, they learn the uſe of guns, and are exceeding good markſmen: They are found alſo very brave and daring in fight, and will never flinch or give back, while they are ſupported by the party that entertains them.

They have converſed ſo long with the Engliſh, who frequently bring them to Jamaica, that they will not acknowledge the dominion of the Spaniard, and frequently declare, they will have no other Sovereign, but the King of England; nor have the Spaniards ever been able to ſubdue theſe, and many other nations, that inhabit Mexico. While they are at Jamaica, and among the Engliſh, they wear the ſame kind of cloaths, and delight to be neat and clean; but when they return to their own country, they put off all their cloaths, and conform to their country faſhion again, wearing only a ſmall piece of linnen tied round their waiſts. But to return to the exerciſes and diverſions of the Indians, from whence the dexterity of the Moſqueto men has led me.

They have their dances, and their muſick too, ſuch as it is, wooden drums of the form of a kettle-drum, and a kind of pipes or flagelets, made of a cane or reed, but very grating to an European ear. 'Tis obſerv'd, they love every thing that makes a noiſe, how diſagreeable ſoever the ſound is; they will alſo hum over ſomething like a tune, when they dance; but I don't find they delight in ſongs and ballads, as ſome other unpoliſhed people do. They dance thirty or forty in a circle, ſtretching out their hands, and laying them on each others ſhoulders: They ſtamp and jump, and uſe the moſt antick geſtures for ſeveral hours, till they are heartily weary; and one or two of the company ſometimes ſtep out of the ring to make ſport for the reſt, ſhewing tricks, and feats of activity, throwing up their lances into the air, catching them again, bending backwards and ſpringing forwards with great agility; and when they are in a moſt violent ſweat, will frequently jump into the water, without taking any manner of cold. And I ſhould have remembered among their exerciſes, that no men ſwim or dive better than the native Indians. The women have their dances and muſick too, by themſelves; but never with the men.

As to their religious feſtivals, muſick and dancing, theſe will be taken notice of in the chapter of religion.

CHAP. VII.

Of the conqueſt of Mexico *by the* Spaniards.

The conqueſt of Mexico.

I Have already given an account of the diſcoveries and conqueſts, made by COLUMBUS, and his ſucceſſors, in Hiſpaniola, St. John de Porto Rico, Jamaica, Cuba, and ſome other American iſlands; as alſo of the ſettlements made by VOSCO NUNES DE BALBOA, on the iſthmus of Darien on the continent, and his diſcovery of the South-ſea in the year 1513. I ſhall proceed in this chapter to give as juſt an account of the conqueſt of Mexico, as can be collected from that variety of authors, that have written on this ſubject, whoſe relations differing in many material facts and circumſtances, it will demand a pretty deal of attention to diſcover what may be relied on, and what ought to be treated as fiction.

The Spaniards firſt attempt on Jucatan defeated.

In the year 1515, or 1516, FRANCIS FERNANDEZ DE CORDOUA, embarking at the iſland of Cuba with an hundred and twenty men, ſet ſail for Jucatan, a province of Mexico, where he made a deſcent, and was about to have erected a fort, in order to ſettle a colony of Spaniards there: But he ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriz'd by the Indians; and, having twenty men kill'd, thirty more wounded, among whom was FERNANDEZ himſelf, and two made priſoners, the reſt retired with ſome difficulty to their ſhips, and returned to Cuba. However, thoſe that eſcaped reporting that they ſaw great plenty of Gold among the natives, and imputing their miſfortune more to accident, or the unſkilfulneſs of their Commander, than to the courage of their enemies; and offering to make a farther attempt on the continent of Mexico, where they gave out, that inconceivable treaſures were to be found; the Spaniards of Cuba appeared impatient to make another experiment, and inform themſelves whether there were really thoſe riches to be met with as had been reported. DIEGO VELASQUEZ was at this time Governor of the iſland of Cuba, by the appointment of Don DIEGO COLUMBUS, or COLON, the ſecond Admiral of the Indies, and ſon of the celebrated COLUMBUS who firſt diſcovered that new world; and, obſerving the ardour his ſoldiers expreſs'd to engage in a freſh enterprize againſt the continent, he fitted out three ſhips and a brigantine, to make farther diſcoveries, giving the command of them to JOHN DE GRIJALVA, his near relation, who ſet ſail from Cuba on the 8th of April, 1518; and arriving at Potonchan, or Champoton, in Jucatan, where FERNANDEZ DE CORDOUA had been defeated, took a ſevere revenge on the natives, and then ſtood farther weſtward, till he came to the mouth of the river Tobaſco, in the Gulph of Mexico. Here GRIJALVA landed, and formerly took poſſeſſion of the country for the Emperor CHARLES V. then King of Caſtile; letting the Indians know, by his Interpreters, that he and his people were the ſubjects of a powerful Monarch, Lord of that part of the world where the ſun riſes, from whom he came to offer them peace, if they would ſubmit to his dominion.

Grijalva ſent from Cuba to make farther diſcoveries on the Continent.

Takes poſſeſſion of the country for the King of Spain.

To this one of the Chiefs of the Indians anſwer'd, that they would conſult their ſuperiors on the offer of peace, and return an anſwer in a ſhort time; but as to their becoming vaſſals to a Prince they had never before heard of, it was not in their power, as they were already ſubject to a Sovereign of their own; concluding, that they looked upon it as a very ſtrange demand, and then took their leaves.

Offers the natives peace; who accept it.

Some little time after, the ſame Indians returned, and acquainted the Spaniards, that their Caciques accepted their offers of peace; and that they had heard of the defeat of their neighbours of Jucatan, which had render'd the Chriſtians very formidable. One of their principal Caciques alſo brought GRIJALVA a conſiderable preſent, conſiſting of plumes of feathers of various colours, robes of cotton linnen, adorn'd with the figures of animals of beaten gold: For which GRIJALVA returned them ſuch European toys and utenſils as were moſt acceptable to them; and, having taken his leave in a friendly manner, went on board his ſhips again, continuing his courſe ſtill farther weſtward, 'till he came to the river of flags, where the natives inviting the Spaniards to land, brought them as much Gold as amounted to fifteen thouſand Peſo's; for which they

Trafficks with them for their Gold.

Learns the greatneſs of the Mexican empire.

Grijalva returns to Cuba.

they took knives, hatchets, combs, beads, and glaſs, in return. GRIJALVA afterwards viſited the port of St. John de Ulva; and from thence ſailed as high as Panuco, the moſt northern province of Mexico on that ſide, trading with the people as he went, and underſtood from them that they were ſubject to a Monarch called MONTEZUMA, a Prince poſſeſs'd of a vaſt empire, abounding in gold, ſilver, and rich merchandize; with which acceptable intelligence he returned to Cuba, having ſent PEDRO DE ALVARADO before him, with the treaſure he had acquired on the coaſt of Mexico.

Cortez made Captain-General againſt Mexico.

DIEGO VELASQUEZ was infinitely rejoiced at the diſcoveries that had been made by GRIJALVA, and immediately ſent over to the Admiral at HISPANIOLA, and to the Court of Spain, to acquaint them with the ſucceſs of the expedition; deſiring that he might be made Viceroy of all the countries he ſhould conquer on the continent. But, notwithſtanding the great ſervice JOHN DE GRIJALVA had done, VELASQUEZ was ſo exaſperated that he had not made a ſettlement in Mexico, that he laid him aſide as an improper inſtrument to be concerned in the reducing ſo mighty an Empire, as that of Mexico had been repreſented to him, and look'd out for a perſon to command the forces he was about to ſend thither, who had a genius and courage equal to ſo important an enterprize; and, after much deliberation, pitch'd upon the celebrated HERNANDO, or FERNANDO, CORTEZ, to command the ſmall army, with which he propoſed to make an entire conqueſt of that continent.

Some account of him.

HERNANDO CORTEZ was born at Medellin in Eſtramadura, and was ſon of MARTIN CORTEZ and DONNA CATALINA PIZARRO, a lady of noble extraction. He was bred a Scholar, and two years a Student in the Univerſity of Salamanca; but affecting a more active way of life, and particularly ſome military employment, he embarked, in the year 1504, for the iſland of Hiſpaniola; and went from thence to Cuba, where he was very inſtrumental in the conqueſt of that iſland, and obtained a mighty reputation for military skill; and was, for his ſervices, made Alcaide, or chief Magiſtrate of St. Jago, the principal town in the iſland; which poſt he poſſeſs'd when DIEGO VELASQUEZ fixed upon him to command in the Mexican expedition; CORTEZ having a little before married DONNA CATALINA SUAREZ, a young lady of a noble family in Cuba.

His rivals.

Cortez is recalled by the Governor.

But proceeds in the enterprize notwithſtanding.

He arrives at the iſland of Cozumel.

The relations of DIEGO VELASQUEZ envying CORTEZ the honour of commanding in an expedition that was like to be attended with a vaſt acquiſition of wealth, as well as glory, ſuggeſted to the Governor, that he could not have fixed upon a more ambitious or popular man, who would ſoon have it in his power, as he had it already in his intentions, to renounce his dependance on the perſon that raiſed him, and ſet up for himſelf; which, at firſt, made but little impreſſion on VELASQUEZ; but, obſerving at length with what eagerneſs all the military men of the iſland crouded to be enrolled under the ſtandard of CORTEZ, he began to alter his mind; and, tho' he had attended that General to the ſea-ſide, when he embarked, with all the marks of reſpect and affection (on the 18th of November 1518) the fleet was no ſooner ſailed, but he repented himſelf, and ſent orders to the Havanna, where they were to touch and take in proviſions and a farther reinforcement of troops, that the fleet ſhould not proceed in the voyage 'till farther orders; and that CORTEZ ſhould return to him to St. Jago. But the Governor's orders were not obey'd: The ſoldiers were ſo tranſported with the expectation of acquiring mountains of gold, and had ſuch an opinion of the valour and conduct of their General, that they would not conſent to the changing of him, or to the delay of the enterprize, leſt their hopes ſhould be defeated; but agreed immediately to ſet ſail, contrary to the poſitive orders of their Governor DIEGO VELASQUEZ. The General and his Officers, 'tis ſaid, urged, in their juſtification, that they had, by the encouragement of the Governor, laid out their whole eſtates in making proviſion for this expedition; and that if it ſhould be now laid aſide, or others employ'd in it, they ſhould infallibly be ruined: Even DIEGO DE ORDAZ, and JOAN VELASQUEZ DE LEON, the Governor's own relations, declared againſt his injuſtice in diſappointing them, after they had embarked all their friends and fortunes, by his command, in the enterprize. It being agreed by all of them therefore to proceed in the deſign forthwith, CORTEZ, with a fleet of ten ſhips, and between five and ſix hundred ſoldiers, ſet ſail from the Havanna the 10th of February, 1518-19, and arrived at the iſland of Cozumel, near the eaſtern coaſt of Jucatan; where his troops having plunder'd ſome towns of the Indians, and even their temples, and taken ſeveral priſoners, CORTEZ ſhew'd his diſpleaſure at theſe ravages, and order'd every thing they had taken to be reſtored, endeavouring to cultivate a good correſpondence with the people of the iſland. It is related, that the Spaniards found in the temples on this iſland abundance of rich jewels, that were employ'd in adorning the images of their gods; and ſome inſtruments for ſacrifice, made of a mixture of gold and copper: But as it appeared afterwards, that all the knives and edg'd-tools of the Mexicans were made of flint, we cannot give entire credit to this part of the relation.

The number of his forces.

His ſpeech to them.

CORTEZ, muſtering his forces in the iſland of Cozumel, found them to conſiſt of five hundred and eight Foot-ſoldiers, ſixteen Horſe, and one hundred and nine Seamen and Mechanics; beſides his two Chaplains, JOHN DIAZ the Licentiate, and Father BARTHOLOMEW DE OLMEDO, who accompanied him in the expedition. The writers of this hiſtory tell us, that the General made a ſpeech to his forces at this muſter; wherein he ſaid, "When he conſidered the good fortune that had brought them to this iſland, the obſtacles they had ſurmounted, and the difficulties that oppoſed the enterprize; he acknowledged the hand of GOD in the work they had undertaken, and promiſed himſelf ſucceſs from beginnings ſo remarkably favoured by Divine providence, in their zeal for the ſervice of GOD and their King: That he ſhould not leſſen the danger of the undertaking; they muſt expect bloody engagements, a multitude of enemies, and incredible fatigues; and they muſt proportion their reſolution to the difficulty and importance of the enterprize: That they were but few in number, but union added ſtrength to armies, and in a manner multiplied their forces; exhorting them to be all of one mind, and reſolve, as one hand, to execute the commands of their Leaders: As for his part, he ſhould be ready to hazard his life for the meaneſt ſoldier, and would lead them, by his example, to the execution of his orders; aſſuring them, that he found in himſelf a ſpirit ſufficient to undertake the conqueſt of the world; and that this hope inſpired him with an extraordinary impulſe, the moſt promiſing of all preſages." Which ſpeech was received with the loud acclamations of his

his troops, who deſired he would immediately lead them on to action, and make an experiment of their affection and zeal for the glorious cauſe they were engaged in.

A Spaniard ranſom'd who was priſoner in Jucatan.

While CORTEZ remained in the iſland of Cozumel, he was inform'd, by the principal Cacique, or Prince of the country, that there were ſome men in the neighbouring province of Jucatan who had been priſoners there ſeveral years, and much reſembled the Spaniards he had with him: Whereupon CORTEZ deſired the Cacique to ſend ſome of his people with a letter to thoſe priſoners, and a preſent to the Prince in whoſe power they were, for their ranſom; which was done, and the Indians returned to Cozumel, bringing with them JERONIMO DE AGUILAR, a native of Spain, in Deacon's orders. This Eccleſiaſtic related, that he had been near eight years in Jucatan, whither he eſcaped in a boat with ſeveral more, after they had been ſhipwreck'd in their paſſage from Darien to Hiſpaniola: That it was his fortune to fall into the hands of a certain Cacique, who uſed him hardly for ſome time; but afterwards advanced him to one of the beſt poſts in his army; and, by his ſkill in military affairs, the Cacique gained ſeveral victories over his enemies; which had given JERONIMO a great reputation in Jucatan; inſomuch, that when the preſent came for his ranſom, the Cacique, in whoſe ſervice he was, very readily diſmiſs'd him. He added, that the Indians, he believed, had ſacrificed the reſt of his company to their gods; for he did not know that any of them were living at that time, except GONZALO GUERRERO, to whom he had communicated the General's letter, and endeavoured to bring him with him; but GONZALO had married a rich Indian wife, by whom he had three or four children, and choſe to remain with them in Jucatan, rather than leave them: Which, if true, is a ſufficient confutation of thoſe writers, who relate, that the Indians ſacrificed the reſt of the Spaniards, who were ſhipwreck'd on the coaſt of Jucatan, to their gods: For can it be believ'd, that the only remaining Spaniard, if this had been true, would have choſen to remain in ſo barbarous a country? Or that both he and JEROM DE AGUILAR ſhould meet with ſuch good uſage there?

He demoliſhes the images of the Indians.

But to return to the hiſtory: This Spaniard JEROM was of infinite ſervice to CORTEZ in this expedition; for, having reſided ſo long in the country, he was perfectly acquainted with their ſtrength, their way of making war, and with their language; which enabled CORTEZ to make ſuch enquiries as were neceſſary to the proſecution of the conqueſt when he arrived at the continent. He had two or three ſlaves alſo preſented to him by the Cacique of Cozumel, whom he order'd to be inſtructed in the Spaniſh tongue. Before he left the iſland, he expreſs'd his zeal againſt the idolatry of the natives, by breaking down their idols; which does not ſeem very complaiſant, after the hoſpitable reception he met with from the iſlanders, eſpecially when the Mexican Prieſts proteſted and exclaimed againſt the outrage, as the greateſt that could be done to their people: And, after all, CORTEZ appears to have had no averſion to images in general; for the hiſtory relates, he erected a temple to the VIRGIN MARY, in which he left her image and a croſs, and required the natives of Cozumel to adore them: So that this great Conqueror and Reformer only required they ſhould exchange their idols for thoſe of his own country. But to proceed:

Sets ſail from Cozumel.

Cortez lands at Tobaſco, and gains a victory over the natives.

He takes the city.

The forces being reimbarked, CORTEZ took leave of the iſland of Cozumel on the 4th of March, 1518-19; and, having doubled Cape Catoch, the moſt eaſterly promontory of Jucatan, continued his voyage to the mouth of the river Tobaſco (or Grijalva) in the Bay of Campeachy; where he found the Indians in great numbers on the ſhore, threatening to oppoſe his deſcent: Whereupon he ſent JEROM DE AGUILAR to them in a boat, with a flag of truce; acquainting them, that he was come to confirm the peace made with them the year before by GRIJALVA; and that if they refuſed him a peaceable entrance into their country, he ſhould land by force: And, when they ſtill perſiſted to oppoſe his deſcent, he fired upon them with his artillery and ſmall arms: Whereupon they turn'd their backs, and fled; ſome of them to the woods, and others to the town of Tobaſco. After which, he landed his men without oppoſition; but, being obliged to paſs through ſome woods and defiles, a body of the enemy, who had conceal'd themſelves therein, ſurprized and wounded ſome of the Spaniards with their arrows; and CORTEZ, continuing his march 'till he came to the town of Tobaſco, found it fortified with a kind of wooden wall, formed with the bodies of trees fixed like paliſadoes, through the intervals whereof they ſhot their darts and arrows: But his men no ſooner came up to the works, and fired their muſkets thro' the palliſadoes, than the enemy retired to a large ſquare in the middle of the town, where they made ſome ſhew of defending themſelves; but, upon the approach of the Spaniards, they retired from thence alſo, and fled to their friends in the woods. And in all theſe encounters, which the Spaniards repreſent as very bloody and obſtinate, there were only fourteen or fifteen of them wounded, and no more than two of theſe died of their wounds. I don't doubt that part of the relation, which informs us that great numbers of the natives were killed; for it ſeems to have been a maxim with CORTEZ to render himſelf as terrible to the Mexicans as poſſible, in order to facilitate the conqueſt of their country: But it cannot be ſuppoſed that the Spaniards met with any great oppoſition, when in a battle, wherein they engaged many thouſands, and ſtormed the capital city of the province, only two of their men were killed; and indeed the fire-arms of the Chriſtians were ſo very terrible to the Indians, who had never ſeen any thing of that kind 'till the arrival of the Spaniards, that they could very ſeldom be brought to make a ſtand within the reach of them.

He obtains a ſecond victory.

But to return to the hiſtory: My author, Don ANTONIO DE SOLIS, relates, that the day after the taking of Tobaſco, the Mexicans aſſembled an army of forty thouſand men, with which they attack'd the Spaniards; and that the battle ſeem'd doubtful, 'till CORTEZ ſallied out of a wood, and charged them in flank with his horſe; by which he obtained another complete victory. The Indians are repreſented in this battle as a very formidable enemy, and to have attack'd the Spaniards with that bravery, that they were ſcarce able with their fire-arms to repulſe them: And this is related with a view, no doubt, to magnify the courage and conduct of CORTEZ and the Chriſtians. They relate alſo, that St. JAMES the Apoſtle appeared in the battle, on a white Horſe, and fought for the Spaniards; inſinuating, that nothing leſs than a miracle could have given them the victory over the Indians: Whereas every one knows, and the Spaniſh writers themſelves confeſs in other places, that the Indians durſt never ſtand a regular body of Europeans; but were in the utmoſt conſternation when they were attack'd with fire-arms or horſe, and eſpecially when the artillery thunder'd upon them, believing that the people they engaged were rather gods than men; and conſequently there was very little occaſion for a miracle, or indeed for much military ſkill or courage, to defeat an enemy, when they had ſuch advantages on their ſide. Even at this day, now fire-arms are ſo well known, and uſed by every nation almoſt, I don't doubt but a thouſand veteran ſoldiers of Europe, attended by a train of artillery, would defeat an army of an hundred thouſand men either in the Eaſt or Weſt-Indies; the writer of theſe ſheets having ſeen three hundred Europeans rout twenty thouſand Indians, intrench'd up to the teeth, who wanted neither horſe, artillery or ſmall-arms to defend themſelves, and had the courage to ſtand 'till they came to puſh of pike and bayonet. What then might we ſuppoſe a body of veteran ſoldiers capable of effecting againſt a naked people, that had never ſeen a horſe, or heard of gun-powder or artillery, 'till they ſaw their forces ſlaughter'd and tumbled upon heaps by thoſe murdering pieces, a mile almoſt before they approach'd them? The ſucceſs of CORTEZ and his Spaniards therefore is not to be wonder'd at; it was no more than might reaſonably be expected, all circumſtances conſider'd.

The Indians of Tobaſco ſue for peace.

The day after the battle, DE SOLIS relates, that the Cacique or Prince of Tobaſco ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to CORTEZ, to implore peace, attended with a preſent of ſuch fruits and proviſions as his country afforded, together with jewels, plumes, and painted cotton linnen, and whatever he thought moſt acceptable to the conquerors: That the Ambaſſadors approach'd CORTEZ as they uſed to do their gods, with golden pans or cenſers, in which they burnt aromatic gums, and other incenſe: That the Cacique afterwards came in perſon, and made his ſubmiſſion, bringing with him twenty beautiful Indian virgins, which he made CORTEZ a preſent off: And one of theſe, whom the General afterwards cauſed to be baptized by the name of Donna MARINA, ſerved him, it ſeems, during the whole expedition, in the double capacity of concubine and interpreter; for ſhe was a native of Mexico, a female of ready wit, and underſtood the cuſtoms of the country and the language perfectly well; and indeed to her merit and addreſs the Spaniards aſcribe the ſucceſs of their arms in a great meaſure. The hiſtorian, however, takes an opportunity, in this place, to admire the virtue and piety of his hero, CORTEZ following in this the precedent ſet him by the antients. But to proceed: When the Cacique of Tobaſco came to make his ſubmiſſion, CORTEZ let him know, that he came from a powerful Prince; and that his principal view was to make them all happy in this world and the next, by making them the ſubjects of the ſame Sovereign, and converting them to the true religion. To which the frighted Cacique anſwered, as the Spaniards tell us, that he and his people ſhould think themſelves happy in obeying a King, whoſe power and greatneſs appeared with ſuch advantage in the valour of his ſubjects: But as to the point of religion, 'tis ſaid, they gave little hopes of their converſion. CORTEZ, being about to advance ſtill farther with his fleet on the Mexican coaſt, was under the greateſt concern, we are told, that he muſt leave that people before he had fully inſtructed them in the Catholick religion; and on Palm-Sunday, the day he had appointed to embark his troops, he firſt cauſed an altar to be erected in the open field; where he celebrated high maſs in the preſence of the Indians, and all his troops march'd in their ranks to the altar, with boughs or palms in their hands, to celebrate that feſtival: The proceſſion ſeeming to excite in the natives the utmoſt awe and reverence; inſomuch, that ſome of them, 'tis ſaid, cried out, "This muſt be a great God "that ſuch brave men adore."

Cortez embarks his forces again.

CORTEZ, having concluded a peace with the natives of Tobaſco, or rather compelled them to acknowledge the King of Spain for their Sovereign, embarked his forces, and ſailed to the weſtward 'till he arrived at the port of St. John de Ulva.

He arrives at the port of St. John de Ulva.

When the Spaniards were coming into this port, two periaguaes, or large canoes, full of Indians, came into the fleet, and addreſſed themſelves to the General in a ſubmiſſive manner; but were not underſtood by his interpreter; which the celebrated Donna MARINA, the General's concubine, obſerving, offer'd to become interpreter between the Chriſtians and her country-men the Mexicans.

Some account of Donna Marina, concubine and interpreter to Cortez.

And here the Spaniſh writers entertain us with the character and family of this Indian damſel; who, being miſtreſs to their hero CORTEZ, and ſo inſtrumental in the following conqueſt, we muſt not wonder that they derive her pedigree from anceſtors of quality and diſtinction. They acknowledge, indeed, that ſhe was ſlave to the Prince of Tobaſco, who preſented her, with ſeveral more, to CORTEZ; but then they tell us, this happened by accident; ſhe was really the daughter of a Cacique, or Mexican Prince, tho' ſhe had the misfortune to be taken captive in the wars, and made a ſlave: That ſhe had a ready wit, and ſeveral natural endowments, which well agreed with the nobility of her birth: That CORTEZ took her to his bed for political reaſons; and had a ſon by her, to whom he gave his own name, making him a Knight of St. Jago, in conſideration of the nobility of his mother's birth. But to return to the hiſtory: Donna MARINA ſupplying the place of Interpreter, the General was informed by the Mexicans, that their Emperor MONTEZUMA had ſent two of his Miniſters, viz. PILPOTOE, Governor of that province, and TENTILE, one of his Generals, to know with what intention the Spaniards viſited his dominions, and to offer them ſuch proviſions and accommodations as his country afforded. To which the General anſwer'd, that he came as a friend, and to treat of matters of great importance; deſiring a conference with the officers MONTEZUMA had ſent to receive his propoſals:

He lands and fortifies his camp.

And, landing with his troops on Good-Friday, he laid out a camp on an advantageous ſituation, fortifying it with trenches and redoubts, and planting his artillery in ſuch a manner as to command the country round him; being aſſiſted in this work, and in erecting huts and tents to preſerve his ſoldiers from the weather, by great numbers of Mexicans that the Governor of the province ſent to aſſiſt him: For the hiſtorian obſerves, that the Mexicans, having heard of the defeat of their countrymen at Tobaſco, made a virtue of neceſſity, and thought it prudence to make friends with a people they durſt not oppoſe. Nor does DE SOLIS forget, in this place, to obſerve again the great veneration his hero had for religion; telling us, that he immediately erected a chapel, ſetting the image of the bleſſed Virgin on the altar, and a great croſs at the entrance, in order to celebrate the approaching feſtival of Eaſter; for "Religion (ſays he) was al-"ways his principal care."

An embaſſy from Montezuma.

On Eaſter-day 1519, MONTEZUMA's Ambaſſadors came to the camp of the Spaniards, and were admitted to the preſence of CORTEZ, who received them in great ſtate: But, before he would enter upon any buſineſs, the hiſtorian relates, he went to chapel, and heard divine ſervice; being attended thither by the Ambaſſadors, and a croud of Mexicans, who appeared extremely delighted with their pompous ceremonies.

Being returned to the General's tent, he entertained the Ambaſſadors at dinner in a very ſplendid manner: After which, he informed them, that he was come from Don CARLOS of Auſtria, the great Monarch of the eaſt, to propoſe matters of great importance to their Emperor MONTEZUMA, and his ſubjects; but that it was abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould deliver his meſſage perſonally to the Emperor, according to the uſage of all nations; and hoped he ſhould be received with the reſpect due to his character.

To this the Mexican Miniſters anſwered, that they had orders from their Sovereign, the great MONTEZUMA, hoſpitably to receive and entertain all ſtrangers that arrived on their coaſts, and had brought him a preſent of ſuch things as their country afforded, conſiſting of fine painted cotton linen, beautiful feathers, and plates of wrought gold, which their ſervants were ordered to bring in, and place in the General's view: But they gave him to underſtand, at the ſame time, that their Emperor never admitted foreigners to his preſence; and therefore he muſt not think of approaching his court. CORTEZ replied, that never any Ambaſſadors were refuſed an audience, unleſs it were with a deſign to affront the Prince they came from; and that he was determined not to leave the country 'till he had delivered the contents of his embaſſy to their Emperor himſelf. Whereupon the Mexican Miniſters deſired, that he would, however, remain in his camp 'till they had acquainted their Emperor with the propoſal, and received his commands; and they would, in the mean time, ſupply his people with proviſions, and every thing they wanted.

During this conference, the Spaniards obſerved ſome of the Mexicans were very buſy in drawing, upon cotton cloth, the pictures of the principal Spaniards, and whatever they thought remarkable, as their ſhips, arms, artillery, and horſes; which were deſigned, they underſtood, to be ſent to MONTEZUMA, to acquaint him what kind of people, and of what force the Spaniards were. Of which CORTEZ being inform'd, deſired they would not finiſh their piece 'till he had given them a taſte of his military operations: Whereupon he ordered his forces to be drawn up in order of battle, and to exhibit a mock engagement: He ordered alſo his horſe to mount, and ſhew their activity and horſemanſhip in charging, wheeling, and retiring, as in a battle: Then the ſmall arms were ordered to fire, and afterwards the artillery. At which the Mexicans were aſtoniſhed; ſome of them actually fled, and others fell down with the fright, apprehending they ſhould be deſtroyed by this artificial thunder; but, being a little recovered from their conſternation, by a ceſſation of the fire, they made ſeveral additions to the pieces they were painting; wherein they endeavoured to repreſent the amazing ſcene they had been witneſſes off: And, having finiſh'd it, the Ambaſſadors carried the picture, with a preſent CORTEZ had provided for the Emperor, to the Court of Mexico. They returned to CORTEZ again ſeven days after, and brought another magnificent preſent from MONTEZUMA for the General; which, they ſaid, their Emperor had ſent as a teſtimony of his reſpect for the King he came from; but could not admit of the Spaniards reſorting to his Court.

The Mexicans aſtoniſhed at the artillery and ſmall arms.

To which CORTEZ anſwered, he durſt not return to his Prince 'till he had delivered the meſſage he was ſent upon to the Emperor MONTEZUMA; giving them to underſtand, that he was determined to proſecute his journey to Mexico at all hazards.

The ſtate of Mexico when the Spaniards arrived there.

Here the hiſtorian takes an opportunity of giving us an account of the ſtate of the Mexican Empire at that time, and of the character of MONTEZUMA. He ſays, that the empire was in the moſt flouriſhing condition it had ever been in: That MONTEZUMA was then poſſeſſed of almoſt all the habitable parts of North America, his dominions extending above 500 leagues in length, and lying upon the North and South-ſeas: That MONTEZUMA was the eleventh Emperor, and the ſecond of that name, elected to the throne in conſideration of his great merit, particularly on account of his courage and military virtues; and tho' he affected to appear extremely modeſt and affable before he arrived at the imperial dignity, he was no ſooner inveſted with it, but he became intolerably proud and inſolent, and would be ſerved in his Court only by his vaſſal Princes and Nobility, and was guilty of great cruelty and oppreſſion; which render'd him generally hated by his ſubjects, and occaſioned inſurrections in ſeveral parts of the empire. He had reign'd fourteen years when CORTEZ arrived there; the laſt of which, they tell us, was full of preſages and wonderful portents, which ſhew'd that the deſtruction of that empire was approaching: That, when GRIJALVA and the Spaniards were upon the Mexican coaſt the year before, a comet appeared for ſeveral nights, of a pyramidal form; and another was ſeen at noon day, reſembling a fiery ſerpent with three heads, which ran ſwiftly towards the eaſt 'till it vaniſhed: The lakes of Mexico overflow'd in an unuſual manner, carrying away both houſes and people; one of their principal temples was burnt down to the ground, without their knowing from whence the fire proceeded; nor was it poſſible to extinguiſh the flames: Horrid voices were heard in the air, and ſtrange oracles pronounced by their idols, intimating their ſudden fall: Monſters of horrible deformity were taken and brought to MONTEZUMA, particularly a fowl of a prodigious ſize and make, which had on its head a ſhining plate like looking-glaſs, in which the Emperor ſaw an army of men coming from the eaſt, and making terrible havock of his ſubjects: That a countryman, who had ſeen a viſion, came to Court, and boldly told the Emperor, he was commanded by the gods to warn him of his approaching ruin; for an enemy was coming from the farther part of the world to deſtroy both his empire and religion. I ſhall leave the world to give what credit they pleaſe to theſe prodigies and portents; and only obſerve, that there ſcarce ever was a revolution in any nation, but ſome ſuch intimations of it have been pretended.

Prodigies and preſages of the fall of the Mexican empire.

The Spaniards ſeem to give ſome countenance to them; and aſſure us, that theſe prodigies induced the Emperor MONTEZUMA to deny CORTEZ and his Spaniards leave to approach Mexico; believing that theſe were the people, from whom that deſtruction was to proceed that had been threaten'd.

While CORTEZ remained in his camp, he order'd his fleet to ſail along the Mexican coaſt, and ſent out parties by land to gain farther intelligence of the ſtate of the Mexican empire; and, in the mean time, received a meſſage from MONTEZUMA, requiring him to depart his dominions, or he ſhould look upon the Spaniards as his enemies, and treat them as ſuch: Which, 'tis ſaid, occaſion'd a mutiny among his men; ſome of them repreſenting, that it was the higheſt raſhneſs to attempt the conqueſt of ſo great an empire with ſo ſmall a force; and intimating, that they expected to be ſacrificed to the avarice and ambition of their General.

Whereupon CORTEZ pretended he would return to Cuba, and get a farther reinforcement of troops; but finding, on this declaration, a majority of his ſoldiers deſirous of proſecuting immediately what they had ſo fortunately begun, and to be of opinion they had forces ſufficient to deal with the Mexicans already; he determined to continue his march towards the capital city of the empire: In which reſolution he was confirm'd by the Cacique of Zempoala, a Prince in the neighbourhood of Ulva, who offered to enter into an alliance with the Spaniards againſt MONTEZUMA, complaining loudly of his tyranny and oppreſſions.

The Cacique of Zempoala joins Cortez.

But, before CORTEZ proceeded farther in this grand enterprize, he thought it proper to get his authority eſtabliſh'd in a better manner than it was at preſent: He repreſented to his ſoldiers, that he had no other commiſſion than that which he received from DIEGO VELASQUES, Governor of Cuba, which had been recalled; and therefore propoſed their electing ſome one of their Officers to be General in this expedition, whom they would willingly obey and ſubmit to: For it could not be ſuppoſed, he ſhould be able to tranſact any thing of conſequence, ſo long as his title to command them was precarious, and every one was at liberty whether they would obey his orders or not. He reſigned the commiſſion therefore he had received from DIEGO VELASQUEZ, and delivered up his General's ſtaff, deſiring they would proceed to an election, and then withdrew: And, after a very ſhort ſpace a majority of the Officers and Soldiers made choice of CORTEZ to be their general again; ſome few of the relations of DIEGO VELASQUEZ only proteſting againſt it, and theſe he obliged to ſubmit to the ſuffrages of the reſt.

The General being thus eſtabliſh'd in his command, began his march to the city of Zempoala, the capital of his new ally; where, arriving in two or three days, he was received by the Cacique with the greateſt marks of eſteem and affection: He informed CORTEZ, that all the Caciques on that ſide the country were in a manner enſlaved by MONTEZUMA, and ſo oppreſs'd by his tyranny, that they were ready to throw off their ſubjection to that Prince, and would infallibly join the Spaniards as ſoon as they durſt declare themſelves: And the Cacique order'd the Spaniards to be quarter'd in the beſt part of the city of Zempoala, ſupplying them with plenty of proviſions.

The Spaniards march to Zempoala.

The General continuing his march the next day for the town of Quibiſlan, ſituated on the coaſt where he had ordered his fleet to meet him, the Cacique of Zempoala commanded four hundred Indians to carry his baggage, and aſſiſt in drawing the artillery; for there were neither beaſts of burden or draught to be found in the country; every thing was done by the ſtrength of men.

When the army arrived at Quibiſlan, they found the town deſerted by the inhabitants, who were fled in the utmoſt conſternation; but the General ſending ſome of their countrymen after them, and acquainting them that he intended them no hurt, they ſoon returned to their dwellings: And, while CORTEZ remained in this town, above thirty Caciques of the mountains came and deſired his alliance, offering to reinforce his troops with an hundred thouſand men, if he would take them under his protection, and aſſiſt them in throwing off that yoke which MONTEZUMA would impoſe upon them. This CORTEZ readily conſented to; and, as the Indians ſeemed to believe the Spaniards invincible, and to be rather gods than men, CORTEZ was not backward to encourage the notion, looking upon it as a very likely means to facilitate the reduction of that empire; of which he ſeemed to have ſuch an aſſurance at this time, that he took upon him to decide the differences of the Caciques, or Indian Princes, as their Sovereign; and even ventured to demoliſh the temples and images of the Zempoalans, who ſacrificed ſome of their priſoners; telling them that the God of the Chriſtians abominated ſuch ſacrifices: Which ſeems to have been a very bold and impolitic ſtep, if he had not thought himſelf able to ſubdue the Mexicans by pure force; and was no doubt afterwards remember'd to his diſadvantage. Nor was he content with this; but he converted one of their temples into a Chriſtian church, and erected an altar in it, on which he placed an image of the bleſſed Virgin, and celebrated maſs with great ſolemnity: And tho' the Indians did not ſeem inclinable to renounce their own ſuperſtition, yet the Catholick hiſtorian informs us, they were not averſe to the admitting the image of the Virgin MARY into the number of their idols; and even deſired ſhe would be their advocate, that the God of the Chriſtians might protect them; of whoſe power they ſeem'd extremely ſenſible.

They arrive at Quibiſlan, or Vera Cruz.

Cortez demoliſhes the temples of Zempoala.

Converts one of them into a church.

After this execution on the Mexican idols at Zempoala, CORTEZ returned to Quibiſlan, to which he gave the name of Vera Cruz, where his fleet lay at anchor, and found a veſſel juſt arrived there from Cuba, with a ſmall reinforcement of ten ſoldiers and two horſes; for ſuch was the opinion the Spaniards had of the ſucceſs of the enterprize againſt Mexico, that they went by ſtealth after CORTEZ in ſmall parties, and were ready to run all hazards to join him, hoping to ſhare the wealth of the continent with that Captain. By theſe the General underſtood, that DIEGO VELASQUEZ, Governor of Cuba, continued to threaten him; and had ſent to the Court of Spain to obtain the King's commiſſion (for he had only a commiſſion from Don DIEGO COLUMBUS before) to be Viceroy of that iſland, and Captain-General on the continent, in order to defeat the ambitious projects of CORTEZ, and that he might reap the glory and advantage of the conqueſt the Spaniards were about to make of the empire of MONTEZUMA.

New adventurers arrive.

Upon this intelligence, CORTEZ drew up a letter to the Court of Spain, in the name of his principal Officers; giving an account of the ſucceſs of their expedition, the wealth and fertility of the country, the town they had fortified, and the ſeveral Princes and provinces that had already revolted from their Emperor, and entered into an alliance with the Spaniards: They were directed alſo to complain of the injuſtice of VELASQUEZ, by whoſe encouragement they had embarked all their fortunes in the enterprize, and yet endeavoured to defeat it, to the irreparable damage of the Crown of Spain, and of the Chriſtian religion, which would probably be ſpread and propagated over this new world, if they were not prevented proſecuting their deſign by the unreaſonable oppoſition of the Governor of Cuba.

Cortez ſends to Spain for a commiſſion.

This letter, with all the gold, jewels, and valuable curioſities they had obtained by preſents from MONTEZUMA, or by traffick with his ſubjects, were ſent to Spain, as a ſpecimen of the wealth of the country, and to ſhew of what importance it was to ſupport CORTEZ and his fellow-adventurers. In this diſpatch alſo was encloſed a petition, that CORTEZ might ſtill continue to be the General and Conductor of the enterprize, inaſmuch as he had already ſhewn himſelf extremely well qualified for ſuch an undertaking.

A mutiny among the Spaniards.

Cortez burns his ſhips.

But, notwithſtanding a majority of the Soldiers appeared to be in the intereſt of Cortez; and others, out of fear of his power, conſented to ſign theſe diſpatches for Europe; there was ſtill a conſiderable party in the intereſt of Don Diego Velasquez, and amongſt them ſome of the principal Officers, his near relations. John Diaz, one of the Chaplains of this little army, alſo was found to favour the Governor of Cuba; and was for tranſacting every thing therefore in his name, and by his authority, who firſt formed the deſign of invading Mexico, and largely contributed to it. And when the diſaffected party found they were not able to carry their point, they enter'd into a conſpiracy to ſeize one of the ſhips and return to Cuba; which was diſcover'd the night before it was to have been executed; and Cortez, to eſtabliſh his authority, and deter his people from ſuch attempts, cauſed two of the conſpirators to be put to death, two more of them were whipped, and one of the principal mariners had his foot cut off. The General and Officers of his party alſo agreed to ſet fire to the fleet, after they had brought the tackling, iron-work and planks on ſhore, that might be uſeful to them; whereby they render'd it impoſſible for any of their people to deſert them for the future, and added an hundred ſeamen to their army.

This action Antonio de Solis magnifies to the skies, comparing Cortez to the greateſt Captains of antiquity; tho' there does not ſeem to be any thing more in it, than this: The General found he had very little to apprehend from the Mexicans, who were not only extremely terrified by the fire of his artillery and ſmall arms, but ſo divided amongſt themſelves, or rather generally diſaffected to their Prince, that there could be little difficulty in ſubduing the country, if he was not interrupted by the Governor of Cuba; for the prevention whereof he did indeed a very prudent thing in burning his ſhips, that Velasquez might have no intelligence of his motions; and that his people, having now no poſſibility of retreating to Cuba, might join unanimouſly in proſecuting the conqueſt, which nothing but their own diviſions could defeat. He found he was in more danger from the attacks of the Governor of Cuba, and the murmurs of the Spaniards, than from the naked defenceleſs Indians; and deſtroy'd his fleet, becauſe the keeping of it was the only thing that could undo him, and fruſtrate his ambitious views: which, tho' it diſcover'd a good ſhare of cunning, yet I don't ſee any great reaſon to cry up the courage of Cortez upon this occaſion; for he knew he ſhould have been expoſed to much greater hazards by having a fleet, than by having none; and that the deſtruction of it would contribute to his ſecurity more than any ſtep he could take.

The Governor of Jamaica lays claim to Mexico.

Cortez begins his march for Mexico.

Arrives at Zocothlan.

A dialogue between Cortez and the Cacique.

An embaſſy to Tlaſcala.

Soon after the burning of the fleet, appear'd three Spaniſh ſhips upon the coaſt, that came from Don Francisco de Garay, Governor of Jamaica; who landed a Notary, attended by three witneſſes, that were ſent to declare and teſtify, that the Governor of Jamaica laid claim to that part of the coaſt where Cortez was, and intended to ſettle a colony there; requiring him to remove from thence: But Cortez, inſtead of complying with the demand, made the Notary, and ſix Spaniards more, priſoners; and the ſhip that brought them thereupon ſtood off to ſea again. After which, the General, having finiſh'd the fortifications of Vera Cruz, and left in it a garriſon of an hundred and fifty Spaniſh foot, two troopers with their horſes, and a good number of confederate Indians; began his march towards the city of Mexico, with the reſt of his forces, conſiſting of five hundred Spaniſh foot, fifteen horſe, and ſix field-pieces, which were drawn by the natives. He was attended alſo in this march by his allies the neighbouring Caciques, and a numerous army of Indians; and, having paſs'd ſome high barren mountains, where he complains his men ſuffered a great deal by the cold, the heavy rains they met with, and the want of proviſions, they arrived at the city of Zocothlan; the Cacique whereof commanded a great extent of the country, and received the Spaniards, 'tis ſaid, with a great ſhew of reſpect; but did not ſeem ſincere in the friendſhip he profeſs'd: And when the General demanded, if he was ſubject to the Emperor of Mexico? He anſwer'd with another queſtion, viz. "Is there a man upon earth, that is not a vaſſal and ſlave to Montezuma?" To which, 'tis ſaid, Cortez as haughtily reply'd, That the Cacique knew very little of the world; for that he, and the Spaniards with him, were the ſubjects of a Prince that commanded greater Kings than Montezuma. Still the Cacique inſiſted, as the Spaniſh hiſtorians relate, that Montezuma was the greateſt Prince in the world: That the Provinces he commanded were innumerable: That he kept his Court in a city that was impregnable, founded in the waters, and which there was no approaching but by cauſeys, fortified with bulwarks and draw-bridges: That his wealth and the number of his forces were inconceivably great; and, laſtly, that he ſacrificed twenty thouſand of his enemies, or of his rebellious ſubjects, annually to his gods. But, as the laſt part of this pretended ſpeech was certainly falſe; ſo the firſt part of it ſeems exceeding jejune and vain; and rather reſembles the diſputes of ſchool-boys contending for the preference of their reſpective ſchools, than a conference between two great Generals. As to the falſity of the Mexicans ſacrificing ſo many thouſands every year to their gods, we find the Spaniſh Biſhop of Chiapa, who reſided in Mexico ſoon after this conqueſt, declaring, that tho' there had been human ſacrifices in that country, they never ſacrificed fifty perſons within the ſpace of a year: And, if this part of the ſpeech was falſe, we can have no great regard to the reſt. Indeed, I am ready to aſcribe this, and moſt of the ſpeeches we meet with in this hiſtory, to the invention of their hiſtorians, who in this imitate the practice of ſome of the antients; and, provided their diſcourſes are juſt, adapted to the quality and circumſtances of the perſons that ſpeak, and the ſubject in debate, there may be no great occaſion to cenſure them. But to return to the hiſtory: Cortez being adviſed to march through the territories of Tlaſcala, an Indian republic, that was ever at war with Montezuma, ſent four of the Chiefs of the Zempoalans, his allies, as Ambaſſadors, to offer them peace, and to demand a paſſage through their country: And here the Spaniſh hiſtorians have given us another ſpeech, which, they tell us, the principal Ambaſſador made to that commonwealth, of the following tenor:

A ſpeech of the Ambaſſador's.

"Noble, valiant, and potent Tlaſcalans, our Sovereign, the Prince of Zempoala, and the Caciques of the mountains, your friends, wiſh you health, a plentiful harveſt, and victory over your enemies; and, by us, ſend to acquaint you, that certain invincible men are arrived from the eaſt, who ſeem a kind of gods: They ſail in palaces upon the ocean; their weapons are thunder and lightening, the peculiar arms of heaven; they

“ profeſs themſelves ſervants of a God ſuperior to ours, that is offended with tyranny and human ſacrifices; their Captain ſtyles himſelf the Ambaſſador of a powerful Prince, who ſends him to reform the manners of our county, and deliver the Mexicans from the oppreſſions of MONTEZUMA, the great enemy of yours and all the neighbouring States; and only deſires a paſſage through your country to the Court of that Monarch: Which the Ambaſſadors adviſed them to admit of; aſſuring them, that theſe foreigners had no other views than the common good of their country, and made no other uſe of the terrible arms they carried, but to promote the welfare of mankind.”

Whether this ſpeech be genuine or no, is not material: The reaſon of my giving this abſtract of it is, to ſhew the glorious pretenſions of the Spaniards to gain over the Indian natives to their party; tho', after they were ſubdued by the aſſiſtance of their own arms, the conduct of the Spaniards appear'd the very reverſe of their declarations.

Debates in the ſenate of Tlaſcala on this embaſſy.

This pacific propoſal, the ſame hiſtorians relate, being debated in the ſenate of Tlaſcala, one of the graveſt of them, by name MAGISCATZIN, obſerves, that it had not long ſince been declared by their Prieſts, and was generally believed by their people, that an invincible race of men ſhould one day come from the eaſt, who ſhould have power over the elements, be able to live upon the ocean, and with fire and air ſubdue the earth: Men of a celeſtial race; ſo valiant and powerful, that one ſhould be able to vanquiſh a thouſand: and ſo good, as to promote nothing but what was juſt, reaſonable and beneficent: That theſe ſtrangers reſembled the people their oracles had deſcribed, in almoſt every inſtance: Their valour thoſe of Tobaſco had already experienced, and their goodneſs their allies declared, amongſt whom they had reſided.

That the comets they had lately ſeen, foretold this great event; and it would be madneſs to oppoſe a people arm'd with the thunder of the gods, and whoſe lightning pointed out their ſubmiſſion.

There was a party, however, in the ſenate, led by XICONTAL, the Tlaſcalan General, who were of another mind, according to DE SOLIS: They ſaid, it was true theſe pretenders to reformation did come from the eaſt: but it was much to be queſtion'd whether theſe were the ſame their oracles foretold ſhould come from thence; for thoſe they expected were to be of a celeſtial race: Their firearms and floating-caſtles, which ſome called palaces, might be the effect of human induſtry and invention; or, perhaps, they might be the illuſions of ſome enchantment: Their ſucceſs at Tobaſco might be aſcribed to ſurprize, or a panic fear that poſſeſs'd that people; but was no means to be looked upon as miraculous: And they ſuſpected, that the good uſage the Zempoalans had experienced, was only the effect of artifice, and in order to draw in that people to their party; for they did not want inſtances of the covetuouſneſs, pride and ambition of theſe foreigners: They had plunder'd ſeveral towns on the coaſts, and expreſs'd an inſatiable thirſt after the Gold and Silver their country produced: They contemned and derided their religion, deſtroyed their temples, pulled down their altars, and blaſphemed their gods; which ſufficiently evinced, they were far from being of heavenly extraction: That thoſe portents and ſigns in the air, which had been ſo much inſiſted on, were the conſtant forerunners of ſome dreadful calamity, and ſent as warnings by the gods, that they might provide againſt them: They ought therefore to oppoſe theſe invaders with all their forces, and, by their ſupplications to the gods, endeavour to avert thoſe miſeries they were threaten'd with.

I have given an abſtract of theſe ſpeeches, to ſhew what the Mexicans thought of the Spaniards on their arrival among them; or rather, what the Spaniards would have us believe the Indians thought of them: Not that I ſuppoſe ſuch ſpeeches were ever made; for it was impoſſible the Spaniards could have come to the knowledge of them if they had, there being no ſuch thing as writing among that people, and the Spaniards at that time perfectly ignorant of their language.

The Tlaſcalans reſolve to oppoſe the Spaniards.

But whatever were the debates in the ſenate of Tlaſcala, it is evident, they determined to oppoſe the paſſage of the Spaniards thro' their country, 'till they had made an experiment of their ſtrength. Indeed, they durſt not meet this terrible enemy, whoſe arms they reſembled to thunder and lightning, in a fair field; but they frequently laid ambuſcades in the woods and mountains, and, ſurrounding the ſtragglers, killed and wounded ſome of the Spaniards; by which they learnt they were neither invulnerable nor immortal, as they had been repreſented. However, ſuch was the advantage the Spaniards had in their artillery and horſes, that the Tlaſcalans, finding it in vain to continue the war, were contented, at length, to accept of peace, and become moſt faithful allies to CORTEZ.

The Spaniards, 'tis true, mention ſeveral great battles fought with the Tlaſcalans, and a variety of ſtratagems uſed on both ſides in this war; and ſuggeſt, that the ſucceſs of the Chriſtians was to be aſcribed to a ſupernatural power: But there is very little regard to be given to ſuch inſinuations; for the terror the natives were in at the approach of the horſe and artillery, was ſuch, that they conſtantly fled when they ſaw the Chriſtians in motion. Beſides, the forces of the Caciques and Indian Princes, that join'd CORTEZ, were more numerous than thoſe of Tlaſcala, and able to have maintained the war perhaps againſt that people alone; and we find few of the Spaniards were hurt in this war: It is highly probable, therefore the oppoſition CORTEZ met with was inconſiderable; and that a very moderate degree of courage and military conduct was ſufficient to drive the frighted defenceleſs Indians before them. That the ſlaughter of the Indians of Tlaſcala was great, I ſhall not conteſt; for the execution of a flying enemy is generally very terrible; and the allies of CORTEZ, no doubt, when they ſaw their enemies turn'd their backs, might do much more execution than the Spaniards themſelves; inaſmuch as they were more numerous, and not incumber'd with the heavy arms and armour of the Chriſtians.

When MONTEZUMA received advice, that the Spaniards had ſubdued the Tlaſcalans, and were about to incorporate them in the number of their allies, he was under the utmoſt conſternation; for he knew them to be the braveſt of the Indian nations, and the moſt inveterate enemies to his empire: A people, who had long reſiſted his enemies alone, and, join'd with theſe invincible ſtrangers, he apprehended would ſhake the foundations of his throne: He ſent another embaſſy therefore to CORTEZ, to repreſent the Tlaſcalans as a treacherous and barbarous people, who had no regard to their treaties, and who would take the firſt opportunity that preſented itſelf of deſtroying thoſe that confided in them: But the Spaniards eaſily ſaw through the deſign of MONTEZUMA, in offering them

An alliance between the Tlaſcalans and Spaniards.

them this advice, and concluded their treaty with Tlaſcala the ſooner, becauſe they found that Prince ſo much dreaded the confederacy they were negociating.

Cortez marches to Tlaſcala.

MONTEZUMA made ſtill another effort to divide the Spaniards and the Tlaſcalans: He even offered to pay a yearly tribute to the Spaniards, conſiſting of half his revenues, provided they would break with their new allies, and lay aſide their deſign of marching to Mexico: But CORTEZ would not conſent to either of theſe propoſitions; and, receiving an invitation from the ſenate of Tlaſcala, to take up his quarters in their capital, he enter'd that city in triumph, on the 23d of September, 1519; and had a palace aſſign'd him, conſiſting of ſeveral courts, large enough to accommodate his whole army; and was entertain'd here at the expence of that republick, who readily conſented to become fellow-ſubjects of the ſame mighty Prince the Spaniards were. But, when CORTEZ preſs'd them to abandon their idols, and embrace the Chriſtian religion, they deſired to be excuſed from ſuch compliances; and the General could prevail no farther, than that they ſhould ſuſpend their human ſacrifices. He would, the hiſtorian relates, have proceeded to demoliſh their temples and images by force, as he had done at Zempoala; but that Father BARTHOLOMEW DE OLMEDO diſſuaded him from that raſh reſolution, which, he repreſented, would infallibly unite all the Indian nations againſt him, and put a ſtop to the progreſs of their arms.

The vulcano of Potopetec ſurvey'd.

While the Spaniards remained at Tlaſcala, the burning mountain of Potopetec, which lies about eight leagues from that city, burnt with great violence, throwing out ſtones and aſhes that cover'd the neighbouring country: And this the Mexicans alſo looked upon as the forerunner of ſome calamity. But the Spaniards informed them, that this eruption proceeded from natural cauſes; and DIEGO DE ORDAZ, to ſhew his contempt of what the natives ſo much dreaded, took two of his ſoldiers along with him, and climbed up this dreadful vulcano, 'till he came to the mouth of it, where they ſaw a great maſs of boiling ſulphur, and, having ſatisfied their curioſity, returned again to Tlaſcala, where they were given over for loſt: And, tho' it was in reality a very raſh and fooliſh attempt, yet the Spaniards obſerve, it was attended with very fortunate conſequences; for firſt, it raiſed in the Indians a vaſt opinion of the Spaniards, who were not afraid to march up to the mouth of this vulcano, which their own people durſt never approach; and ſecondly, the Spaniards by this means diſcover'd a vaſt quantity of ſulphur, which was of great uſe to them afterwards in making gun-powder, when the powder they brought with them was almoſt exhauſted.

Montezuma invites Cortez to Mexico.

CORTEZ, having remained at Tlaſcala about 20 days, received another embaſſy from MONTEZUMA, inviting him to advance to the capital city of Mexico; for, finding the Spaniards were now become ſo powerful, by their alliance with the Tlaſcalans and other ſtates, that it was in vain to oppoſe their march, he thought it the leaſt evil of the two to receive them as friends: He found, if he perſiſted any longer to deny the Spaniards coming to his capital, they would force their way thither, which would occaſion a war that might end in the deſtruction of himſelf and his empire; whereas, by entering into an alliance with them, he might not only preſerve himſelf, but ſtill continue to govern his dominions, on making ſome formal acknowledgments of his dependance on the King of Spain; and that the Spaniards, in this caſe, would rather ſupport and protect him againſt the Tlaſcalans, and his rebellious ſubjects, than endeavour to weaken his authority. And there is no doubt, but at this time MONTEZUMA and the Mexicans were ſo terrified with the artillery of the Chriſtians, and the formidable alliances they had enter'd into with the natives, that they might have made that Emperor tributary to Spain, and put almoſt any terms upon him: But CORTEZ, who ever affected to make himſelf rather feared than loved, and to effect every thing by pure force, pretended that this ſudden change in MONTEZUMA could ariſe from no other motive than treachery; and, as he had invited him to continue his march, and take up his quarters in Cholula, one of the frontier cities of his dominions, he had reaſon to ſuſpect that this was done with a view of ſurpriſing and cutting off the Spaniards, when he ſhould have encloſed them in that fortreſs; and therefore CORTEZ pretended he would take this opportunity to chaſtiſe his treachery and inſolence; that is, he would cut in pieces ſome thouſands of the Mexicans, at his entrance into their country, in order to keep up and increaſe the dread they had of his arms: And in this project, they tell us, the Tlaſcalans concurred, or rather adviſed him to, that they might take a full revenge of their antient enemies the Mexicans, now they were reinforced by the invincible Spaniards.

Cortez advances to Cholula.

CORTEZ, his own hiſtorian relates, (tho' he knew of this plot of MONTEZUMA and the Mexicans to cut off the Spaniards at Cholula) continued his march thither; which was certainly very imprudent, if he really believed there was ſuch a conſpiracy formed againſt him, as he pretended: But, as a precaution, they tell us, he took ſix or ſeven thouſand of the Tlaſcalans with him, beſides the Zempoalans, and the forces of his other confederates; and, being arrived at the city of Cholula, he was received with all imaginable marks of eſteem and affection; only they deſired the Tlaſcalans might quarter without the city, as they were of a different ſect in point of religion, and their antient enemies: Which CORTEZ thought fit to conſent to; but directed the Tlaſcalans to encamp ſo near the town, that they might join their forces with the Spaniards, if there ſhould be occaſion. The ſame hiſtorians relate, that ſuch were the joyful acclamations of the Mexicans, on the Spaniards entering into this city, that they themſelves, tho' they had entertained a jealouſy of a conſpiracy before, were inclined to think them ſincere: That the quarters the magiſtrates aſſigned the Spaniards, were four large houſes contiguous to each other, ſpacious enough to contain the Chriſtians, and all their allies, except the Tlaſcalans, who were ſo poſted as to have a communication with their friends; and that the Spaniards, having fortiſied their quarters, were in no danger of being ſurprized. But ſtill, they proceed to give us a farther relation of this pretended plot of the Mexicans, to deſtroy the Chriſtians in this town, by a general maſſacre; affirming, that a Mexican lady diſcover'd it to Donna MARINA, CORTEZ's miſtreſs, in compaſſion to her; and that ſome Prieſts of the Mexicans, being examined thereupon, confirm'd the truth of it. But, whatever there was in the conſpiracy of the Indians againſt the Spaniards, all agree, that CORTEZ and the Tlaſcalans fell upon the poor defenceleſs citizens of Cholula, and cut the throats of many thouſands of them, without the loſs of any of their own people: That he even ſet fire to their temples, which he burnt

Cortez murders ſeveral thouſand Mexicans at Cholula.

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with great numbers of Prieſts and others, who had retired thither, either to invoke the protection of their gods, or as to ſanctuaries, which they thought none would be ſo barbarous as to violate. Thus, ſays ANTONIO DE SOLIS, did CORTEZ chaſtiſe the treachery of MONTEZUMA and the Mexicans. He acknowledges, indeed, that one of their own hiſtorians charges this General with barbarous cruelty in this and many other maſſacres of the like nature; ſuggeſting, that his avarice for the plunder of that rich city, and his ambition to render himſelf terrible, were the real motives to this butchery: And we can't eaſily avoid being of that opinion, after the good Biſhop of Chiapa, who lived upon the ſpot a little after the conqueſt, has confirm'd the truth of it.

Certain it is, this terrible execution had ſuch an effect on MONTEZUMA, that he immediately ſent another rich preſent to CORTEZ, with farther offers of ſubmiſſion and reſignation to his pleaſure: And, I think, there is little room to doubt, but CORTEZ expected this maſſacre would be attended with ſome ſuch conſequences; and that the proſpect of them were the principal motives to that bloody action. It is evident, great part of the hiſtory of DE SOLIS is mere fiction: That he has formed councils, made ſpeeches, and contrived ſtratagems for his hero; for which there was no manner of occaſion, againſt ſo weak and defenceleſs a people, frighted out of their ſenſes at the diſcharge of his artillery: Nay, he has wrought ſeveral unneceſſary miracles for the Spaniards; at which every reaſonable man muſt laugh. And, if theſe relations are evidently falſe, what regard ought we to have to other improbable facts he relates, where they are not confirm'd by the concurrent teſtimony of other writers? To add another inſtance of a falſe miracle to thoſe I have related already from DE SOLIS: He tells us, that the Spaniards having erected a Croſs on an eminence in the city of Tlaſcala, when they march'd out of that town, a prodigious bright cloud deſcended, in form of a pillar, and ſettled perpendicularly upon the Croſs, where it remained for three or four years: That there proceeded from the cloud ſuch a ſplendor, as ſtruck the Indians with a veneration for the Croſs, ſhining out in the darkeſt nights, and compelling them to acknowledge, that the Croſs contained ſome Deity; and that it was with reaſon the Spaniards worſhipped it, and imitated them, by bending the knee before it, and applying to it for relief in their diſtreſſes, neglecting their own idols: Which devotion encreaſed to that degree, that the Indian Prieſts grew jealous of their religion, and endeavoured to pull down that miraculous Croſs, and break it in pieces; but they always returned extremely terrified, not daring to declare the reaſon, leſt they ſhould loſe their reputation among the people. Theſe, and a multitude more of ſuch feign'd miracles in the Spaniſh hiſtorians, oblige us to read them with caution; tho' DE SOLIS is frequently ſo good as to ſave us the trouble of a ſtrict examination, and confute himſelf, by relating impoſſible or inconſiſtent facts, as will appear in the courſe of this hiſtory. And, after all, if that conqueſt was attended with miracles that were wrought for the conviction of the Indians, there had been little occaſion for thoſe numerous ſtratagems, and that inimitable bravery they aſcribe to their hero CORTEZ; much leſs for thoſe cruel maſſacres that were exerciſed by the Spaniards, under pretence of forcing the Indians into the Chriſtian fold. There was ſurely very little of heaven in that cruel war, if it may be called a war, which ravenous Wolves make upon defenceleſs Sheep: And if ever religion, or rather ſuperſtition, was propagated and eſtabliſhed by the ſword, that of the Papiſts was in America; their artillery were their Apoſtles, and fire and faggot their Evangeliſts, if we may believe their own hiſtorian, the Biſhop of Chiapa, who reſided in Mexico ſoon after the conqueſt, and came to Spain again to ſolicit a ceſſation of theſe barbarities, in compaſſion to thoſe miſerable people, whom he ſaw deſtroy'd by thouſands; and was ſo happy as to obtain orders from Court to the Spaniſh Governors to treat the Indians with more humanity.

A pretended miracle.

Cortez enters into new alliances, and advances towards Mexico.

CORTEZ, having remained ſome days at Cholula after this maſſacre, and made the neceſſary preparations for his march, advanced, by eaſy ſtages, towards the Court of Mexico, in order to gain farther intelligence, and ſtrengthen himſelf by alliances with the Caciques, or Mexican Princes, great numbers of them reſorting to him, and complaining of the tyranny and oppreſſion of MONTEZUMA, their Emperor. Nor was CORTEZ ſorry, ſays his hiſtorian, to ſee theſe humours prevail in the heart of the country; "perſuading himſelf, that a Prince "could not be very powerful with ſo many marks "of a Tyrant, who, by loſing the love of his vaſ"ſals, was deſtitute of the ſureſt defence of a King." Here we may obſerve the force of truth: The very advocates of CORTEZ, and the firſt adventurers, acknowledge, that the diſaffection of the Mexicans was ſo univerſal, that MONTEZUMA could not, without difficulty, have prevented the revolt of his ſubjects, and a confederacy of the Indian Caciques againſt him, if the Spaniards had not come to their aſſiſtance: And, conſequently, the mighty actions pretended to be done by theſe adventurers, had very little to be admired in them; at leaſt, they could never deſerve thoſe applauſes that have been beſtowed on them; ſince MONTEZUMA's empire muſt have fallen of itſelf, by their own relation, without foreign aſſiſtance. Can we think it ſtrange then, that it ſhould be overturn'd, when the oppreſſed Indians were aſſiſted in their revolt by a people verſed in the European arts of war, and armed with artillery and other advantages, which muſt have terrified and confounded any people, how brave ſoever, that had never ſeen any thing of this kind.

They frequently inſinuate, indeed, that nothing leſs than miracles and ſupernatural aids could have enabled ſuch a handful of men to reduce ſo vaſt an empire; but they forget, on thoſe occaſions, that they have inform'd us, that the armies of Indians that join'd CORTEZ were equal to thoſe of MONTEZUMA; and that his ſubjects were oppreſſed, and prepared for a general revolt. From whence it appears, that neither miracles, or any great ſhare of courage or conduct, were neceſſary to bring about that revolution, which is repreſented as ſo aſtoniſhing, that the actions of ALEXANDER, CÆSAR, and the greateſt heroes of antiquity, are not to be compared to it.

The hiſtorian proceeds to tell us, that MONTEZUMA had laid another plot to deſtroy the Spaniards, by leading them into a deſart country, full of defiles and difficult paſſes, where he propoſed either to cut them off, or ſtarve them; but their Indian allies, it ſeems, adviſed CORTEZ to take a different road, whereby he preſerved his army: That this ſtratagem failing, MONTEZUMA commanded his Magicians, Necromancers, and all that were verſed in the black art, to aſſemble, and diſtreſs his enemies by their enchantments, on pain of death: That thereupon the Magicians, relying on

The Magicians employ'd by Montezuma to diſtreſs the Spaniards.

A pretended viſion.

on the ſupport and aſſiſtance of thoſe infernal powers that uſed to favour them, took their poſt on a mountain, in view of the Spaniſh army; where, beginning to draw circles, and invoke the Devil (like our European Necromancers) the Prince of Darkneſs appeared to them, in the form of one of their idols, of a moſt terrible countenance; and from whom they ſuppoſed plague and famine, and other calamities, to proceed; and, with an angry look, exceeding the fierceneſs of the idol, ſeem'd to threaten them. Whereupon they proſtrated themſelves before the infernal ſpirit; but he, regardleſs of their devotion, in a diſmal tone and voice, ſpoke to them in this manner: "Unhappy "Mexicans, the time is come wherein your en"chantments have loſt their force; and the league "between us is diſſolved. Tell MONTEZUMA, "that, for his tyranny and cruelty, heaven has "decreed his ruin: And, that you may in a more "lively manner repreſent to him the deſolation of "his empire, turn your eyes upon that miſerable "city, already forſaken of her gods." Having ſaid this, the apparition diſappear'd, and they beheld their capital city in flames; which they found, however, untouch'd on their return thither.

When this viſion was related to MONTEZUMA, 'tis ſaid, he was aſtoniſh'd, and for ſome time remained ſpeechleſs; but, at length, broke out in the following exclamation: "What can we do, "if our gods forſake us? Let the ſtrangers ad"vance, and the heavens fall on us: To hide our"ſelves, or turn our backs on the vengeance that "threatens, would be diſhonourable. I only la"ment the fate of the women and the children, "that cannot defend themſelves." And, when he had ſaid this, ſeem'd ready to diſſolve in tears: And now, finding it in vain to oppoſe the march of the Spaniards any longer, he began to make preparations for their reception.

Thus, we find, the Spaniſh hiſtorians have intereſted both heaven and hell in the deſtruction of this unfortunate Emperor, againſt whom they had already arm'd his own ſubjects, and all the neighbouring powers; which muſt render their ſhare in the ſubverſion of this empire exceeding ſmall: A Prince, terrified by viſions and prodigies, by his own oracles, by a general inſurrection and confederacy againſt him, ſcarce wanted the artificial thunder and military ſkill of the Spaniards to complete his ruin. But to proceed:

The Spaniards, continuing their march, were attended by ſeveral other Caciques and Lords of the country, who complained of the intolerable oppreſſions of MONTEZUMA; telling CORTEZ, that they look'd upon him as their DELIVERER, ſent from heaven to reſtrain and puniſh the injuſtice and cruelty of tyrants: To whom he promiſed his protection; and, drawing near to Mexico, in order to ſtrike the greater terror into the natives, he order'd his artillery and ſmall arms to be diſcharged; and cauſed ſeveral Indians to be ſhot, that approached too near his quarters while he lay incamp'd at Amemeca, on the borders of the Mexican Lake.

Here Prince CACUMATZIN, the nephew of MONTEZUMA, attended by the Mexican nobility, came to the General, and bid him welcome; aſſuring him, that he would meet with a very kind and honourable reception from the Emperor; but intimated, that there having lately been a great ſcarcity of proviſions in the city of Mexico, occaſion'd by unſeaſonable weather, they could not accommodate him as they deſired; and therefore entreated he would defer his entrance into that capital, if he did not think fit entirely to decline going thither: But, CORTEZ appearing determined to advance, the Prince ſeemed to acquieſce; and the preparations for the reception of the Spaniards were continued.

CORTEZ, being arrived at Quitlavaca, a city ſituated on an iſland in the great Lake, 5 or 6 leagues from Mexico; is ſaid to have had ſome apprehenſions, that the Mexicans ſhould break down the cauſey, and remove the bridges on it; which would have very much embarraſs'd him, becauſe he could neither have advanced or retired in that caſe, eſpecially with his horſe and artillery. But the Cacique of Quitlavaca, who appeared to be a friend of the Spaniards, very much encouraged the General; telling him, he had nothing to fear; that the prodigies in the heavens, the anſwers of the oracles, and the fame of the great actions and ſurprizing arms of the Spaniards, had perfectly diſpirited their Emperor, and diſpoſed him to ſubmit to whatever the General would impoſe on him; and that he was ſo far from meditating to impede their march, that he had given his commands to all the places, through which the army was to paſs, to ſupply them with proviſions, and all other accommodations; and that he would find the people every-where infinitely rejoiced on his approach, looking upon him in a manner as their good angel, and in expectation the Spaniards would anſwer the character they had conceived of them, and reſcue them from oppreſſion.

This is acknowledged by all the Spaniſh hiſtorians. How is it poſſible then, to form a more favourable conjuncture, for the Spaniards to have eſtabliſh'd their dominion in Mexico, even without the leaſt bloodſhed, if the General, who conducted them, had been equal to the enterprize, or had had leſs avarice and cruelty in his compoſition.

The laſt town the Spaniards came to, before they arrived at Mexico, was Iztacpalapa, which ſtands upon the great cauſey leading to that capital, and is about 2 leagues from thence; where he was received, with all imaginable honours, by the Cacique and the neighbouring Princes, who preſented him with a great variety of plumes and fruits, and with plates of gold, to the value of two thouſand Peſo's. The Prince aſſign'd CORTEZ his own elegant Palace alſo for his quarters, and entertained him in the gardens of it, which, the Spaniards inform us, were equal in beauty and magnificence to any thing of that kind in Europe.

Cortez enters Mexico.

The General, having remained here one night, began his march early the next morning, being the 19th of November, 1519, in order to make his entry into the metropolis of the empire; and, as they drew near it, ſays DE SOLIS in his lofty ſtyle, they ſaw, with admiration, that great city elevated vaſtly above the reſt of the cities of the lake, and carrying an air of dominion in the pride of her buildings. Being come within a league of the city, they were met by four thouſand of the Nobility and great Officers of State, who, having paid their compliments, advanced before them to the gates of Mexico, and then made a lane for the army to march through; the reſt of the people appearing at the windows and battlements on the tops of the houſes, which were crowded with them; but they were not ſuffer'd to ſtand in the ſtreets, that the march of the Spaniards and their auxiliaries might not be impeded or diſorder'd.

The army conſiſted at this time of four hundred and fifty Spaniards, and ſix thouſand Tlaſcalans and Indians, who had no ſooner enter'd the ſtreets of Mexico, but they were met by two hundred Noblemen of the Emperor's houſhold, cloathed in one livery, with large plumes of feathers upon their heads, all of the ſame faſhion and colour.

Theſe, after meeting and complimenting the General, fell back alſo, and, dividing themſelves, made a lane for the Spaniards: Then came another body of the Nobility, of a ſuperior dignity, who made a more ſplendid appearance; and, in the midſt of them, was the Emperor MONTEZUMA, carried in a chair of beaten gold, on the ſhoulders of his favourite Courtiers, four more of them ſuſtaining a canopy over his head; the whole adorned with beautiful feathers, through which the glittering gold appeared: He was preceded by three Officers, with rods of gold, the harbingers of the Emperor's approach, on whoſe appearance the people proſtrated themſelves, none daring to look up.

His firſt interview with Montezuma.

CORTEZ diſmounting when the Emperor drew near, the Mexican Monarch alighted from his chair, and carpets were ſpread in the ſtreet for him to tread on: He advanced, according to the Spaniſh hiſtorians (who ſeem to have taken many of the ceremonies they relate from their own Court) with a ſlow ſolemn pace, leaning on the arms of two Princes, his relations; and was met by CORTEZ with a becoming haſte, and a moſt profound reverence; which MONTEZUMA anſwer'd, by touching the ground with his hand, and afterwards raiſing it to his lips; a new and unheard-of condeſcenſion, my author obſerves, from MONTEZUMA, who would ſcarce bend a knee to his gods; and added to the eſteem and veneration his ſubjects already had of the Spaniards. The conference between the Emperor and the General was ſhort, the hiſtorian relates, at this interview; neither has he made a ſpeech for either of them on this occaſion; only tells us, that their ſpeeches were ſuitable to the occaſion; and that the Emperor commanded one of the Princes, his relation, to conduct the General to the palace aſſigned for his reſidence; and then returned to his own palace.

It was about noon the Spaniards were brought to the royal houſe appointed for their reception, which was ſo ſpacious as to contain all the Europeans and their auxiliaries: It had thick ſtone-walls, they tell us, flank'd with towers: The roof of the palace flat, and defended by battlements and breaſt-works; inſomuch, that when the General had planted his artillery, and placed his guards, it had very much the appearance of a fortreſs.

Montezuma viſits Cortez.

Hither MONTEZUMA came the ſame evening, and was received by CORTEZ in the principal ſquare of the palace; and that Monarch, having entered the room of ſtate, and ſeated himſelf, ordered a chair for CORTEZ; and a ſignal was made for his Courtiers to retire to the wall: Whereupon the Spaniſh Officers did the ſame; and CORTEZ, being about to begin a ſpeech by his interpreters, the hiſtorian relates, MONTEZUMA prevented him, and ſpake as follows:

His ſpeech.

“Illuſtrious and valiant Stranger, before you diſcloſe the important meſſage the great Monarch you come from has given you in command, it is neceſſary ſome allowances be made for what fame has reported of us on either ſide. You may have been inform'd, by ſome, that I am one of the immortal gods; that my wealth is immenſely great, and my palaces covered with gold: And, on the other hand, you may have heard, that I am tyrannical, proud and cruel. But both the one and the other have equally impoſed on you: You ſee that I am a mortal of the ſame ſpecies of other men; and, tho' my riches are conſiderable, my vaſſals make them much more than they are; and you find, that the walls of my palaces are nothing more than plain lime and ſtone. In like manner, no doubt, has the ſeverity of my government been magnified: But ſuſpend your judgment of the whole, 'till you have had an opportunity of informing yourſelf concerning it; and you will find, that what my rebellious ſubjects call oppreſſion, is nothing more than the neceſſary execution of juſtice.

“After the ſame manner have your actions been repreſented to us. Some ſpeak of you as gods; affirming, that the wild beaſts obey you: That you graſp the thunder in your hands, and command the elements: While others aſſure me, you are wicked, revengeful, proud, and tranſported with an inſatiable thirſt after the gold our country produces.

“I am now ſenſible, ye are of the ſame compoſition and form as other men, and diſtinguiſh'd from us only by accidents, which the difference of countries occaſions.

“Theſe beaſts (Horſes) that obey you, are probably a large ſpecies of Deer, that you have tamed and bred up in ſuch imperfect knowledge as may be attained by animals: Your arms are made of a metal indeed unknown to us, and the fire you diſcharge from them, with ſuch an aſtoniſhing ſound, may be ſome ſecret taught by your Magicians. As to your actions, my ambaſſadors and ſervants inform me, that you are pious, courteous, and govern'd by reaſon: That you bear hardſhips with patience and chearfulneſs; and are rather liberal than covetous: So that we muſt, on both ſides, lay aſide our prejudices and prepoſſeſſions, and rely only on what our eyes and experience teach. Nor need you take any pains to perſuade us, that the great Prince you ſerve is deſcended from our anceſtor QUEZALCOAL, Lord of the Seven Caves of the Navatlaques, and King of the Seven Nations, that gave beginning to the Mexican empire. We know, that he departed from this land to conquer new regions in the Eaſt, promiſing to return again, and reform our government and manners: And, becauſe you come from the Eaſt, and your actions manifeſt you are deſcended from this our illuſtrious progenitor, we have already determin'd to pay you all imaginable honours.”

The anſwer of Cortez.

To this the General anſwer'd, That it was true, various were the reports they had heard: Some endeavoured to defame and aſperſe him, while others adored him as a god: But the Spaniards, who were endued with a penetrating ſpirit, eaſily ſaw through the different colours of diſcourſe, and the deceit of the heart: That they neither gave credit to his rebellious ſubjects, or thoſe that flatter'd him; but came into his preſence aſſured, that he was a great Prince, and a friend to reaſon; but very well ſatiſfied, however, that he was mortal, as they themſelves were: That the beaſts which obey'd him were not Deer, but fierce and generous animals, inclined to war, and ſeemed to aſpire, with ambition, after the ſame glory their maſters did.

Their fire-arms were indeed the effect of human induſtry, and ow'd nothing to the skill of the Magician, whoſe arts were abominated by the Spaniards: And thus, having given ſome anſwer to the Emperor's peror's diſcourſe, Cortez proceeded to let him know, That he came Ambaſſador from the moſt potent Monarch under the ſun, to deſire his friendſhip and alliance: That there might be a communication and intercourſe between their reſpective dominions; and, by that means, the Chriſtians might have an opportunity of convincing them of their errors: And though, according to their own traditions, he might claim a more abſolute power over this part of the world, their King only deſired to make uſe of his authority, to inſtruct them in matters infinitely to their advantage; to ſhew the Mexicans that they lived in darkneſs and error, adoring inſenſible blocks of wood, the works of mens hands and fancies; whereas there was but one true God, the eternal cauſe of all things, without beginning or ending; whoſe infinite power created, out of nothing, the wonderful fabrick of the heavens, the ſun which gave them light, the earth that ſuſtained them, and the firſt man from whom they proceeded: And this God they were all under equal obligation to acknowledge and adore; an obligation imprinted on their ſouls, and of which even the Mexicans could not be wholly ignorant, though they diſhonour'd that almighty Being, by worſhipping devils and impure ſpirits, creatures of the ſame God, who, for their ingratitude and rebellion, were doom'd to ſubterranean fires; of which their vulcanoes had an imperfect reſemblance: That theſe infernal ſpirits, whoſe malice and envy render'd them moſt inveterate enemies of mankind, endeavoured their perdition, by cauſing themſelves to be adored in their abominable idols: That it was their voice they ſometimes heard in the anſwers of their oracles, and their illuſions that impoſed on their reaſon. That theſe myſteries could not be explained at a ſingle interview; but the King, whoſe ſuperiority they acknowledged, admoniſhed them to hear thoſe Fathers whoſe buſineſs it was to preach the heavenly doctrine: This was the firſt and principal thing the King his maſter commanded him to inſiſt on, as the moſt likely means of eſtabliſhing a laſting amity; that, being united in principles of religion, their alliance might become indiſſoluble.

Montezuma's reply.

The reply Montezuma made to this harangue, 'tis ſaid, was, That he accepted the alliance propoſed by the King of Spain, the deſcendant of his great anceſtor Quezalcoal; but as to the overture that had been made concerning religion, he held, that all gods were good, and the God of the Spaniards might be what they repreſented; but he ſaw no reaſon to withdraw that veneration the Mexicans paid to theirs: And, having made Cortez a preſent of gold, jewels, and other valuable curioſities, and diſtributed more among his Officers, that Prince returned to his palace.

Remarks on theſe ſpeeches.

In the firſt of theſe ſpeeches, the Spaniſh hiſtorians have made Montezuma ſpeak what they thought it was proper for him to ſay on ſuch an occaſion; and have ſufficiently diſcovered that ſubmiſſion Montezuma was then diſpoſed to pay them: They ſhew, that the Spaniards were then ſo high in the opinion of the Mexicans, that they might have impoſed what terms they pleaſed upon them, if they had not ſtruck upon the only ſtring that could have prevented it; namely, the demanding a ſudden and total change in their religion, even at this firſt conference. Whether the anſwer ſaid to be made by Cortez be genuine, or not, is not very material; but it is evident, from this firſt ſpeech their writers have put into his mouth, and many other paſſages, as alſo from his demoliſhing their temples and images at Cozumel and Zempoala, that he began fooliſhly to prejudice the Indians againſt the Spaniards, by inſiſting on a change of religion before he had eſtabliſh'd his authority. Had he once poſſeſs'd himſelf of the government, which the Emperor Montezuma, and his ſubjects the Mexicans, in a manner courted him to accept; he might, probably, by reaſon, by encouragements and rewards, have wrought upon many of the Indians to have relinquiſh'd their ſuperſtition; for, tho' he had not the power of working miracles, the actions of the Europeans were looked upon as miraculous, and their power invincible; And if to this had been added ſome examples of that humanity and benevolence which Chriſtianity inſpires; had the Indians ſeen them act like Chriſtians, and manifeſted a real concern for their temporal as well as eternal happineſs, the Chriſtian religion had, in all probability, been ſoon eſtabliſhed in that part of the world. But when they ſaw the Spaniards deſtroying their temples and idols by force, before gentle means, and the arts of perſuaſion, had been made uſe of to convert them from their errors, and give them an opinion of the religion propoſed to be introduced; when they ſaw thoſe they at firſt looked upon as gods or angels, rather than men, rapacious and cruel, intent upon amaſſing gold and treaſure, and murdering the natives by thouſands and ten thouſands, under pretence of plots and conſpiracies againſt them; when they found, by experience, that the Spaniards were but men, and were rendered deſperate by the cruel treatment they met with from them; no wonder they held faſt their errors, and endeavoured to free themſelves from a yoke they found intolerable.

Cortez, and the Spaniards ſeem to have proceeded upon very impolitic and bloody maxims: They expected, in the firſt place, that the Indians ſhould immediately entertain and embrace their religion, before they knew any thing of it; and believed it lawful, if the Indians refuſed this, to deſtroy them by all ways imaginable: And accordingly we ſhall find, in the courſe of this hiſtory, that they uſed them worſe than they would have uſed any ſpecies of animals; firſt making them their ſlaves, and then deſtroying them without mercy; which was not only barbarous, but extremely impolitic. The Romans, we find, whenever they extended their arms, made even the Princes of the conquered nations ſubſervient to their deſigns, and aſſiſt them in eſtabliſhing their dominion, by conſtituting them Viceroys and Governors under them; and, by that means, reconciled the people they ſubdued to their empire: But the Spaniards rejected, or neglected all ſuch politic arts; and ſeemed to know no other way of ſubduing that new world, than by maſſacring and murdering the ancient inhabitants; inſomuch, that large provinces and iſlands were perfectly depopulated, and many millions of people deſtroy'd, within the ſpace of twelve years after the invaſion of Cortez, as the Spaniſh Biſhop of Chiapa informs us, who was ſo ſucceſsful in his application to the Spaniſh Court, as to procure a ſtop to be put to theſe unparallel'd outrages and devaſtations, in ſome meaſure. But to proceed in our hiſtory, which will abundantly manifeſt the truth of what I have here advanced.

The firſt audience of Cortez.

The Spaniſh General, attended by ſome of his officers and ſoldiers, went the next day to the palace of Montezuma, and was admitted to an audience. And here again, their hiſtorians relate, that Cortez entertained that Prince chiefly on the ſubject of religion: That he endeavour'd to give him an opinion of the rites and ceremonies of the Chriſtians; exclaimed againſt human ſacrifices, and how unnatural it was to devour their own ſpecies thus ſacrificed: And they tell us, that they prevailed ſo far on him, as to induce him to baniſh human fleſh from his own table; tho' he durſt not prohibit his ſubjects eating of it, or his Prieſts the continuing to offer ſuch ſacrifices. On the contrary, he maintained, that it was no cruelty to offer to his gods priſoners already condemned to die; tho' CORTEZ, and Father OLMEDO the Prieſt, frequently endeavour'd to convince him of the barbarity of the practice, and of the excellency of the Chriſtian religion: That he ſtill inſiſted, "That his gods were "as good in his country, as the God of the Chriſtians was in theirs:" Nor could he diſſemble his reſentment, when he was preſs'd ſo cloſely on this ſubject.

Montezuma ſhews Cortez the great temple.

At another time, MONTEZUMA carried CORTEZ, Father OLMEDO the Prieſt, and ſome of the principal Spaniſh Officers, to take a view of the great temple; explained to them their rites and ceremonies, the deities the images repreſented, and the uſe of the ſacred veſſels and utenſils, and this with great reverence and ſeriouſneſs: At which the Spaniards, their hiſtorians inform us, were ſo rude and impolitic, as to laugh and make a jeſt of them; and that MONTEZUMA thereupon admoniſhed them to keep within the bounds of decency. But CORTEZ, tranſported with great zeal, ſaid to the Emperor, "Permit me, Sir, to fix the Croſs of "CHRIST before theſe images of the devil, and "you will ſee whether they deſerve adoration or "contempt." At which the Prieſts were enraged, and MONTEZUMA himſelf in confuſion; and ſaid to the Spaniards, "You might, at leaſt, have "ſhewn this place the reſpect you owe to my perſon:" And immediately led them out of the temple; but returned thither again himſelf, telling them, he muſt aſk pardon of his gods for having ſuffered them to proceed ſo far. And now, it ſeems, CORTEZ and his Prieſts were themſelves convinced, they had taken a wrong ſtep in preſſing the Emperor ſo ſtrenuouſly to change his religion, which only tended to provoke him, and fix him in his errors; and contented themſelves with erecting a chapel, by his leave, for the exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion publickly; in which they placed the image of our Lady and a Croſs, and celebrated maſs every day. They add, that MONTEZUMA and his Court were frequently preſent at divine ſervice, and admired the humanity of the Chriſtian ſacrifice; though they could not be brought to aboliſh their own.

The impolitic zeal of Cortez.

Remarks upon it.

Give me leave juſt to remark, in this place, that the Mexicans did not eat the fleſh of thoſe that were ſacrificed, or ever fed on human fleſh; nor were human ſacrifices frequent in Mexico; though, upon ſome feſtivals, and extraordinary occaſions, it be admitted, men were ſometimes ſacrificed. The deſign of the Spaniards, in repreſenting theſe people to be ſo very barbarous, was evidently to juſtify their own cruel butcheries on theſe unfortunate Indians, as will be ſhewn under the head of religion. And, indeed, with what face could the Spaniards declaim againſt the worſhip of images, while they worſhipped images themſelves? Or how could they pretend ſuch a deteſtation of human ſacrifices, when they ſacrificed ſo many thouſands to their ambition and avarice? And, as ſome have obſerved, might not the Indians have juſtly retorted upon them, that if they ſacrificed priſoners taken in war, the Spaniards every day almoſt ſacrificed and eat their very God, as they themſelves acknowledged. To return to the hiſtory.

Still there continued a great intimacy between MONTEZUMA and CORTEZ. If we may credit the Spaniſh hiſtorians, CORTEZ frequently reſorted to the Mexican Court, and MONTEZUMA as often viſited the Spaniſh quarters, making preſents to the General, and to his Officers and Soldiers, and exhibiting ſhews and entertainments for their diverſion. The Mexicans ſtill treated the Spaniards with a reſpect that ſavour'd of ſubmiſſion, according to my author. MONTEZUMA ſpoke of their King with the ſame veneration he mentioned his own gods; his Nobility paid a profound reſpect to the Spaniſh Officers, and the people bow'd the knee to the meaneſt Spaniſh Soldier: But an accident happened, which very much leſſened the eſteem, or rather dread, the Mexicans at firſt entertained of theſe foreigners.

An action between the Mexicans and Spaniards near Vera Cruz.

One of that Emperor's Generals, levying the annual tax impoſed on the vaſſal Princes in that part of the country which lay in the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh garriſon of Vera Cruz; theſe Caciques, who had thrown off their ſubjection to the Mexican empire, and entered into an alliance with the Spaniards, applied themſelves to JOHN DE ESCALANTE, Governor of Vera Cruz, for protection; who thereupon march'd out of that fortreſs, with forty Spaniards and three or four thouſand confederate Indians, to their aſſiſtance; and, tho' he had the good fortune to defeat the Mexican General, yet one of the Spaniards was killed, and his head ſent up to Court; and the Governor, with five or ſix more of his garriſon, were mortally wounded. Which news being brought to CORTEZ, gave him great uneaſineſs; and the more, becauſe he was inform'd, by the confederate Indians, that the Mexicans were conſulting how to drive him out of their territories; which they did not apprehend impracticable ſince the engagement near Vera Cruz.

The Spaniſh General therefore finding it impoſſible to maintain his authority among the Indians any longer, without entring on ſome action that might give them freſh cauſe of aſtoniſhment, ſays my author, and recover that reputation they ſeemed to have loſt by that unfortunate accident, reſolved to ſeize the perſon of MONTEZUMA, and bring him priſoner to his quarters: And, accordingly, at an hour when the Spaniards were uſed to pay their court to that Prince, CORTEZ, having given orders to his men to arm themſelves without noiſe, and poſſeſs themſelves of all the avenues leading to the palace, in ſmall parties, that no notice might be taken of it; went to the Mexican Court, attended by ſeveral of his Officers and thirty Soldiers, whoſe reſolution he could rely on; and, being admitted to the Emperor's preſence, he complained of the violation of the peace between them, by one of the Mexican Generals falling upon his confederates, and afterwards killing a Spaniard he had taken, in cold blood. To which MONTEZUMA anſwer'd, that if any thing of that nature had been done, it was without his orders; and he was ready to make ſatisfaction for any injury that might have been done undeſignedly, either to the Spaniards, or their allies. But CORTEZ gave him to underſtand, that nothing would ſatisfy them but his ſurrendering himſelf into their hands, and reſiding with them in the palace aſſign'd to the Spaniards for their quarters.

MONTEZUMA, at firſt, ſeem'd aſtoniſh'd at the inſolent demand, and remained for ſome time ſilent: But, recovering from his ſurprize, he ſaid, that Princes of his rank were not accuſtomed to yield themſelves up to a priſon; nor would his ſubjects permit this, if he ſhould forget his dignity ſo far. CORTEZ anſwer'd, If he would go along with them voluntarily, they were not afraid of any oppoſition his ſubjects ſhould make; and they would treat him with all the regard due to his dignity: He might continue to exerciſe his authority as formerly, and no reſtraint ſhould be put upon his actions; only, for their ſecurity, he inſiſted, that the Emperor ſhould reſide amongſt them. MONTEZUMA ſtill refuſing to put himſelf into their hands, was given to underſtand, that if he would not, they would carry him off by force, or murder him if they were oppos'd: Whereupon he ſubmitted to do, what he found it was impoſſible to avoid; and gave orders to his Officers to prepare for his removal to the Spaniſh quarters, whither he went in the uſual ſtate, and in all appearance voluntarily, unleſs that he was attended by a company of Spaniards, that ſurrounded his chair, under pretence of doing him the greater honour: The Spaniards alſo oblig'd him to take with him ſome of his children, with the principal Lords and great Officers of ſtate, whom they detain'd as hoſtages for their farther ſecurity; all which could not be effected without a ſuſpicion, that they were in reality all captives to the Spaniards, and had very near caus'd a general inſurrection to obtain their liberty. But CORTEZ oblig'd MONTEZUMA to declare, that his removal was voluntary, and to give his orders, that the people ſhould diſperſe, which was ſubmitted to, poſſibly, leſt the Spaniards ſhould murder their Emperor, and all the great men they had in their power: And, 'tis ſaid, that Prince was allow'd to live in the ſame ſtate he had done in his own palace for ſome time, attended by his officers and ſervants; and that he iſſued his orders, as if he had been under no manner of reſtraint; only the Spaniards uſed that precaution, as not to admit too many of the Mexicans to enter their quarters at a time, and kept a very ſtrict guard at all the avenues.

Cortez ſeizes on the perſon of Montezuma.

Farther remarks.

And here I cannot but obſerve a little inconſiſtency in the Spaniſh hiſtorians, particularly in ANTONIO DE SOLIS, who tells us, "That MONTEZUMA, neither in his expreſſions, or his behaviour, diſcovered the leaſt weakneſs under his confinement, or ceaſed to maintain the grandeur of an Emperor." And within twenty lines he ſays, "The want of ſpirit in MONTEZUMA, was not leſs remarkable, than the boldneſs of the Spaniards was ſurpriſing;" adding, that the hand of God was upon the hearts of the Mexicans, as well as their Emperor; or ſo haughty a Prince, and a warlike nation, exceſſively zealous in ſupporting the dignity of their Sovereign, would never have ſubmitted ſo tamely, and without attempting his reſcue.

The Spaniards relate alſo, that MONTEZUMA's table, during his confinement, was ſerv'd with greater plenty than uſual, and that what was left, was diſtributed among the Spaniſh ſoldiers; that ſome of the beſt diſhes were ſent to the General and his Captains, who were now perfectly known to MONTEZUMA, and that he would converſe freely and pleaſantly with them; but in ſuch a manner, as was not inconſiſtent with majeſty: That he ſpent moſt of his time, when he was diſengag'd from affairs of ſtate, among the Spaniards; and uſed to ſay, he was not himſelf without them; and the reſpect they paid him in return, gave him great ſatiſfaction. That he would ſometimes play with CORTEZ at a Mexican game, call'd Toloque, wherein they bowl'd at certain golden pins, and that he uſed to diſtribute his winnings amongſt the Spaniards, and that he preſerv'd the ſentiments of a Prince, even at play. But ſometimes they tell us, that CORTEZ entertained this Prince with more ſerious ſubjects; particularly, that his zeal would not permit him to loſe ſo fair an opportunity of making the Emperor his convert: But that all the arguments, that he, and Father BARTHOLOMEW DE OLMEDO, the Prieſt, could uſe, had no effect upon him; inſomuch, that they were in doubt, whether he had not ſtill ſome intercourſe with the Devil; tho' it was the general opinion, that after the appearance of the Croſs of CHRIST in Mexico, all their infernal invocations loſt their force, and the oracles became ſilent.

Nor did the Spaniards only teaze this unhappy Prince, on the point of religion; but they compelled him to iſſue out his orders for apprehending his General QUALPOPOCA, who had engaged the Spaniards near Vera Cruz; and this Gentleman being brought priſoner to Court, the Spaniſh Officers at a Court-martial condemn'd him to be burnt before the gates of the palace, with the reſt of the Captains, that were concern'd in that enterprize; and leſt this ſhould occaſion an inſurrection, and an attempt be made to reſcue MONTEZUMA, CORTEZ cauſed him to be laid in irons that morning the execution was to be perform'd.

Cortez lays Montezuma in irons.

But ſuch was MONTEZUMA's aſtoniſhment, when he ſaw himſelf treated in this ignominious manner, ſays DE SOLIS, that he wanted force to reſiſt or complain; and his ſervants lamenting their Emperor's hard fate, threw themſelves at his feet, endeavouring to eaſe him of the weight of his fetters: And tho', when he recovered from his firſt amazement, he began to expreſs ſome impatience; yet correcting himſelf, he acquieſced in his misfortunes; acknowledging, they proceeded from the will of his gods, and waited the event, not without apprehenſions that there was a deſign againſt his life. But CORTEZ having ſeen the execution perform'd, by which he found, he had ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Mexicans, that little was to be fear'd from them, he returned to MONTEZUMA's apartment, and order'd his fetters to be taken off; and, as ſome writers relate, fell on his knees, and took them off with his own hands, for which favour the Emperor embrac'd and thank'd him. But, what is ſtill more difficult to be believ'd, they aſſure us, that CORTEZ gave the Emperor leave to return to his palace, and that he refuſed the offer, out of regard to the Spaniards; telling them, he knew very well, that as ſoon as he was out of their power, his ſubjects would preſs him to take up arms againſt them, to revenge the wrongs he had ſuffer'd: Nay, the Spaniſh hiſtorians poſitively affirm, that notwithſtanding all the injuries and indignities they had offer'd to MONTEZUMA, he expreſſed a more than ordinary friendſhip and regard for them, preferring their intereſt to that of his own ſubjects; which I muſt take the liberty to ſuſpend my belief of, 'till they produce better proofs of it, and ceaſe to ſpeak leſs inconſiſtently than they do in their accounts of this enterprize.

And now DE SOLIS relates, that CORTEZ gave MONTEZUMA leave to go whither he pleas'd; which he ſeems to contradict within a very few lines afterwards: For, he tells us, when that Prince only deſired to perform his devotions in one of his temples, it was granted upon certain conditions; namely, that he ſhould give his royal word to return to the Spaniſh quarters again, and from that day aboliſh human ſacrifices: And, I make no doubt, but they inſiſted on a third, viz. That he ſhould take a guard of Spaniards with him; for they acknowledge

knowledge, that a body of Spaniards actually attended him to the temple, which they could do with no other view than ſecuring their priſoner; tho' DE SOLIS ſays, indeed, it was at the requeſt of MONTEZUMA they went with him: Nor did he ever go abroad without a Spaniſh guard, or without aſking leave of CORTEZ, or ever lay one night out of their quarters, by their own confeſſion; which they would have us aſcribe purely to choice, and his affection to the Spaniards, who had put ſuch indignities upon him. They add, that CORTEZ was now become his Prime Miniſter: That all poſts of honour or profit were diſpoſed of by him and his principal Officers, who were courted by the Mexican Nobility, when they ſaw that no places or preferments could be had but by their intereſt; which might be true poſſibly: But, ſurely, it is much more probable, that MONTEZUMA was influenced more by his fears, than his affection for the Spaniards. And we may obſerve, from hence, that, with all theſe advantages, CORTEZ and his Spaniards might have eſtabliſh'd their power upon ſuch a foundation, as could not eaſily have been overthrown, without ſuch a deluge of blood as they ſpilt afterwards, if CORTEZ had been as able a Politician as he was a Soldier; or, if his benevolence and humanity had exceeded his cruelty and avarice.

He ſeems to have left ſcarce any means untried for his ſecurity and eſtabliſhment, but the principal; namely, the gaining the affections of the Indians, and the winning them over to his party, as well as to the Chriſtian religion, by acts of generoſity and beneficence. He was ſo careful of himſelf, that he cauſed ſome brigantines to be built on the Lake of Mexico; whereby he entirely commanded the lake and the cauſeys leading to the city: And, at the ſame time, he increaſed his reputation with the Mexicans, by the artful management of thoſe veſſels. The Indians were at this time ignorant of the uſe of ſails and rudders; and, when they ſaw the Spaniards ſailing not only before the wind, but upon a wind, and ſometimes almoſt directly againſt it; and that the veſſels were ſteered this way and that way with only the turn of a hand, they began to return to their firſt opinion, that the Spaniards had in reality the command of the elements: And, indeed, ſuch was the opinion the Indians now entertained of the ſkill and power of the Spaniards, that it was purely their own fault the Mexicans ever attempted to regain their freedom.

The moſt fatal of all the errors CORTEZ committed, were his repeated attempts, from the very time he landed, to deſtroy the temples and images of the Mexicans, and force them to receive a new religion before they knew any thing of it, and before he was in a condition to force their compliance. Indeed, religion ought never to be forced upon a people, how potent ſoever their Governors may be: But to attempt the ſubverſion of religion, and the introducing another by force, in the infancy of a revolution, was ſurely the moſt impolitic thing in the world. And, if the attempt was not to be aſcribed to weakneſs in CORTEZ and his Officers, it muſt be imputed to a much worſe cauſe; namely, to their avarice and cruelty, who, looking upon themſelves to be armed with the Pope's authority, as well as the King of Spain's, imagined, that all the wealth of that rich country would be forfeited to them, if the Mexicans refuſed an immediate ſubmiſſion to their demand of becoming Chriſtians; and that, in ſuch a caſe, it was lawful to plunder, enſlave and murder them without mercy, and make all the wealth of Mexico their own. This they looked upon as the ſhorteſt way to arrive at what they principally aimed at; namely, the acquiring unbounded treaſures. This their future actions evidently demonſtrate, if any credit is to be given to their own hiſtorians.

Even now, when the Emperor MONTEZUMA and his ſubjects appeared to be all ſubmiſſion, and had in a manner given the reins of government into the hands of the Spaniards, did they offer them ſuch unneceſſary provocations, in the capital city of the empire, as no people would ever have borne. They attempted at once, without demanding leave, or giving any reaſon for it, to demoliſh all the images of their gods, and convert the principal temples in Mexico into Chriſtian churches; which occaſion'd, as might reaſonably be expected, a general inſurrection. The Prieſts took up arms, and the whole city roſe, ſays my Spaniſh author, in defence of their gods; and the Spaniards were at length convinced, by the oppoſition they met with, that it was expedient to admit their idols to remain, for the preſent, where they ſtood. However, they perſiſted in erecting a Chriſtian chapel in one of the temples, and placing in it the croſs, and an image of the bleſſed Virgin; and actually ſung maſs in it with great ſolemnity: Which the Indian Prieſts agreed not to oppoſe, provided their own idols might be permitted to remain in their temples: And thus the matter was accommodated between them, and the tumult appeaſed. Some of the Spaniſh hiſtorians deſcribe a ſolemn proceſſion alſo, that was made to the new-erected chapel when the Popiſh images were carried into it; and give us a ſpeech, ſaid to be made by CORTEZ on that occaſion, before the crucifix. They tell us alſo of that General's working a very great miracle, a little afterwards, for the proof of the Chriſtian doctrine: They ſay, that the Mexicans came to him in a tumultuous manner, complaining that their gods refuſed to ſend them rain, becauſe he had introduced ſtrange deities into their temples: And that, to appeaſe the people, he told them the God of the Chriſtians would ſend them plenty of rain in a very few hours; which prediction heaven was pleaſed to fulfil, to the great admiration of MONTEZUMA and his ſubjects.

However, theſe pretended miracles were but of ſmall ſervice to the Spaniards, it ſeems; and, had they been real, the falſe politicks or bigotry of CORTEZ, in endeavouring to deſtroy the Indian ſuperſtition, and introduce his own thus precipitately, prejudiced that people againſt him to ſuch a degree, that we hear of nothing but plots and conſpiracies on the one ſide, and cruel butcheries and oppreſſion on the other, 'till the Spaniards eſtabliſhed themſelves by pure force, and had in a manner extirpated the natives, inſtead of converting them to the Chriſtian faith.

A plot againſt the Spaniards.

Their hiſtorians relate, that CACUMAZIN, King or Cacique of Tezcuco, and nephew to MONTEZUMA, aſſembling many more of the vaſſal Princes of that empire, repreſented to them the tyranny of the Spaniards, who in a manner govern'd the ſtate in the name of their unfortunate Prince, whom they had made their priſoner, and even loaded with irons, like a common malefactor: Nor did he forget to reflect on the outrages that had been done to their religion, by deriding and vilifying their gods, and attempting to demoliſh their temples and images; concluding, that it was the greateſt reproach their country could ſuffer, tamely to ſubmit to theſe outrages from a handful of foreigners, who appeared, now they were better acquainted with them, to be but mortals of the ſame ſpecies, and who had no other advantage over them than what their fire-arms and enchanting magick gave them; inciting them to behave themſelves like men, and deliver their country from this ſhameful and intolerable ſlavery: With whom moſt of the Caciques concurr'd; but ſome falſe brethren amongſt them, 'tis ſaid, betray'd the conſpiracy to Cortez: Whereupon Cacumazin was made priſoner, and his brother, a creature of the Spaniards, was made Cacique of Tezcuco in his ſtead; and the reſt of the conſpirators were diſperſed, tho' not entirely diſheartened; for this plot, to free themſelves from the tyranny of the Spaniards, became in a ſhort time more general: And Montezuma, receiving advice, that his ſubjects were unanimous in their reſolution of reſtoring him to his liberty and empire, and to diſmiſs their haughty gueſts the Spaniards, ſummoned the vaſſal Princes to Mexico, who came thither attended with formidable bodies of their troops; and, in this ſituation, he had the courage to let Cortez know, That, having acknowledged his Maſter the King of Spain the heir of his empire, and that he held his dominions of him, as deſcended from their great anceſtor Quezalcoal; and having prepared a rich preſent for that King, to teſtify his ſubmiſſion and dependance on him; he expected Cortez ſhould withdraw from Mexico, and return to the Prince that ſent him, to give him an account of the ſucceſs of his embaſſy: And at the ſame time delivered to Cortez an immenſe treaſure, which he and his ſubjects had contributed, in hopes that the avarice of the Spaniards would have been entirely ſatisfy'd with it, and that they ſhould enjoy the poſſeſſion of their country, and what they had left, in quiet, freed from any farther outrages or inſults. And the Spaniards themſelves introduce Montezuma making the following ſhort ſpeech on this occaſion, viz.

Montezuma requires Cortez to return to Spain.

“ That it was reaſonable, Cortez ſhould now “ begin to think of his departure, ſince he was “ thus fully diſpatch'd: And that the motives or “ pretences for his ſtay being ceaſed, and he having received, for the ſervice of the King his Maſter, ſo favourable an anſwer to his embaſſy, the “ vaſſal Princes would not fail to ſurmiſe, that he “ had ſtill farther views, if they ſaw him perſiſt in “ remaining longer at that Court; nor would it be “ in his power to ſupport and protect the Spaniards “ againſt them.”

And Cortez, it ſeems, was under ſuch apprehenſions, that he ſhould ſuddenly be attack'd by the forces of the whole empire, if he refuſed to comply with this reaſonable demand, that he did not think fit to object any thing againſt it; only deſired time to build a fleet to tranſport his troops to Spain, the fleet which brought him thither being deſtroy'd: To which the Mexicans agreed, and immediately aſſign'd him timber, workmen, and labourers, to rebuild his ſhips; which furniſh'd him with a pretence to ſtay ſome time longer; and he gave directions to the workmen not to make too much haſte in equipping the fleet, expecting that a reinforcement of troops might in a ſhort time arrive from Spain, and enable him to maintain his ground againſt all the powers of Mexico.

Narvaez ſent from Cuba, with a body of Spaniards, to reduce Cortez.

But, while Cortez lived in expectation of a friendly ſquadron coming to his aſſiſtance, advice was brought, that eleven tall ſhips, and ſeven ſmaller veſſels, with eight hundred Spaniſh foot, fourſcore horſe, and twelve pieces of artillery on board, were arrived on the Mexican Coaſt, near Vera Cruz; and that they were ſent by Diego Velaſquez, Governor of Cuba, to proſecute the conqueſt of Mexico, and to make Cortez and all his men priſoners, that refuſed to ſubmit to his authority, and obey Pamphilio de Narvaez, who had the command of the fleet and army employed in this expedition. To underſtand the reaſon whereof, it will be neceſſary to look back a little, and call to mind, that Diego de Velaſquez, Governor of Cuba, firſt formed the deſign of reducing Mexico, and provided a fleet and army, giving the command thereof to Hernando Cortez, in order to attempt that conqueſt: But being inform'd, that Cortez had a deſign to deprive him of the glory and advantage of the enterprize, and ſet up for an independency, Diego Velaſquez revoked his commiſſion, and, before Cortez left the iſland of Cuba, required him to relinquiſh that command, and return. But Cortez, and his friends, having embark'd all their fortunes in the deſign, in hopes of mighty advantages that would accrue to them in the purſuance of it, and both ſoldiers and ſeamen having a high opinion of the valour and conduct of Cortez, they agreed to ſet ſail, and proceed in the enterprize; notwithſtanding the expreſs command of the Governor of Cuba to the contrary. Whereupon the Governor ſent complaints to Spain, that Cortez had mutiny'd, and run away with the ſhips and forces deſign'd for the reduction of Mexico; and deſired he might have his commiſſion of Lieutenant-General renew'd and confirm'd by that Court; and that he might be conſtituted Lieutenant-General of all the countries conquer'd, or to be conquer'd, on the continent of Mexico (for his former commiſſion was given him by Don Diego Columbus, the ſucceſſor of the celebrated Colombus that diſcovered this new world). And ſo good was the intereſt of Diego Velaſquez in the Court of Spain, that he received the commiſſion he deſired: And, being inform'd of the ſucceſs of the Spaniards under Cortez, and ſupported by the commiſſion he had obtained, propoſed, by this ſecond embarkation, to reap all the glory and advantages he at firſt propoſed to himſelf by that conqueſt.

On the other hand, Hernando Cortez, meeting with that incredible ſucceſs, that has been related, and being furniſh'd with a large ſhare of treaſure, by the preſents made him by Montezuma and the vaſſal Princes, ſent the whole, by two or three of his Officers, in a ſhip to the King of Spain, who was juſt embarking for Germany as they arrived, in order to take upon him the imperial dignity, as he did ſoon afterwards, by the name of Charles the Vth. The new Emperor was mightily pleaſed with the rich preſent ſent him by Cortez, eſpecially as he look'd upon it to be an earneſt of much greater treaſures; and, tho' he was not at leiſure to attend the buſineſs of the Indies before he embarked, left orders with his Council to take the ſupporting of Cortez into their conſideration. But ſuch, it ſeems, was the intereſt of Diego Velaſquez at the Court of Spain, who had repreſented Cortez as a traitor and deſerter, that nothing was done towards the aſſiſting of him 'till two years afterwards; and the Governor of Cuba was left to purſue his revenge, which had very near loſt the Spaniards all they had poſſeſs'd themſelves of on the continent of Mexico, as I ſhall, in the next place, proceed to relate.

The royal chamber of Audience at Hiſpaniola ſaw the miſchievous conſequences of a diſſention among themſelves, at ſo critical a juncture; and repreſented to Diego Velaſquez, when they heard

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he was making preparations to fall upon CORTEZ, that this would probably be of pernicious conſequence, and deprive them of thoſe valuable acquiſitions they had already made, and perhaps end in the ruin of them all: And, when they found DIEGO VELASQUEZ was not to be prevailed on to lay aſide the expedition, they ſent ſome Eccleſiaſticks and Officers with NARVAEZ, who was conſtituted General of the forces on board the fleet, to mediate an accommodation between him and CORTEZ; and, if that could not be effected, to diſpoſe the Spaniards of both armies to a reconciliation, and to unite in the cauſe of their country and their common Sovereign.

Narvaez and the Spaniards from Cuba arrive at VeraCruz.

PAMPHILIO DE NARVAEZ arriving with his fleet near Vera Cruz, ſummoned GONZALO DE SANDOVAL, who had been appointed Governor of that fortreſs by CORTEZ, to ſurrender: But GONZALO was ſo far from complying with the ſummons, that he ſent thoſe that came on that errand priſoners to CORTEZ at Mexico. However, NARVAEZ landed his forces, and march'd directly to Zempoala; of which CORTEZ receiving advice, at firſt ſeem'd thunder-ſtruck; but, recovering from his ſurprize, reſolved to make NARVAEZ offers of peace, and propoſe the uniting their forces in the ſervice of their Prince. At the ſame time he repreſented to MONTEZUMA, who was already acquainted with the arrival of NARVAEZ, that the Spaniards under the command of that General were ſubjects to the King his Maſter, and were come upon a ſecond embaſſy to induce him to comply with the overtures he had already made; but that he ſhould diſpoſe them to return to Spain with him, ſince he had already obtained the end of his embaſſy.

Cortez provides to oppoſe them.

To his own men CORTEZ ſuggeſted, that he did not doubt to bring the Spaniards NARVAEZ had brought with him over to his party; and that they would, in the end, probably prove ſuch a reinforcement, as would enable him to finiſh his conqueſt of that empire: And immediately applied himſelf to his confederate Indians, to provide him with ſuch forces as might be neceſſary, in caſe he ſhould not be able to accommodate matters with NARVAEZ. In the mean time, the Spaniſh priſoners arriving, which GONSALO DE SANDOVAL had ſent up from Vera Cruz, among whom were an Eccleſiaſtick and a Notary, who had been ſent by NARVAEZ to ſummon that town; CORTEZ received them with great civility, and aſſured them, the Governor of Vera Cruz had exceeded his orders in making them priſoners: And, having ſhewn them the great power he exerciſed in the Court of Mexico, he made them very rich preſents; telling them, that he relied on their good offices in diſpoſing NARVAEZ to accept the peace he had offer'd him: After which, he diſmiſs'd them, and order'd them to be conducted to that General with all imaginable reſpect. After theſe, he ſent Father BARTHOLOMEW DE OLMEDO, an Eccleſiaſtick of great reputation, to propoſe a treaty with NARVAEZ; and, if that did not ſucceed, to ſound the diſpoſition of his officers and ſoldiers, and incline them to pacific meaſures. He furniſh'd the Father alſo with jewels and rich preſents to the principal officers, in order to render his negotiation the more ſucceſsful.

Father BARTHOLOMEW, on his arrival in the camp of NARVAEZ, gave him to underſtand, of what advantage it would be to their Sovereign and their Country to unite their arms; acquainting him with the ſtate of the conqueſt, and the numerous alliances CORTEZ had made with the Indian Princes: But inſinuated, that they ſhould, however, have occaſion for their united ſtrength, to bring the Mexicans under their ſubjection, who were naturally brave, and did not want military ſkill; and, ſhould they find there was a miſunderſtanding among the Spaniards, they might probably make their advantages of it, and deſtroy them both, in order to free themſelves from a foreign yoke.

To which NARVAEZ, 'tis ſaid, haughtily reply'd, that DIEGO DE VELASQUEZ had order'd him to enter into no treaty with the rebels, as he termed CORTEZ and his party; but that his firſt and principal buſineſs was to compel them to return to their duty; telling him, that he ſhould immediately proclaim them all traytors, who adhered to CORTEZ, having brought ſufficient forces with him to compel their obedience, and finiſh the conqueſt of that country.

Cortez corrupts the officers of Narvaez.

The Father finding no good to be done upon NARVAEZ, apply'd himſelf privately to ſeveral of the officers and ſoldiers, and eſpecially to thoſe gentlemen, who came on purpoſe from Hiſpaniola, to mediate a peace, as moſt conducive to their Prince's intereſt; and diſtributed the preſents, he had brought, with great judgment. The priſoners alſo, whom CORTEZ had releaſed, were very laviſh in his praiſes: They deſcribed the grandeur and magnificence of the Mexican Court; the ſway that CORTEZ bore in it, and the humanity and courteſy with which he treated all mankind; which had ſuch an effect on the ſoldiery, that moſt of them appeared ready to join CORTEZ, who had already obtain'd ſo high a character for his valour and conduct, and given ſuch ſenſible proofs of his affection for them.

A treaty between Montezuma and Narvaez.

In the mean time it appears, that MONTEZUMA, was carrying on a private negotiation with NARVAEZ the Spaniſh General, who had given him to underſtand, that he came with a commiſſion from the King of Spain, to call CORTEZ to an account for all the violence and extortion he had committed; that he and his adherents were fugitives and rebels; and that he would immediately advance and reſtore his Mexican Majeſty to his liberty, and the peaceable poſſeſſion of his dominions, which, it was evident, CORTEZ was endeavouring to uſurp. Whereupon MONTEZUMA made NARVAEZ ſome very conſiderable preſents, and ſhew'd a diſpoſition to enter into an alliance with him for their common defence.

Cortez endeavours to bring over the Spaniards ſent againſt him to his party.

In the mean time, CORTEZ was not idle; but as he was much more apprehenſive of the miſchief he might ſuffer from the forces ſent againſt him by the Governor of Cuba, than of the power of the Mexicans, he apply'd himſelf chiefly to gain the Officers of the troops lately arrived, by preſents and careſſes, which was his principal view, in ſending Father OLMEDO with offers of peace to NARVAEZ. That Father therefore was no ſooner return'd to him, with an account of the ſucceſs of his negotiations; but he reſolv'd to take the field againſt his rival, before he had an opportunity of concerting meaſures with MONTEZUMA and the Mexican Princes, and drawing them over to his party.

He prepares to take the field.

Having aſſign'd fourſcore Spaniards, therefore, under the command of PEDRO DE ALVARADO, to keep garriſon in Mexico, and ſecure MONTEZUMA from making his eſcape; the reſt were order'd to be ready to march at an hour's warning: But going to take his leave of his royal priſoner, before he ſet out, DE SOLIS relates, that that Prince ſpoke to him in this manner.

Montezuma's ſpeech to him thereupon.

He ſaid, he had for ſome time obſerv'd the General to be thoughtful, for which no doubt he had reaſon; for he had received repeated advice, that Narvaez, who commanded the Spaniards lately arriv'd, was come with a deſign to ſupplant him; and tho' his Mexican Majeſty did not much wonder, that there ſhould be private piques and quarrels between the ſubjects of the ſame Prince; yet it was ſtrange, they ſhould be ſuffer'd to command two different armies, and claſh when the intereſt of their Prince, and the publick ſervice required a union in their councils and actions: He concluded therefore, that one of them muſt be a rebel to his King.

The anſwer of Cortez.

To which Cortez anſwer'd, as 'tis ſaid, that it was true, they were both the ſubjects of the ſame Prince, and they both intended the ſervice of their King and Country; but were not indeed agreed in the methods of doing it; he had reſolv'd therefore to march to Zempoala with the beſt part of his forces, in order to cultivate a good underſtanding with Narvaez and his troops; and did not doubt, either to diſpoſe thoſe Spaniards to return to their ſhips, or to treat the ſubjects of the Mexican empire, as a people, whom the King of Spain had taken under his protection.

Montezuma commended his deſign; but obſerved, that as Narvaez had given out threatening ſpeeches, and ſeem'd to intend his ruin, and commanded a body of forces of twice his ſtrength; it would be prudent for Cortez to reinforce his little army with thirty or forty thouſand Mexicans, which he would order to aſſemble forthwith for this ſervice, and direct his Generals to obey the commands of Cortez; But he wiſely refuſed the inſidious offer, placing but ſlender confidence in the Mexicans, ſays the hiſtorian. He was cautious of entertaining auxiliaries, that might command him, knowing how he ſhould be embarraſſed in the day of battle with a known enemy in front, and pretended friends in flank and rear.

Cortez, having given his orders therefore to Alvarado, to have a ſtrict eye over Montezuma, and not to ſuffer too great numbers of the Mexicans to reſort to him, or any long conferences between them; and extorted a promiſe from the royal priſoner, that he would not attempt an eſcape in his abſence; telling him, he ſhould ſoon return to Mexico, in much better circumſtances; began his march towards Zempoala; and taking Tlaſcala in his way, he was received with the higheſt honours by that republick: However, they gave him to underſtand, that they could not aſſiſt him with their troops againſt the new-arriv'd Spaniards, whoſe horſes and artillery they were not able to reſiſt. Whereupon he proceeded in his march for Zempoala, taking an advantageous poſt in the neighbourhood of that city, where he could either treat, or defend himſelf againſt Narvaez, if he ſhould be attack'd. And firſt, he made freſh overtures to that General, for accommodating the differences between them, and uniting their forces in the ſervice of their country; and even offer'd, 'tis ſaid, to relinquiſh the advantages of that conqueſt, and go upon ſome other enterprize with his adherents, rather than the King's ſervice ſhould ſuffer. And tho' Narvaez refuſed to give him any other terms than thoſe of ſurrendering at diſcretion; yet the conceſſions Cortez made, had ſuch an effect on the Officers and Soldiers, which Narvaez commanded, that Cortez was ſenſible, he ſhould meet with but a faint reſiſtance from them. And underſtanding by ſome deſerters, that Narvaez truſted ſo much to the ſuperiority of his forces, that he kept but a very negligent guard, he reſolv'd to attempt to ſurprize his enemy in the night-time.

Cortez makes overtures of peace to Narvaez.

Cortez ſurprizes Narvaez, and makes him priſoner.

The troops of Narvaez ſerve under Cortez.

Accordingly, in a very dark tempeſtuous night, when Narvaez leaſt expected ſuch a viſit, Cortez fell upon his quarters, and made him and his principal Officers priſoners, before they were well awake: Whereupon the reſt of his troops flung down their arms, and moſt of them enter'd into the ſervice of Cortez. And here it muſt be admitted, that Cortez, by his artful treaties and negotiations in the firſt place, and by his courage and conduct in defeating an enemy ſo much ſuperior to him in numbers, and eſpecially in horſe and artillery, ſhew'd himſelf to be a good Soldier; tho' he can never be allow'd to be a very great Stateſman, that, with all his ſucceſs and advantages, knew no other way of eſtabliſhing himſelf, but by the extirpation of the defenceleſs Indians.

The inſolence of the Spaniards left in Mexico.

While Cortez was engaged in this expedition againſt Narvaez, Pedro de Alvarado, who was left to command the Spaniards in Mexico, and ſecure the perſon of Montezuma, behaved himſelf with that inſolence and cruelty, and diſcover'd ſuch an inſatiable avaritious temper, as united the whole city againſt him: The people became deſperate, when they found there was no end of his extortions, and that they were daily plunder'd and murder'd for their wealth; their religion derided, and their very gods defaced and demoliſh'd. But the principal occaſion of this inſurrection at Mexico was Alvarado's falling upon the Mexican Nobility at a religious feſtival, when they were moſt of them aſſembled on that occaſion, and engaged with the common people in that ſolemn dance, call'd Mitotes; wherein all diſtinction is laid aſide, and the whole city, Noblemen, and Plebeians, great and ſmall, join annually in celebrating the day. The Biſhop of Chiapa relates, that Alvarado, obſerving they had put on their jewels and richeſt ornaments on this occaſion, aſſembled his Soldiers, and fell upon them, putting above two thouſand of the Mexican nobility to the ſword, and plunder'd whatever was valuable about them. Nor are the facts (either the ſlaughter or the robbery) denied by any of the Spaniſh hiſtorians; only they endeavour to juſtify the action in their uſual way, that is, by pretending there was a plot of the Mexicans to deſtroy the Spaniards on that day. Some pretend, that they were incited by Narvaez to fall upon the Spaniards of Cortez's party; and that Montezuma himſelf encourag'd the inſurrection, in the abſence of that General, to obtain his liberty: While others affirm, that Montezuma had no ſhare in the conſpiracy; but that his ſubjects, encouraged by the declarations of Narvaez againſt Cortez, and the abſence of moſt of the Spaniards, agreed to fall upon their quarters, give their Emperor his liberty, and free themſelves from the tyranny of the Spaniſh garriſon. Others ſay, that the Indian Prieſts were at the bottom of the conſpiracy, ſeeing their religion in danger, and another about to be introduced; and all agree, they were very active in animating their people to defend themſelves againſt the attacks of the Spaniards. It is alſo agreed, that the day before this ſolemn feſtival, ſome of the Mexican Nobility and Prieſts attended Alvarado, apprized him of the aſſembling of the multitude the next day, to celebrate the feſtival, that he might not be alarm'd on that occaſion; and actually obtained his permiſſion before they would reſolve on the ſolemnization of it: But then ſome of them pretend, that arms were diſcover'd concealed in the temples afterwards; and that the Mexicans only took the opportunity of this feſtival to put the plot againſt the Spaniards in execution.

Alvarado maſſacres and plunders the Mexican Nobility.

The Mexicans unite their forces againſt the Spaniards.

However, thoſe that ſpeak moſt favourably of this action, acknowledge that ALVARADO fell upon the Mexicans while they were diſarmed; and that they did not fall upon the Spaniards: That all the jewels and rich ornaments of the murder'd Nobility were carried off by the Spaniards; and that ALVARADO never made any excuſe or apology for the outrage. Whereupon the Mexicans, expecting they ſhould all be maſſacred if CORTEZ returned with a reinforcement of troops, aſſembled from all parts, and attack'd the Spaniſh quarters on every ſide, chuſing rather to die with their arms in their hands, than to be murder'd in cold blood. And, altho' they were beaten off by the artillery and fire-arms of the beſieged; yet, as they had cut off all their proviſions, the Mexicans would probably have ſtarved ALVARADO, if CORTEZ had not returned ſuddenly to his relief: He ſent therefore expreſs after expreſs to CORTEZ, to haſten his march; letting him know, that he ſhould be obliged to ſurrender, if he was not ſpeedily ſupplied and reinforced.

Cortez returns to Mexico.

CORTEZ had juſt finiſh'd the defeat of NARVAEZ, when he received advice of the diſtreſs his people were in at Mexico; and, having incorporated all the troops NARVAEZ brought over with his own, began his march towards Mexico, with a thouſand Spaniſh foot, an hundred horſe, and ſeveral thouſand confederate Indians; leaving at the ſame time garriſons in the towns of Zempoala and Vera Cruz. Nor did the Mexicans offer to interrupt his march: They retired, upon his approach, from the Spaniſh quarters, and left that part of the town deſtitute of inhabitants.

His uſage of Montezuma.

MONTEZUMA, 'tis ſaid, met the General at his return, and congratulated his ſucceſs: But he, having been informed of that Emperor's negotiations with NARVAEZ and his own ſubjects, in his abſence, in order to procure his liberty, turned from MONTEZUMA with all the contempt imaginable; not ſo much as vouchſafing to ſpeak to him. BERNAL DIAZ, who accompanied CORTEZ in this expedition, ſays, that he now looked upon himſelf to be powerful enough to ſubdue the Mexican empire, without courting MONTEZUMA or his ſubjects; and therefore carried every thing with a high hand, or to that effect: Which, other hiſtorians obſerve, was a very great error; for, if the General had, on his returning in triumph with ſuch an addition of forces, entered into a treaty with that Emperor and his Nobility, they would have yielded to almoſt any terms; and he might have gained the dominion of that empire, for the King of Spain his maſter, without any bloodſhed. But he was too much elated with his ſucceſs, to think of pacific meaſures. On the contrary, he reſolved to give them all manner of provocations, and even to render them deſperate, that he might have a colour to deſtroy them, and ſeize all their poſſeſſions, whether lands or treaſure. He had found a garriſon of fourſcore Spaniards able to repel the whole force of Mexico; and he did not doubt, now he ſaw himſelf at the head of eleven hundred Spaniſh horſe and foot, with a multitude of confederate Indians, he ſhould be able, by force, to reduce the Mexicans, and make them ſlaves: But he was near paying very dear for his preſumption; for, ſending out a detachment of four hundred Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, in ſearch of the enemy, who were retired to the fartheſt part of the city, they were ſurrounded, and in danger of having their retreat cut off; and he himſelf, with the reſt of his troops, eſcaped very narrowly being ſtarved, or cut in pieces, as will appear in the enſuing relation: For the Mexicans, rendered brave by their deſpair, were not afraid to attack CORTEZ in his quarters, tho' defended by a numerous garriſon and a train of artillery: And, when at any time he made a ſally, he found intrenchments in the ſtreets, and the bridges broken down, which render'd his cavalry in a manner uſeleſs; and, tho' he uſually came off victorious, he found he had committed a very great error, in ſhutting himſelf up in Mexico, from whence it was almoſt impoſſible to make his retreat, and where he found it impracticable to fetch in proviſions, the enemy being maſters of all the cauſeys that led to the town, and of all the boats upon the lake: So that, if his people were not deſtroyed by the continual attacks of the enemy, they muſt certainly in time be reduced by famine.

Cortez treats the Mexicans as a conquered people.

Revives the hoſtilities with them.

They attack his quarters.

He propoſes to treat with them.

In this diſtreſs CORTEZ thought fit to endeavour a reconciliation with MONTEZUMA, and make uſe of the authority he ſtill retained among his ſubjects to induce them to lay down their arms, and permit the Spaniards to march out of Mexico; which, it was preſumed, they would readily come into, that they might get rid of a people ſo much dreaded, as well as hated, by them. Accordingly, a parly being propoſed and agreed to, MONTEZUMA appeared on the battlements of the palace; and, ſome of the Mexican Nobility advancing to hear what overtures he would make them, the Spaniards tell us, their Emperor made a ſpeech to his ſubjects; wherein he gently reprimanded them for taking up arms without his leave, tho' it was with an intention to obtain the liberty of their Prince; declaring, that he was in reality under no manner of reſtraint, but remained with the Spaniards upon choice: That he thought himſelf obliged to ſhew the Spaniards this favour, on account of the reſpect they had always paid him, and out of duty to the Prince that ſent them: That their embaſſy being diſpatch'd, he was about to diſmiſs theſe foreigners from his Court; and deſired his ſubjects would lay down their arms, and not interrupt their march, and he ſhould readily pardon their having taking up arms, or to that effect.

The Mexicans refuſe to let Cortez retire.

Whether this ſpeech is genuine or not, it is evident, the Mexicans had little regard to it: Whatever their Emperor's words were, they knew they were put into his mouth by the Spaniards, whoſe priſoner he was, and tended only to procure them a ſafe retreat; and they were ſenſible, if they loſt the advantage they had, they muſt never expect ſuch another opportunity of getting rid of theſe unwelcome gueſts. They had them now coop'd up in this fortreſs, where no relief could be brought them, and from whence it was ſcarce poſſible for them to retreat, if the Mexicans broke down the bridges and cauſeys upon the lake, and made ſuch ditches and trenches in the ſtreets as the Spaniards themſelves had taught them: But foreſaw, that if their enemies ever got over the lake again, they might not only receive freſh reinforcements from Spain and their Indian allies, but they muſt engage them to great diſadvantage in the open country, having nothing to oppoſe their horſe and artillery. The Mexicans reſolved therefore not to conſent to a ceſſation of arms; but rejected the overture with diſdain, as being framed only to give their mortal enemies an opportunity of eſcaping out of their hands, and reinforcing themſelves, to the deſtruction of their country: And ſome hiſtorians ſay, they were ſo enraged at the overture, that they ſhot at their Emperor for making it, and mortally wounded him. Others ſay, he was wounded by accident. On the other hand, the Mexicans gave out, that the Spaniards murder'd him afterwards in their retreat, when they found they could not carry him off; which laſt ſeems to me much the moſt probable opinion.

He marches away in the night.

CORTEZ, finding the Mexicans were not to be amuſed with inſidious propoſals, from what hand ſoever they came; that his proviſions were almoſt ſpent, and that it would be impracticable to make his retreat in the day time, reſolved to attempt it in a dark night. Having divided the treaſure therefore amongſt his men, with which they were pretty well loaded, for it amounted to the value of a million of crowns, he iſſued out of his quarters at midnight, the weather being extremely tempeſtuous, whereby his march was for ſome time concealed; but he had not advanced a mile upon the cauſey, before he found himſelf attack'd on every ſide by the Mexicans, both by land and water, the lake being filled with their canoes, or boats; and, as they had broke down the bridges, and cut the cauſey through in ſeveral places, the Spaniards were in great danger of being entirely cut off. CORTEZ indeed had foreſeen this, and provided a portable bridge to paſs the breaches in the cauſey, which was of great uſe to him in ſeveral places: But the Indians found means to deſtroy this bridge before they were all paſſed over, and their rear-guard, conſiſting of two or three hundred Spaniards, and a thouſand Tlaſcalans, was cut in pieces: They loſt alſo their artillery, priſoners, baggage, and treaſure, with ſix and forty horſes. However, CORTEZ, with the beſt part of his forces, broke through the Indians, and eſcaped to the other ſide of the lake. Some impute this loſs to the avarice of his ſoldiers, who were ſo loaded with gold and ſilver, that they could ſcarce make uſe of their arms; and poſſibly there may be ſome truth in it: But, I believe, every one, who conſiders his circumſtances, muſt be of opinion, that he was very fortunate in eſcaping ſo well. Had the enemy provided a body of forces to oppoſe him on the farther ſide of the lake, he muſt inevitably have periſhed; but they did not expect his ſallying out ſo ſuddenly, eſpecially in that tempeſtuous ſeaſon; and therefore were not provided to attack them.

He is attack'd by the Mexicans, and his rear cut off.

Recovers the farther ſide of the lake.

DE SOLIS, the hiſtorian, endeavours to give us a veay particular account of this action; admires the valour and conduct of CORTEZ and his Officers, and informs us how every one diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this memorable retreat: But, as he ſays juſt before, that it was performed in a dark tempeſtuous night, and in the utmoſt hurry and confuſion, no great regard is to be given to the particulars he has given us. He proceeds to inform us, that they arrived, juſt as it was day-light, on the firm land; and thought themſelves very happy that there was no army to oppoſe them there, and that they were purſued no farther, 'till they had time to form and recover themſelves from their conſternation.

Montezuma and his ſons ſaid to be murdered in this retreat.

This good fortune, it ſeems, was owing to the compaſſion the Mexicans expreſs'd for the two ſons of MONTEZUMA, and ſeveral Princes of the royal blood, whom they found ſlaughter'd among the Spaniards, when the day-light appear'd. The Mexicans relate, that MONTEZUMA himſelf was of this number; and that the Spaniards murder'd both him and his ſons, when they found they could not carry them off. The Spaniards, on the other hand, ſay, that MONTEZUMA was killed before, by the arrows of the Mexicans; and that the Princes alſo were accidentally killed in this engagement, while it was dark, and they could not diſtinguiſh friends from foes. But however that was, it is agreed, the Princes were found dead, pierced through with many wounds; and the Mexicans deferr'd the purſuit of the Spaniards, to ſolemnize the exequies of thoſe two Princes, or of MONTEZUMA himſelf. To which piece of piety, CORTEZ, and the Spaniards who were left alive, in a great meaſure, ow'd their ſafety.

The Mexicans ſolemnize their funeral.

The Spaniards, having halted ſome time to refreſh themſelves, and take care of their wounded men, continued their march towards Tlaſcala, the country of their faithful allies and confederates: But they had not advanced many leagues before they were again overtaken and attack'd by the Mexicans, at a time when they were ſo fatigued and haraſs'd, that had not CORTEZ taken poſſeſſion of a temple, ſurrounded by a wall of a large extent, that very fortunately lay in his way, he would have found it difficult to have repulſed the enemy. But the Mexicans, finding they could make no impreſſion on the Spaniards, as they lay intrench'd within thoſe walls, thought fit to ſound a retreat. However, CORTEZ, apprehending he ſhould be diſtreſs'd here for want of proviſions, began his march again at midnight, with great ſilence, in hopes to have got the ſtart of the enemy ſo far, that he ſhould have reached the Tlaſcalan territories before they could have overtaken him: But, to his great ſurprize, being arrived on the top of a very high mountain, he diſcovered the whole forces of the Mexicans, conſiſting (according to their hiſtorians) of two hundred thouſand men, drawn up in battalia, in the valley of Otumba, through which it was neceſſary to paſs, in his way to Tlaſcala.

They continue the purſuit.

Whereupon DE SOLIS relates, CORTEZ made only this ſhort ſpeech to his Officers: " WE MUST EITHER DIE, OR CONQUER: THE CAUSE OF OUR GOD FIGHT FOR US. And, finding an uncommon ardour in his ſoldiers to engage, immediately led them on. The fight, they pretend, was for ſome time bloody and obſtinate; and that CORTEZ, apprehending his men would be wearied out by the continual ſupplies of freſh forces which the Indians poured in upon him, gave a ſurprizing turn to the battle, by attacking the imperial ſtandard carried by the Mexican General, who was ſurrounded by their Nobility: For, having routed them, killed the General, and taken the ſtandard, the reſt of the troops turned their backs, and fled; and were purſued with incredible ſlaughter by the Tlaſcalans, as well as the Spaniards, who made themſelves ample amends, with the ſpoils of the enemy, for the treaſure they loſt on retiring from the city of Mexico.

The battle of Otumba.

The Spaniards victorious.

They tell us, indeed, as uſual, that their Protector, St. James, viſibly fought for them; and that they were obliged to a miracle, at laſt, for their victory. But, as they relate, at the ſame time, that the Mexicans durſt never oppoſe their horſe or fire-arms, a General of an ordinary capacity might, one would think, have obtained a victory, armed with ſuch advantages, over the naked defenceleſs Indians, without the help of miracles. And, however great and deciſive this victory is repreſented to be, it appears, that CORTEZ continued his retreat from Mexico, and did not think himſelf ſafe 'till he arrived at the country of his friends and confederates the Tlaſcalans: Nor had he remained long here, before an embaſſy came to that republick, from the new-elected Emperor QUETLAVACA, to negotiate a peace between the two nations of Mexico and Tlaſcala, and propoſe the uniting their forces againſt their common enemy the Spaniard: And, though a majority of the Senate agreed to remain firm to their alliance with CORTEZ; yet there

They aſcribe it to a miracle.

Rather a fortunate eſcape than a victory.

An embaſſy from the Mexicans to the Tlaſcalans.

there were thoſe amongſt them that repreſented it was no leſs the intereſt of the Tlaſcalans than of the Mexicans, to drive theſe foreigners out of their country; for that they plainly intended the ſubverſion of their religion, as well as government, and to bring them under the power of an unknown arbitrary dominion; whereas they had hitherto maintained their freedom, and were never ſubject to the will of any Prince whatever.

The Tlaſcalans refuſe to quit the party of Cortez.

But, it ſeems, the Mexicans were more dreaded by this republick than the Spaniards; and the generality of that people ſtill looked upon the Spaniards to be ſent from heaven to their aſſiſtance againſt that ancient enemy of their ſtate. The Ambaſſadors from Mexico therefore were diſmiſs'd, with ſome marks of contempt, and preparations made to carry on the war againſt that empire, in confederacy with the Spaniards.

A confederacy between Mexico and Tepeaca.

Tepeaca ſubdued by Cortez.

Veſſels built for the ſiege of Mexico.

The Mexicans were more ſucceſsful in their negotiations with the city and territory of Tepeaca, a country that lay between Tlaſcala and the Spaniſh fort of Vera Cruz. They incited this people to take up arms againſt the Spaniards; and the Tepeacans, having concluded an alliance with Mexico, actually cut off ſome ſmall parties that Cortez ſent from Tlaſcala to Vera Cruz; inſomuch, that the General found it abſolutely neceſſary to reduce Tepeaca, in order to keep open his communication with the ſea: And, accordingly, both the Spaniards and the Tlaſcalans made preparations to invade Tepeaca. The Mexicans, on the other hand, ſent them a reinforcement of troops; and a general battle enſued; wherein Cortez was ſo fortunate as to defeat their united forces. After which, the city and territory of Tepeaca ſubmitted to the Conqueror, who took a ſevere revenge on that unhappy people, murdering great numbers of them in cold blood, and ſelling the reſt for ſlaves. And a Spaniſh fortreſs was erected at Tepeaca, to which they gave the name of Segura de la Frontera, or the Security of the Frontier; which was the ſecond colony the Spaniards fix'd in that part of the continent. Cortez alſo reduced the city of Guacachula, and ſeveral other towns, by the aſſiſtance of his Indian confederates, of whom he had not leſs than one hundred thouſand in his army at this time: For Cortez had learnt, from his misfortunes at Mexico, to regulate his conduct. He found it neceſſary now to cultivate a good correſpondence with the Caciques and Princes of the country, and to take their troops into his ſervice, tho' he had formerly ſlighted their aſſiſtance pretty much. He ſaw his error alſo in neglecting to poſſeſs himſelf of ſuch towns and paſſes as might keep open his communication with the ſea, with his own people at Vera Cruz, and with his allies. Having taken a particular ſurvey therefore of the country, he made himſelf maſter of all ſuch poſts as might be of advantage to him in reducing the city of Mexico, which was ever his principal view: And, as he was ſenſible there was no approaching that city by land, but on the cauſeys, which might be broken down, he order'd thirteen brigantines and ſloops to be built, which would make him maſter of the navigation of the lake, and enable him to attack the town on every ſide by water, as well as land. The timbers and planks of theſe he cauſed to be prepared by the Spaniſh Carpenters, aſſiſted by ſeveral thouſand Indians, at Vera Cruz; and afterwards made the poor natives carry them on their ſhoulders over the mountains to the lake of Mexico, a journey of near 300 miles; and here the brigantines were put together, and launch'd.

Cortez poſſeſſes himſelf of the poſts about that city.

Receives a reinforcement of Spaniards.

While theſe veſſels were building, Cortez aſſembled an army of two hundred thouſand confederate Indians, and made himſelf maſter of Tezcuco, and ſeveral other conſiderable towns upon the lake; where he laid up magazines of ammunition and proviſion, to carry on the intended ſiege of the capital. He was ſo fortunate alſo, before he enter'd upon this grand enterprize, to be join'd by near three hundred Spaniards from Cuba and Jamaica, who choſe to follow his fortunes, tho' they were ſent out by thoſe who were no friends to Cortez, and with a view of depriving him of the advantage of this conqueſt; and with theſe he received a ſupply of arms and ammunition, and ſome recruits of horſes.

Thus prepared and reinforced, Cortez commanded a Captain, five and twenty Spaniards, and twelve Rowers, to go on board each of the thirteen brigantines: He alſo placed one of his field-pieces on board every one of the veſſels; and, while his fleet ſailed to take a view of the city, he poſſeſs'd himſelf of the three principal cauſeys leading thither, in order to carry on as many attacks by land. All the Europeans Cortez had in his army at this time amounted to no more than nine hundred, of which about two hundred were musketeers and croſs-bows, eighty-ſix were horſe, and the reſt pike-men; and his train of artillery conſiſted of eighteen field-pieces, fifteen whereof were braſs.

The ſiege of Mexico commences.

Cortez repuls'd in one of his attacks, and taken.

The firſt engagement with the Mexicans happen'd upon the water; for, when the Spaniards approach'd the city with their brigantines, an innumerable ſwarm of canoes and periagoes (Indian boats) came out of the canals of the city to oppoſe them; whoſe feathers and arms, ſays De Solis the hiſtorian, afforded a proſpect both beautiful and terrible. They ſeem'd to cover the lake: But the brigantines, having the advantage of the wind, run in among the canoes, ſunk and overſet them at pleaſure, having ſcarce any occaſion to make uſe of their arms. Whereupon thoſe canoes that eſcaped the firſt ſhock, fled, with the utmoſt precipitation, back to the city, whither they were followed by the brigantines, and ſeveral great ſhot fired into the town, to terrify the inhabitants. After which, the brigantines retired; and the next day ſome progreſs was made at the three attacks by land; but the enemy had made ſuch breaches and intrenchments on the cauſeys, as render'd the approaches very difficult: And, whenever the Spaniards advanced to attack them, canoes full of armed Indians iſſued from the town, and charged them in the flank; which obliged Cortez to order ſome of the brigantines to ſupport his land forces on the ſeveral cauſeys, and beat off the canoes: He alſo cauſed ſome thouſand canoes to be made, and managed by his confederates, that might follow the Mexicans into the ſhallows and creeks, where his brigantines could not purſue them. But, notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, the Spaniſh hiſtorians relate, that the Mexicans, by their ſtratagems, gained ſeveral advantages of Cortez. At one time, they laid an ambuſcade of canoes among the reeds of the lake, and were very near carrying off ſome of his brigantines: At another, they broke down one of the cauſeys, cut off his retreat, and took him priſoner: But he was reſcued out of their hands as they were carrying him away. However, there were about ſixty Spaniards and a thouſand Tlaſcalans killed or taken in this action, and many more wounded; and he was forced to leave one of his great guns behind him. This misfortune obliged the Spaniards to carry on their attacks with more caution and circumſpection for the future.

Another pretended miracle.

future. It is related, that they were forced to be upon the defenſive after this accident, 'till their wounded men were recover'd, and they had reinforced their army with ſome bodies of confederate Indians. And here again they have recourſe to miracles; and tell us, that their wounded men were healed in a few days, only by applying oil to their wounds, and repeating ſome paſſages out of the Pſalms over them, which operated by way of charm. But their writers are not agreed, whether theſe cures were to be aſcribed to a good or an evil ſpirit: And, I perceive, theſe were only fleſh-wounds that were thus healed: The weapons of the Indians ſeldom broke any bones; and every one knows, that ordinary fleſh-wounds, if they are kept clean, will heal of themſelves frequently, without the aſſiſtance of medicines or miracles.

A general aſſault.

And now, the wounded men being recover'd, and the army of the confederate Indians recruited, ſo that it amounted again to two hundred thouſand men, CORTEZ reſolv'd to give a general aſſault to the city; and accordingly, having order'd his forces to advance at all the three attacks, they filled up the breaches and trenches that had been made in the cauſeys, and drove the enemy back into the town: Each body made a lodgment within the city, and fortified it; but could not advance far that night, the enemy having cut trenches, and barricado'd all the ſtreets.

Mexico taken.

The Emperor taken.

The next day the Spaniards got more ground; and, on the third, repulſed the enemy on every ſide, and advanced to the great ſquare in the middle of the town, where CORTEZ drew up his united forces; the enemy retiring to the farther part of the town, and fortifying themſelves there. Whereupon CORTEZ thought fit to offer them terms; and they agreed to treat, with a view of amuſing him, as their hiſtorians relate, 'till the Emperor and his Nobility made their eſcape, in their canoes, to the farther ſide of the lake: Of which CORTEZ being appriz'd, renew'd the hoſtilities, and GUATIMOZIN, the Emperor, with the principal Mexican Nobility, were taken by the brigantines in the lake, as they were endeavouring to get away. Whereupon all the reſt of their forces flung down their arms, and ſubmitted to mercy; and CORTEZ took poſſeſſion of that capital on the 13th of Auguſt, 1521, being the day of St. HYPOLITO, who was thereupon made the patron of Mexico.

The ſlaughter of the Mexicans at this ſiege.

The Spaniſh hiſtorians relate, that no leſs than one hundred thouſand Mexicans fell by the ſword in the defence of this city, beſides great numbers that periſhed by famine, and other calamities: And that this conqueſt was attended with the ſubmiſſion of moſt of the neighbouring provinces, who conſented to acknowledge themſelves ſubjects of the King of Spain (the then Emperor CHARLES V.)

The ſpoils divided.

Part ſent to the Emperor.

The city of Mexico being thus reduced, CORTEZ diſtributed the plunder among his Soldiers, reſerving only a fifth, with the moſt remarkable curioſities, for the King; which he ſent to Spain by ſome of his principal Officers, together with an account of his conqueſt, and the ſtate of that country; deſiring his Majeſty would confirm the Magiſtrates he had appointed to govern that country, with the grants of the conquer'd lands, and Indian ſlaves he had made, to his Soldiers. Among the rich jewels CORTEZ ſent to the Emperor, 'tis ſaid, there was a fine Emerald of a pyramidal form, as large as the palm of a man's hand at the biggeſt end; a noble ſet of gold and ſilver veſſels; ſeveral things caſt in gold and ſilver, viz. beaſts, birds, fiſhes, fruits and flowers; bracelets, rings, pendants, and other ornamental pieces of plate and jewels; ſome of their idols, Prieſts veſtments of cotton, furs, and feathers of various colours.

The General requeſted his Imperial Majeſty to ſend over perſons qualified to ſurvey the country, that it might be improved to the beſt advantage; with Prieſts and Miſſionaries, for the converſion of the people; as alſo cattle, ſeeds and plants, to improve the lands: But, 'tis ſaid, he provided particularly againſt the ſending over Phyſicians or Lawyers. What could be his reaſon againſt ſending Phyſicians, is not eaſy to be conceived; but he had certainly all the reaſon in the world to deſire that neither Laws nor Lawyers ſhould be admitted there, having determined to treat the natives as ſlaves, and ſeize both their perſons and poſſeſſions, and indeed to uſurp an arbitrary dominion over both Spaniards and Indians in that new world.

The provinces that depended on Mexico having ſubmitted to the Spaniards, as has been related already, CORTEZ ſummon'd the more diſtant Indian Princes to come and acknowledge the King of Spain for their Sovereign; of whom, one of the chief was the King of Mechoacan, a territory which lies to the weſtward of Mexico, upon the coaſt of the South-ſea.

Mechoacan ſubmits.

To this Prince CORTEZ ſent MONTANO, and three other Spaniards, attended by twenty Mexican Chiefs, with a preſent of European utenſils and toys; and, when they came within half a league of Mechoacan, they were met by fourſcore Lords of the country, each of them attended by ten thouſand of their vaſſals (according to the Spaniſh hiſtorians) who let the Spaniards know, that they were come from their King, to welcome them into their country: And, when they arrived in the city, a houſe was appointed for the reception of theſe Ambaſſadors; all manner of proviſions and refreſhments, that the country afforded, were ſent in; and they were entertained in a very ſplendid manner; which agrees but ill with the following part of the ſtory: For they tell us, the King himſelf came to the Spaniſh quarters, ſoon after their arrival, demanded who they were? Whence they came? And what brought them from ſo remote a country? Whether they had nothing to eat at home, that they prey'd upon ſtrangers? And what the Mexicans had done, that they had deſtroy'd their city? Demanding if they deſign'd to do the like by him? If they did, he ſaid, he ſhould not tamely ſubmit to it, but oppoſe force to force.

To which the Spaniards anſwer'd, They came from the Emperor of the Chriſtians, to cultivate a friendſhip with him, to traffick with his people, and to inſtruct them in the worſhip of the true GOD. (Theſe were ever the glorious pretences of the Spaniards, tho' their actions ſufficiently ſhew they had baſer views.)

The King of Mechoacan, HERERA relates, was at this time determined to have ſacrificed the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors; but that the Mexicans, who accompanied them, aſſured that Prince, if he offer'd any violence to their perſons, their General would infallibly take a ſevere revenge on him and his kingdom; giving an account of the wonders he had done in their country with his fire-arms, horſes, artillery, &c. At which the King was ſo aſtoniſh'd, that he order'd the Spaniards to be treated with the utmoſt reſpect; and, admitting them to an audience, he told them, that he had heard of the fame of their General, and deſired to become ſubject to the mighty Monarch from whence he came, who commanded ſuch god-like men: That, in return to this embaſſy, he ſhould ſend ſome of his principal Nobility to attend on the General; and deſired they would take a preſent with them, which he ſent as a teſtimony of his eſteem and affection for that Great man; and, ſoon after, as much gold and ſilver was ſent in as amounted to an hundred thouſand dollars, beſides a great quantity of cloathing, jewels and ornaments, and a preſent for each of the Ambaſſadors; with which they returned to Mexico, attended by the Mechoacan Noblemen who were ſent Ambaſſadors to CORTEZ.

The General, to confirm theſe Indians in the great opinion they had conceived of him, after he had complimented and entertained the Ambaſſadors in a very ſplendid manner, ordered his troops to be drawn up, and to exerciſe and ſkirmiſh before them, making ſeveral diſcharges of his artillery and ſmall arms, to their great amazement.

The Ambaſſadors returning, and making their report to their Prince of what they had been witneſſes of at Mexico, he reſolved to pay CORTEZ a viſit in perſon; and, being arrived in that city, 'tis ſaid, he made a ſpeech to the General; wherein he acquainted him, he was come to make his ſubmiſſion perſonally, and acknowledge his ſubjection to the King of Spain, now his and their Sovereign; and ſhould, from that day, be ready to receive his commands; deſiring they would accept the treaſure he brought with him, as a tribute and earneſt of his future obedience. Whereupon CORTEZ acquainted him, how happy he would be in becoming ſubject to ſo great an Emperor, who deſired nothing more than his converſion, and to have him inſtructed in the religion of the Chriſtians; and, having entertained his royal gueſt for ſeveral days, ſuffer'd him to return into his own country.

Mechoacan treated as a conquer'd province.

But CORTEZ ſoon let the King of Mechoacan know, that he had a farther view than to make him acknowledge the King of Spain for his Sovereign; for he commanded CHRISTOPHER OLID to march into Mechoacan, with an hundred Spaniſh foot, forty horſe, and ſeveral thouſand confederate Indians, who were kindly received by that Prince at firſt; but, when he found they proceeded to take poſſeſſion of his chief towns, and treat his ſubjects as a conquer'd people, he began to ſtand upon his defence; for which he was, in the Spaniſh phraſe, ſeverely chaſtiſed; that is, great numbers of his people were maſſacred and murder'd in cold blood: And CORTEZ, having, through this country, penetrated to the South-ſea, erected forts, and built ſhips there, for farther diſcoveries on that ſide. GONZALO DE SANDOVAL alſo was ſent to ſubdue the countries near Tobaſco and Tecoantepec, on the North-ſea: And PEDRO DE ALVARADO, another Commander, was detach'd, with a body of Spaniards and confederate Indians, to take poſſeſſion of the countries bordering upon the vale of Guaxaca, to the eaſtward of Mexico; who all ſubmitted to the Conqueror.

Other countries treated in the ſame manner.

While CORTEZ was thus employ'd in reducing all the country to his obedience, in the name of the Emperor CHARLES the Vth, CHISTOHER DE TAPIA arrived at Vera Cruz, with a commiſſion from that Prince to command all the new conqueſts: But the garriſon CORTEZ had left at Vera Cruz ſo threaten'd and terrified DE TAPIA, that he was glad to make his eſcape, and leave the General in poſſeſſion of Mexico. Having got rid of this rival, CORTEZ march'd in perſon to the province of Panuco, which he obliged to ſubmit to him. Whereupon he divided the country, and all the Indian inhabitants, among his Officers and Soldiers, who treated them as ſlaves. And this was his practice in every province, whether the people voluntarily ſubmitted to him, or were compelled to it by force.

Panuco ſubdued.

But, notwithſtanding this barbarous uſage of the natives, and his refuſing to reſign his government to thoſe who were ſent to ſucceed him in his command; ſo powerful were the rich preſents he from time to time ſent to the Emperor, and ſuch were the repreſentations made to that Prince in his favour, that CORTEZ was declared Captain-General and Governor of New Spain by the Emperor. The Governors of Hiſpaniola and Cuba were commanded to reinforce that General, and give him all poſſible aſſiſtance. Whereupon, finding himſelf now eſtabliſhed in his command, he ſet about rebuilding the city of Mexico, which he had burnt and demoliſh'd: He aſſign'd places for building churches, and other publick benefices; laid out market-places, divided the beſt part of the ground among the Spaniards, and the reſt among the natives, giving them encouragement to build and people the place again: He aſſign'd one quarter part particularly to MONTEZUMA, a ſon of the late Emperor's, and another to one of the moſt popular Indian Generals; and they ſoon erected a much finer town than that which had been deſtroy'd, having now the advantage of iron tools, carriages and engines, which they wanted before. But nothing could be more magnificent than the palace CORTEZ erected for himſelf, upon the ground where MONTEZUMA's palace formerly ſtood; about which, 'tis ſaid, he uſed ſeven thouſand beams of Cedars, ſome of them 120 foot in length: He alſo provided himſelf with a numerous train of artillery, conſiſting of thirty-five pieces of braſs cannon, and ſeventy of iron; which gave the Indians a vaſt opinion of his power. But that which was his real ſtrength, and did him moſt ſervice, both in Mexico and Europe, was the prodigious wealth he acquired, by the plunder of all the provinces he became maſter of, and the rich mines of Gold and Silver he every day diſcovered, or violently took from the owners.

Cortez confirm'd in his government.

He rebuilds Mexico.

His own palace.

The provinces of Guatimala, Chiapa, Soconuſco, and ſeveral others bordering upon the South-ſea, had already ſubmitted to CORTEZ, and ſent him preſents by way of tribute. However, under pretence that they were not ſincere, and aſſiſted the enemies of the Spaniards, ALVARADO was ſent to chaſtiſe them; that is, to ſeize on the country and inhabitants, maſſacre ſome, and enſlave the reſt; which he executed with great cruelty, as will appear hereafter; and was for this ſervice, made Governor, or rather Proprietor, of all Guatimala, and the natives in it, who were treated by this monſter of a man worſe than brutes, ſold for ſlaves to work in the mines, and compell'd to carry burdens beyond their ſtrength, 'till they were worn out in ſuch ſervices.

The tyranny and cruelty of the conquerors, particularly of Alvarado.

CORTEZ was generally fortunate in the choice he made of the Commanders he ſent to reduce the ſeveral provinces; but he appears to have been miſtaken in CHRISTOPHER OLID; for this officer, elated with ſucceſs, threw off his dependance on CORTEZ, and was about to ſet up for himſelf: However, he was ſoon after aſſaſſinated by ſome of the General's creatures, and his ſoldiers thereupon laid down their arms.

In the mean time, Commiſſioners came over from Spain, to enquire into the conduct of CORTEZ and his fellow-conquerors, as they call'd themſelves; repeated complaints having been ſent to

Commiſſioners appointed to enquire into his oppreſſions.

Honduras and Jucatan conquer'd by Cortez.

Europe of their cruelties and oppreſſions, which were found to be ſo many, and ſo manifeſt, that Cortez was removed from his government for a time, his palace and effects ſeiz'd, and he was threaten'd with capital puniſhment: To avoid which, he aſſembled his army, and march'd againſt the large provinces of Honduras and Jucatan; of which he made an entire conqueſt, and, in the end, ſo cunningly managed his affairs, by his agents in the Court of Spain, that they agreeing to pay the Emperor (who wanted money extremely at that time) two hundred thouſand pieces of eight, he was reſtored to the government of Mexico, with the titles of Don and Adelentado, or Lord-Lieutenant; had ſeveral new privileges conferred upon him, and was allowed to bear the ſame arms as the Emperor of Mexico had borne. Such is the almighty power of gold; and thus are the greateſt Princes frequently compelled to countenance the greateſt villanies, when they become neceſſitous. And now Cortez acted more deſpotically than ever; but, to ſhew himſelf impartially cruel, he hanged the Emperor Quatemoc, who was elected after the death of Montezuma, with two other tributary Kings, under pretence they were forming a conſpiracy againſt him, tho' he had kept them always priſoners, in his own quarters, from the time that Mexico was taken.

He purchaſes a pardon of the Court of Spain.

He hangs the Mexican Emperor.

In the year 1527, the complaints againſt Cortez being revived, the Emperor ſent over Lewis Ponce de Leon, as ſupreme Judge of New Spain, to examine the conduct of Cortez: But this Judge died ſoon after his arrival, ſuſpected to be poiſon'd by Cortez, or his creatures. However, before his death, he appointed Mure de Aguilar to ſucceed him; but he alſo died ſoon after, appointing Alonzo de Estrada his ſucceſſor: But Cortez refuſed to ſubmit to his judgment; alledging, that his predeceſſor had no power to appoint a ſucceſſor. Orders afterwards arriving from Spain, to confirm De Aguilar in the poſt of ſupreme Judge, he commanded Cortez to remove from the city of Mexico, and took the adminiſtration out of his hands; and, ſending over a juſt repreſentation of the outrages committed by that General and his Officers, three other Commiſſioners were ſent to Mexico, to bring Cortez to a trial, and it was generally expected he would have loſt his head. But he found means, in ſome meaſure, to pacify the Court of Spain, and obtained leave to go over thither, and make his defence before the Emperor: He carried with him ſuch a prodigious treaſure, that all his faults ſeem'd to be entirely forgot; his Majeſty countenanced him, ſeem'd delighted with his converſation, and to give credit to every thing he ſaid; rewarding and honouring this barbarous tyrant, inſtead of puniſhing him; particularly, his Imperial Majeſty made him a grant of the whole valley of Ariſto in Mexico, with all the towns and villages belonging to it; in which he had twenty-four thouſand vaſſals: He created him Marquis of the valley of Guaxaca, and conſtituted him Generaliſſimo of all the forces in New Spain; tho' it was thought fit to exclude him abſolutely from the civil government: And ſeveral ſtrict orders were made for the better uſage of the natives for the future; particularly, that they ſhould not be obliged to carry burdens like packhorſes on the road; and that every Spaniard, who ſhould ſo load an Indian, ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit an hundred pieces of eight; for the ſecond offence, three hundred; and for the third, ſhould forfeit all his goods: That the Indians ſhould not be compelled to work in the mines, or in their fortifications or buildings, unleſs for wages, and that voluntarily: That no Indians ſhould be carried out of their reſpective countries, tho' really ſlaves: That the Magiſtrates ſhould have power to determine who were ſlaves, and who were not: And that the Spaniards ſhould detain no Indian women in their houſes, on any pretence whatever. And, that theſe orders might be the better obſerved, the Biſhop of Mexico, and the Superiors of the Dominicans and Franciſcans, &c. were made Protectors of the Indians; among whom was the celebrated Father Bartholomew de Casas, afterwards Biſhop of Chiapa, who laid the grievances of the Indians before the Court of Spain, and procured a redreſs of them in ſome meaſure; tho', he complains, the Emperor's orders were very ill obſerved at that diſtance. But, from theſe intended regulations, we may gather what the grievances of the Indians were; namely, their being obliged to carry burdens beyond their ſtrength; to work in the mines, fortifications, and buildings, with ſuch rigour, that they periſh'd in the ſervice; that their women, wives and daughters were taken from them, and abuſed by the luſtful Spaniard; that they made ſlaves of the natives without diſtinction, and tranſported them to the mines in diſtant countries, where they periſh'd: And it was many years before theſe abuſes were fully redreſs'd, even in thoſe countries that peaceably ſubmitted to their dominion. As to the natives who fled to the woods and mountains, they were always very cruelly uſed, when they fell into the hands of the Spaniards, as their poſterity are at this day. And it is not very ſtrange, if the Indians have ſometimes retaliated the injuries they received from a people that ſo violently and unjuſtly expelled them from their country, and treated them as ſlaves. But to return to the hiſtory.

He goes over to Spain, and buys his peace again.

Orders in favour of the natives.

Their grievances.

Before Cortez left Old Spain, he procured all the grants of the lands and territories of the Indians, which he had given to his ſoldiers, to be confirm'd; and, that he might not want employment now the civil government of Mexico was taken from him, he was conſtituted Governor of all the continent and iſlands he ſhould diſcover in the South-ſea; and a twelfth part of ſuch diſcoveries was granted to him and his heirs. The General, having taken his leave of the Emperor, embarked ſoon after for New Spain, and arrived at Vera Cruz in July 1530; and, not being ſuffer'd to go to the city of Mexico, took up his reſidence at Tezcuco, ſome few leagues diſtant from it, where he had a very great Court, conſiſting of his Indian confederates and of his officers and ſoldiers, amongſt whom he had diſtributed the lands of the ſubdued provinces. The General, before his going to Old Spain, had ſent three ſhips through the South-ſea to the Moluccoes, or Spice Iſlands in the Eaſt-Indies; where, his people encountering the Portugueſe, who had already got poſſeſſion of thoſe iſlands, his ſhips and moſt of the men were deſtroy'd, ſome few only returning to Old Spain, with an account of their misfortune. Before Cortez received advice of this accident, he fitted out two other ſhips on the South-ſea, to make diſcoveries towards California and the north-weſt; but theſe met with no better ſucceſs than the fleet he had ſent to the Eaſt-Indies, moſt of the men periſhing in the attempt. He again fitted out two ſhips more, in the year 1531, to make diſcoveries to the north-weſt; but theſe alſo were as unfortunate as the former. Whereupon Cortez embarked on the South-ſea himſelf, but did not meet with better ſucceſs than thoſe he had ſent upon diſcoveries

Cortez attempts new diſcoveries.

He is unſucceſsful.

He goes to Spain, and is not ſuffered to return to Mexico.

His death.

coveries before him: He was obliged to return, after he had ſuſtained innumerable hazards and fatigues, without meeting with any thing anſwerable to the pains and expence he had been at. In the year 1539, however, Cortez fitted out three ſhips more in the South-ſea, which ſailed to the northward 'till they arrived in 50 degrees and upwards, and his people landed in California and the oppoſite continent, but made no ſettlements: And the General, having been at a vaſt expence in theſe ſeveral naval expeditions, went over to Old Spain again, in the year 1539, in hopes of prevailing on that Court to reimburſe him his charges: But the Miniſtry, expecting to have received an increaſe, rather than a diminution of their treaſure, from theſe expeditions, Cortez did not meet with ſo favourable a reception as formerly: The Court began to give credit to the repeated complaints that had been made againſt him; and though it was not thought fit to proceed rigorouſly againſt the General, ſince he had been inſtrumental in adding ſo large and wealthy a country to the Crown of Spain, yet he was never ſuffered to return to Mexico again; and he remained a kind of priſoner at large in the Emperor's Court, where he died on the 2d day of December 1545, in the 62d year of his age; and his body was afterwards tranſported to Mexico, and interr'd in the cathedral of that city.

How the Spaniards behaved themſelves towards the natives on the conqueſt (as it was called) of this new world, will beſt appear from the Biſhop of Chiapa, above-cited, who reſided there at the time of the conqueſt, and, during the life of Cortez, applied himſelf to the Court of Spain, to put a ſtop to the barbarous uſage of that people, after he had been an eye-witneſs of their unparallel'd ſufferings.

The Biſhop of Chiapa's narrative of the Spaniſh cruelties, dedicated to Prince Philip.

This Prelate drew up a narrative of theſe tranſactions in the year 1532, which he republiſhed in the year 1542, when Cortez was at the Court of Spain; which he dedicated to Prince Philip, ſon of the Emperor Charles the Vth, and afterwards his ſucceſſor in that kingdom: In which dedication he puts that Prince in mind, that God, for the benefit of mankind, had appointed Kings and Princes to be the Fathers and Protectors of their people; and it was to be preſumed, he obſerved, if any violences or injuries were committed in their dominions, and not redreſſed, that the Prince had no notice of them; it being his intereſt to promote the good and welfare of his ſubjects.

That, conſidering the intolerable miſchiefs the Crown of Spain ſuſtained in the new world, by the tyranny, oppreſſion, and unheard-of cruelties of the Generals and Adventurers, to whom thoſe countries had been granted in propriety reſpectively, by the name of conqueſts; he ſhould think himſelf, he ſaid, in ſome meaſure, guilty of them, if he concealed the loſs of that infinite number of ſouls and bodies he had ſeen deſtroy'd there: That God and the holy church had committed the government of that people to the King of Caſtile, to the end they might be converted, and their temporal as well as ſpiritual happineſs promoted. That his Majeſty therefore might be truly apprized of the ſtate of thoſe countries ſince the conqueſt, and redreſs their grievances, he had ſelected ſome few inſtances of the conduct and behaviour of the Great men who had begg'd thoſe conqueſts of the Crown; which he had cauſed to be printed ſome years before, and humbly intreated that Prince to uſe his intereſt that none of thoſe countries or iſlands might be granted for the future to any private perſons as their conqueſts; for that thoſe poor innocent people were daily murder'd and deſtroy'd, through the avarice and ambition of the aboveſaid adventurers.

He ſhews how populous America was before the Spaniards arrived there, and the genius of that people.

Proceeding in his narrative, the Biſhop obſerves, that Hiſpaniola and the neighbouring iſlands were full of people, as well as the continent, when the Spaniards firſt diſcovered America: That, as to the genius and temper of the natives, they had very quick parts, were capable of learning any thing; and yet were very meek, inoffenſive, and hoſpitable; void of malice, covetouſneſs, or ambition; very obedient to their ſuperiors; patient and temperate; and as their food was plain and ſimple, ſo they eat and drank ſparingly; but that they were of a tender conſtitution, not able to endure labour or hardſhips; and if they were tranſported to diſtant countries, did not long ſurvive it.

How cruelly uſed.

The iſlands depopulated.

Upon theſe harmleſs ſheep (in my author's phraſe) the Spaniards fell, like ſo many ravenous Wolves or Tygers, as ſoon as they arrived amongſt them; and did not ceaſe for forty years (viz. from the year 1492, when America was firſt diſcovered, to the time our author wrote, anno 1532) to torture, murder and deſtroy them, by a variety of ſtrange and unaccountable cruelties, ſuch as were never heard of before; inſomuch, that of three millions of ſouls they found in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, there were not, at the time the Biſhop wrote, two hundred native Indians upon that iſland; and the neighbouring iſland of Cuba, equally populous, and almoſt of equal extent, was in a manner depopulated: That thoſe of Porto Rico and Jamaica, fruitful flouriſhing iſlands, and abounding with people when the Spaniards came thither, were become perfect deſarts: The Bahama iſlands, which contained five hundred thouſand ſouls, had not, when the Biſhop wrote, one human creature left upon them; and the Antilles, or Caribbee iſlands, had moſt of them been deſtroyed in like manner.

On the continent.

Fifteen millions deſtroy'd.

Then he proceeds to give an account of the continent; where, he ſays, it was certain, that the Spaniards, by their cruelties, had depopulated ten realms larger than Spain, and extending as far as from Seville to Jeruſalem, which was 1000 leagues and upwards, though they were before as well peopled as any countries whatever: That he was able to give a certain and particular account of twelve millions of ſouls, men, women and children, that, within the ſaid ſpace of forty years, had been unjuſtly and tyrannically put to death by the Spaniards; and, he verily believed, more than fifteen millions of ſouls had periſhed by their hands within that time; the cauſe whereof, he ſays, was the inſatiate avarice and ambition of the Spaniards.

Variety of tortures.

That he himſelf ſaw four or five of the Indian Princes, or great Lords, broil'd at one time on gridirons, over a ſlow fire, and others roaſted; many more he ſaw torn in pieces with dogs: That they maſſacred whole towns, ſparing neither women nor children; ripped up women with child, beat out the brains of ſome infants, and drowned others; and that they would, in ſport, lay wagers which ſhould kill the poor Indians ſooneſt, by cutting off their heads, or piercing their breaſts: That the Soldiers being about to burn one of the Indian Princes, whoſe name was Hathway, a Prieſt was ſent to him, to perſuade him to turn Chriſtian before he died; and the Prieſt telling him he would go to heaven, a place of happineſs, if he embraced Chriſtianity; otherwiſe he muſt expect eternal torments in hell; Hathway demanded, if the Spaniards went to heaven? And being anſwer'd, yes; the Indian Prince reply'd, "Then let me go to hell, "where there will be no Spaniards."

The Biſhop relates, that marching with ſome Spaniſh troops towards a great town, conſiſting of three thouſand Indians, the people came out to meet them, bringing along with them all manner of proviſions and refreſhments for the Spaniards, who, notwithſtanding, fell upon them, and put all theſe defenceleſs people to the ſword, men, women and children; and that without any manner of cauſe or provocation, that he could diſcover.

That at another time he ſaw ſix thouſand infants deſtroyed within the ſpace of three or four months, for want of people to look after them, their fathers and mothers being ſent away to work in the mines, or to ſome other laborious employments, at a great diſtance from them: That it being the uſual way for the Officers and Soldiers to divide the natives amongſt them, he knew an Officer, that, having three hundred Indians aſſign'd him for his ſhare, killed two hundred and ſixty of them, within three months, by hard ſervice in the mines; and that they afterwards aſſign'd him as many more, of whom he made the like havock.

That, in the year 1514, a Spaniſh Adventurer deſtroyed all the country from the river Darien to the province of Nicaragua, extending upwards of 500 miles; and that one of his Officers, in one excurſion, murdered more than twenty thouſand people, ſome of whom he burnt, others he cauſed to be torn in pieces by dogs, or tortured 'till they expired in exquiſite pain.

If the Spaniards had intelligence that any town was rich in gold, or other treaſure, it was an ordinary thing to ſend a party of men to ſummon them to turn Chriſtians, and acknowledge themſelves ſubjects of Spain; which if they refuſed, they thought they had ſufficient authority to plunder the place, and maſſacre the inhabitants: But many of their parties went farther; they would make proclamation, a mile or two before they came at the town they had deſtined to deſtruction, that the inhabitants ſhould immediately come and do homage to the King of Spain; which the poor people knowing nothing of, were attack'd without any notice, and put to the ſword. If theſe Spaniſh adventurers could prove that proclamation was made, this was held ſufficient, whether the people heard any thing of it or not; and if they ſpared the lives of any, it was only in order to torture them, and compel them thereby to diſcover ſuch treaſure as might be concealed, or to make ſlaves of them: And that, in ſuch expeditions, the Governor of the province of Terra-firma only deſtroy'd eight hundred thouſand ſouls between the years 1514 and 1522. That one of the Indian Princes, having given this ſame Governor the value of nine thouſand ducats in gold, was tortured by him 'till he diſcovered the value of three thouſand caſtillans (pieces of eight) more; and not being able or willing to make any farther diſcoveries, the Governor cauſed his feet to be burnt off by inches, 'till the marrow dropt out of his bones, and he expired in torments: And it was a common thing with the Spaniſh Officers to torture the Indian Princes and great Lords, to make them diſcover their riches, and put them to death when they did not anſwer their expectations.

In the province of Nicaragua, the Biſhop relates, the Spaniards made ſlaves of the people they did not otherwiſe deſtroy, and tranſported great numbers of them to the mines of Peru, where they all died in a very little time: For, he obſerves, that when the Indians are removed from their native place, they ſeldom live long; and that many of them periſhed for want of proper food, or by being compelled to labour beyond their ſtrength: And that there had not been leſs than five hundred thouſand ſouls deſtroy'd by theſe means, in that province only, within the ſpace of ten years, viz. between the years 1523 and 1533; inſomuch, that there were not, at the time of drawing up this narrative, five thouſand of the natives left alive in the province.

Then the Biſhop proceeds to give ſome account of the conduct of the Spaniards in Mexico, or New Spain, where HERNANDO CORTEZ commanded their forces in perſon, and had the direction of all affairs: And here he affirms, that within the ſpace of twelve years, viz. between the year 1518 and the year 1530, four millions of ſouls were put to the ſword, beſides infinite numbers that were made ſlaves of, and periſh'd by famine and oppreſſion; there being no part of Europe ſo populous as Mexico, when the Spaniards arrived there, according to this author, who was Biſhop of Chiapa in Mexico during the adminiſtration of CORTEZ.

Deſcending to particulars, the Biſhop mentions, in the firſt place, the maſſacre of Cholula, a city conſiſting of thirty thouſand houſes; where CORTEZ, having ſummoned the principal inhabitants, and the Lords of the neighbouring country to attend him with their vaſſals, he commanded the inferior people to be cut in pieces by the Spaniards and his confederates the Tlaſcalans, and thoſe of better quality he burnt alive: Adding, that this was their practice in every province they invaded, to execute ſome ſuch notable butchery, that the people might tremble at their approach, and ſubmit to their tyranny.

Alvarado's cruelty in Guatimala.

That this Captain-tyrant (as the Biſhop calls CORTEZ) ſent out two other tyrants more cruel than himſelf; the one to the country of Guatimala, (viz. PEDRO DE ALVARADO) and the other to that of Honduras: And that the firſt, in a letter to CORTEZ, inform'd him, that he had killed, plundered, burnt, and deſtroyed all the realm of Guatimala for the ſpace of 400 miles; and the other Captain, that was ſent to reduce the province of Honduras (a country which the Biſhop repreſents as a paradiſe of pleaſure, and then exceeding populous) deſtroy'd more than two millions of ſouls.

That the firſt Captain, on his entering the frontiers of Guatimala, being met by ſome Caciques, or Lords of the country, with their vaſſals, who brought him proviſions, and came to make their ſubmiſſion; he cauſed thoſe Caciques to be burnt alive, becauſe they told him they could not produce the quantity of gold he demanded; and the reſt of the Caciques fled to the mountainous and inacceſſible part of the country, ordering their ſubjects to ſubmit to the Spaniards, which they accordingly did, without making any oppoſition. But this would not ſatisfy theſe unmerciful adventurers, or conquerors, as they called themſelves; they burnt the houſes of theſe poor people, putting to death man, woman and child, becauſe they could not, or would not diſcover what was become of their Lords: Whereupon the reſt of the Indians ſtood upon their defence; and, among other ſtratagems, they dug pits in the highways, in which they ſet ſharp ſtakes, covering them with turf, in order to prevent their being attack'd by the Spaniſh horſe; and ſome of the Spaniards fell into them; which ſo enraged this Captain, that he ordered ſome of the natives, of all ſexes and ages, to be thrown into theſe pits, and buried alive; the reſt were either deſtroy'd with fire and ſword, or made ſlaves of, many of whom were tranſported to the mines, and periſh'd there; while others were worn out in carrying burdens,

dens, and ſuch like drudgeries. The women met with the beſt quarter, the Spaniards reſerving them either for their luſts or domeſtick employments, as well as for the cultivation of their lands; this being chiefly the buſineſs of the Indian females: Nor is it to be ſuppoſed they deſtroy'd all the male ſlaves, when they were ſo uſeful, and even neceſſary to them, in building houſes, ſhips, carrying burdens, &c. And, no doubt, many of the inferior people eſcaped after their former maſters to the woods and mountains, whoſe poſterity are found there to this day, having hitherto preſerved their freedom, tho' they have loſt the beſt and richeſt part of their country. But how many ſoever eſcaped, the Biſhop aſſures us, that this Captain put to death between four and five millions of people in the country of Guatimala, within the ſpace of fifteen or ſixteen years: And ſo very little account did the Spaniards make of theſe unhappy people, the ſame author relates, that he had known eight hundred Indian ſlaves given for one Mare; and that another of theſe adventurers, having employ'd eight thouſand Indians in his buildings and gardens, obliged them to ſerve him without pay, and gave them ſo little food, that they fell down under their burdens and died; at which their hard-hearted maſter ſhew'd no manner of concern. He knew the ſame Captain, who was afterwards made Preſident of Mexico, employ between fifteen and twenty thouſand Indians in carrying the Spaniards baggage in an expedition; and ſays, all of them periſh'd in that ſervice except two hundred.

Eight hundred Indians given for a Mare.

The ſame barbarous wretch, in the province of Mechoacan, about 40 leagues from Mexico, being met by the Cacique or Lord of the province, who brought him preſents, and offer'd to become ſubject to the Spaniards, put the unhappy Prince to the torture, burning his feet off by inches, to make him diſcover his treaſure; inſomuch, that he expired in moſt exquiſite torments: And abundance of other Lords were uſed in like manner, to make them produce the gold and ſilver they imagined them poſſeſs'd of.

He relates, that one of theſe adventurers, who was made Governor of Jucatan in the year 1526, finding there was no gold or ſilver in that province, after he had ravaged the country, and killed great numbers of the natives, ſold the reſt for ſlaves; but ſet ſo ſmall a value on them, that he ſold the ſon of one of their Princes for an ordinary Cheeſe, and an hundred men for an Horſe: That the ſon of a certain Lord, refuſing to leave his country, and go with a Spaniard into ſlavery, he cut off his ears, noſe, and lips: And ſo wantonly cruel was another Spaniard, that he chopp'd a living infant to pieces, and gave it to his dogs. But I am weary with relating theſe barbarities, as I believe the reader muſt be with the relation of them; and therefore forbear to mention any more of them here; but ſhall have occaſion to reſume the ſubject again, when I come to the conqueſt of South-America.

A Prince ſold for a Cheeſe.

Theſe facts well atteſted.

Theſe facts, I muſt confeſs, are ſo ſhocking, that it cannot be ſuppoſed they ſhould eaſily gain credit: But if we conſider, that they are given us by Father BARTHOLOMEW DE CASAS, Biſhop of Chiapa, during the adminiſtration of CORTEZ; that he came over to Spain to obtain a redreſs of theſe grievances of the Emperor CHARLES the Vth; that he met with a very great oppoſition from CORTEZ and his friends, and yet that he procured that General to be diſplaced, and obtained an order that the Indians ſhould be no more treated as a conquer'd people, or made ſlaves of; that CORTEZ was actually proſecuted for theſe outrages, and not ſuffer'd to return to Mexico to his dying day, notwithſtanding the pretended ſervices he had done, in adding the Mexican empire to the dominions of CHARLES the Vth; we muſt believe, that the charge was in a great meaſure true; eſpecially when we find ſome great Spaniſh Eccleſiaſticks pleading and endeavouring to maintain, before that Emperor, "That it was lawful to maſſacre and enſlave any "people who refuſed, upon their ſummons, to "turn Chriſtians, and ſubmit to the Pope in Spi"rituals, and to the Emperor in Temporals."

Give me leave to add a paragraph or two out of the Biſhop of Chiapa's apology for the poor Indians.

Part of the Biſhop's apology for the poor Indians. They did not ſacrifice ſuch numbers as was pretended.

It is not true (ſays that great Prelate) that the Indians did annually ſacrifice twenty thouſand perſons, or one hundred, or even fifty; but the Tyrants (the Adventurers) have invented ſuch ſtories to juſtify their own barbarity, and that they might have a pretence ſtill to detain thoſe miſerable people in ſlavery. But it may very truly be ſaid, "That the Spa"niards, ſince their arrival in the Indies, have an"nually ſacrificed to their adored goddeſs (avarice) "more people than the Indians ſacrificed in an hun"dred years." This the heavens and earth witneſs and bewail: Neither can the tyrants, the authors of theſe calamities, deny it. For it is evident, that theſe countries, when the Spaniards firſt went thither, ſwarm'd with people; but are now laid waſte and depopulated. We might bluſh for ſhame, that, having loſt all fear of God, we ſeem to think we ſcarce want a colour or excuſe for theſe execrable actions. We have, in little more than forty years, depopulated and deſtroyed more countries than Europe contains: We have not only plunder'd and uſurp'd the dominion of them, but have murder'd twenty millions of ſouls.

Twenty millions deſtroy'd in forty years.

The Spaniards, in attempting the conqueſt of the Indies, had very little regard to the honour of God or religion: Their zeal for the ſalvation of mankind was but a pretence: Nor had they any views to their Prince's ſervice, of which they ſo vainly boaſted; but covetouſneſs drew them thither, and an ambition to uſurp the dominion of thoſe countries; for they perpetually ſollicited the Court of Spain to have it divided among them: And, to ſpeak plainly, ſays the Biſhop, their views are to expel the Kings of Caſtile out of that world, and ſeize upon it themſelves. However, we ſee ſucceſs frequently ſanctifies the worſt actions, and gains the applauſes of inconſiderate men.

Some remarks on the reduction of Mexico.

Don VELASQUEZ, Governor of Cuba, firſt laid the deſign of adding Mexico to the Spaniſh dominion: It was he that firſt levied ſoldiers, provided a fleet of ſhips, with arms, ammunition, and proviſions, ſuitable to ſuch an undertaking; and gave the command of the whole to HERNANDO CORTEZ: But, being apprized of the ambition and ingratitude of that gentleman, before he left the iſland, he revoked his commiſſion, and recalled him, with a deſign of ſending another Commander in his room. But CORTEZ refuſed to obey his orders; and, corrupting the ſoldiers and mariners, perſuaded them to turn rebels and pirates; to renounce the authority of VELASQUEZ their Governor, who fitted them out, and to ſet up for themſelves; and, at laſt, to chuſe him the Captain of this mutinous crew, who, by all laws, civil and military, deſerved death, and would probably have been hang'd, with their leader, if they had not met with unexpected ſucceſs. And as the enterprize was rebelliouſly undertaken, ſo was it proſecuted with ſuch cruelty and ill conduct as muſt affect every one with horror and deteſtation of the wicked inſtruments that were concerned in it: They found a naked defenceleſs people, terrified to the laſt degree with their fire-arms, artillery, horſes, and dogs: They found the ſeveral kingdoms and ſtates alſo at variance, and ſo equally divided, that either of them were ready to join the invaders of their country, and aſſiſt them in the conqueſt of it: And we find all of them ready to ſubmit to the dominion of the King of Spain, to become ſubject and tributary to him, before there was (ſcarce) any blood ſpilt. But this would not have done the buſineſs of our piratical adventurers: Here would have been little or no ſpoils or plunder to have enriched them with; no ſlaves to have been made, or territories conferred on private men; the Mexicans would have been their fellow-ſubjects, and entitled to the like protection and good uſage as the Spaniards themſelves were: And therefore they held it neceſſary to make enemies of them, to give them all manner of provocations, and, under pretence of plots and conſpiracies of the natives to maſſacre them, take their country from them, and ſeize on their lands and treaſures, together with the gold and ſilver mines, that were look'd upon then, and have ſince been found, to be inexhauſtible. Theſe were temptations which that rapacious crew could not reſiſt; and, it is more than probable, if NARVAEZ had not been ſent to reduce CORTEZ, that he had ſet up for himſelf, and aſſumed the ſovereign authority of MEXICO, as the Biſhop of Chiapa ſuggeſts; and the ſole reaſon that he did not, probably, was an apprehenſion that, if he did not acknowledge the authority of the King of Spain, many of his own men would have deſerted him, as he had deſerted his General and Benefactor, and the advantage of that conqueſt would have been taken from him. And, tho' he and his officers did ſubmit to hold thoſe countries of the Crown of Spain, yet, we find, they procured themſelves to be made proprietors of them, in ſuch a manner as to have the abſolute dominion both of the country and the people; and that they treated them as their ſlaves and vaſſals; nay, worſe than enemies, worſe than ever brute animals were uſed; maſſacring and torturing them in ſuch a manner as could never have been credited, if their actions had not been publickly try'd and condemn'd, and the facts confeſs'd and acknowledg'd by many of thoſe that were engaged in the enterprize; and it had not been evident, to all the world, that countries had been deſtroyed and depopulated for thouſands of miles together, which were before crowded with people, and (in the Biſhop of Chiapa's phraſe, who was upon the ſpot) reſembled a terreſtrial paradiſe. And what ſtill aggravates the cruelty is, that the natives were, according to the beſt accounts, a harmleſs inoffenſive people, treated all mankind civilly and hoſpitably, even the Spaniards themſelves, and are generally admired for their ingenuity and the quickneſs of their parts; the Popiſh Miſſionaries themſelves acknowledging, that they never met with a more tractable people, more ready to be inſtructed, and to embrace the Chriſtian religion; inſomuch, that the Biſhop of Chiapa obſerves, there was no manner of occaſion to uſe force to bring them over to Chriſtianity: And therefore CORTEZ and his Officers could never juſtify their barbarous uſage of the Indians, on pretence of obſtinacy: Their mighty zeal for religion, and the ſervice of their Prince and Country, was all a ſham: Their cruelties could be aſcribed to nothing elſe but to their ambition or avarice: The Gold and Silver of the country, the Indians themſelves obſerved, were the only gods theſe adventurers adored; for the acquiring of which they ſeem to have diveſted themſelves of all humanity.

It may be objected indeed to the credit of thoſe relations given us by the Biſhop of Chiapa, of the cruelties of CORTEZ, ALVARADO, and the reſt of the Commanders concerned in the conqueſt of Mexico, That thoſe barbarities are ſcarce mention'd either by ANTONIO DE SOLIS, or ANTONIO DE HERERA, two of the beſt of the Spaniſh hiſtorians.

To which I anſwer, That it was evidently the deſign of DE SOLIS to write a panegyrick upon CORTEZ; and therefore it cannot be expected he ſhould give us the dark ſide of that General's character: Beſides, the greateſt part of that pretended hiſtory appears, on the face of it, to be a mere romance; only valuable for the language, and for ſome reflections he makes on the facts he is pleaſed to feign, which are judicious enough, admitting there was any truth in what he relates. And as to ANTONIO DE HERERA, who was Hiſtoriographer to the King of Spain, he was employ'd by the Miniſtry to give ſuch an account of that conqueſt as might reflect honour on the kingdom of Spain, and on the adminiſtration under which it was aſfected: And had he related the barbarities of CORTEZ and his Officers, after he had informed us, that thoſe adventurers were encouraged and rewarded, inſtead of being puniſh'd, he could not have reflected a greater diſhonour on the Kingdom and Court of Spain. And, altho' HERERA himſelf does not give us all the particulars the Biſhop of Chiapa does, yet he confirms ſome of them; and aſſures us, "The Biſhop is an author that deſerves credit." It was not convenient for him to ſay what the Biſhop had ſaid; but, on the other hand, he was ſo faithful an hiſtorian as to let us know, that "That "Prelate ought to be believed."

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Mexican *animals.*

Anima's that were not found in America.

WHEN the Spaniards firſt arrived in this new world, they found neither Horſes, Oxen, Camels, Aſſes, Goats, Sheep, Elephants, Hogs, or Dogs, of the European ſpecies. There were indeed wild beaſts, to which they afterwards gave the name of Hogs, becauſe they came the neareſt to our Hogs of any animals they found there, viz. their Pecaree and Warree; but theſe are evidently of another ſpecies, eſpecially the Pecaree, which have their navels always upon their backs. They had alſo ſome little dumb Dogs, with which they beat for game; but no other kind. The Indians were as much afraid of the Maſtiffs and great Dogs the Spaniards carried over, as of Lions or Tygers; nay more, for their cruel conquerors hunted this unhappy people in the woods and mountains with their dogs, as they would hunt wild beaſts, and tore men, women and children in pieces. When the natives fled from their towns, the Spaniards purſued them to the woods with packs of dogs; inſomuch, that no cover could conceal or defend theſe naked people from their rage. Nor were their horſes leſs terrible to the Indians than the European dogs, as has been obſerved under another head. The Mexicans had no beaſts that ſerved them to carry burdens, or to draw their carriages; every thing of this kind was done by their Tamenes, or Porters of both ſexes: For, in many places, the women carried the baggage, eſpecially in their wars and hunting expeditions; the men thinking it ſufficient to carry their arms, and hazard their lives.

Animals that were found there.

There were great numbers of Wolves and Bears towards the north, and ſome Lions and Tygers in the warmer climates, but not many; and there were ſome few Elks. But whatever the Indians wanted of our animals, the Spaniards ſoon ſupply'd them with, particularly Horſes, Oxen and Hogs; which increaſed ſo prodigiouſly in a few years, that every Planter had enough for his uſe, and vaſt numbers of them were ſuffer'd to run wild in the woods, both in the iſlands and on the continent. ACOSTA relates, that in his time (upwards of an hundred years ago) the European ſheep were ſo multiplied, that it was an ordinary thing for a Spaniſh Grazier to be poſſeſs'd of ten or twenty thouſand ſheep.

European cattle vaſtly increaſed, and run wild at this day.

Their manner of hunting wild bulls.

DAMPIER relates, that the horſes and black cattle are increaſed as much as the ſheep; and has given us a particular deſcription of the Spaniards hunting and hockſing (or hamſtringing) the wild bulls and cows that are found in their foreſts. The Hockſer, as he calls him, is mounted on a good horſe, bred up to the ſport, that knows when to advance or retreat, without giving his rider any trouble to manage him. The hunter carries a pike-ſtaff, arm'd at the end with a ſharp iron, of the form of a creſcent, with which he rides after the game full-ſpeed; and, having overtaken it, ſtrikes his iron juſt above the hock, and hamſtrings the beaſt: Whereupon the horſe wheels off; for the bull or cow immediately faces about, and makes at the huntſman with all its force; but, finding the horſe too ſwift for him, turns tail again. Whereupon the hockſer renews the charge, if the hamſtring be not quite cut through with the firſt ſtroke; and, having ſufficiently lamed one of his hind-legs, then ventures to attack the creature in front, and ſtrikes one of the knees of his fore-legs with his hockſing-iron: The beaſt thereupon falling down, the huntſman immediately diſmounts, ſtrikes a great butcher's knife into the beaſt's poll, a little behind the horns, ſo dextrouſly, that he cuts the ſtring of the neck (in DAMPIER's phraſe) at once, and down falls the creature's head: Then the hockſer mounts again, and purſues freſh game, leaving the ſkinners that follow him to take off the hide, which is all they regard, in ſome parts of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, wild beef is ſo plentiful. But 'tis ſaid, the Spaniards hunt only the bulls and old cows, leaving the young cattle to breed; whereas the Engliſh and French kill them without diſtinction: But the Engliſh found their error in Jamaica; for when that iſland was firſt taken, the fields and woods were well ſtock'd with cattle; which being deſtroy'd by the ſoldiers, the iſland ſuffer'd very much for want of them, 'till Sir THOMAS LYNCH, the Governor, ſent for a freſh ſupply of cattle from Cuba.

The ſame writer obſerves, that the wild cattle of Mexico are the fatteſt in the dry ſeaſon, viz. in February, March and April, when the Engliſh Logwood-cutters, in the Bay of Campeachy, frequently hunt them in canoes; for then they come down to feed among the ruſhes in the mouths of the rivers and creeks of the ſea, and are eaſily ſhot. When the beaſt finds itſelf ſo cloſely purſued in this manner, that he can't eſcape, he faces about, and runs full tilt at the boat, ſtriking the head with that force, that he drives it back twenty or thirty paces, and then ſcampers away again, if he is not kill'd by their ſhot; and their principal care is to keep the head of the boat or canoe towards the creature, for if he ſtrikes it on the ſide, he overſets it. But to return:

Other beaſts they had in common with us.

Beſides the beaſts already mentioned, which the Americans had in common with us, they had alſo ſeveral kinds of Red and Fallow Deer, Hares, Rabbets, Foxes, Otters, Wild-cats, Pole-cats, Squirrels, Porcupines, Monkeys, Jackals, &c.

Beaſts peculiar to America.

The beaſts peculiar to America, which this continent did not produce, are, their Pecaree and Warree, the Opoſſum, the Mooſe, the Guanoe, the Flying-ſquirrel, the Sloth, the Armadillo, the Rackoon, the Ounce: And there are ſome amphibious animals, particularly the Muſquaſh and the Beaver; but, as I remember, the laſt are to be found in the north part of our continent.

The Pecaree.

The Pecaree is a little, black, ſhort-legg'd animal, that has ſome reſemblance of a Hog: They herd together in great droves; and what is moſt remarkable, is, that the navel of the creature grows upon its back, and, if it be not cut off as ſoon as the Pecaree is kill'd, it immediately corrupts the whole carcaſe, which is otherwiſe very good food.

The Warree.

The Warree is leſs than the Pecaree, and has its navel in the uſual place; but in ſhape is much like the former: The ſkin is thick, covered with hair that looks like a coarſe fur. Both the Pecaree and Warree are wild fierce creatures, and will engage man or beaſt: The Indians hunt them down with their dogs, and then ſhoot or kill them with ſpears.

The Opoſſum.

The Opoſſum is a ſmall beaſt, about the ſize of a Fox, and grey as a Badger; and is remarkable for its falſe belly, in which ſhe preſerves her young ones when ſhe is purſued. There is a very particular deſcription of this Animal in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*; to which I refer the reader.

The Mooſe.

The Mooſe is ſaid to be ſomething like a Red Deer in his head and neck: He has horns alſo like a Deer, near two yards wide; but is as big as an Ox, and ſlow of foot: His fleſh equal to beef, and his hide makes good buff. Theſe are found chiefly in the north, and not in warm climates.

The Guanoe.

The Guanoe is ſhap'd like a Lizard; the body as big as a man's leg, but grows tapering towards the tail, which is very ſmall: They have four ſhort feet and claws; are of various colours, dark and light brown, of a dark and light green, ſome of them yellow, and others ſpeckled; and their fleſh very good food, as well as their eggs. But I ſhould have ranged theſe among the amphibious animals, for they live in the water as well as upon the land.

The Flying-ſquirrel.

The Flying-ſquirrel has a very ſmall body, and a looſe ſkin, which he extends like wings, and is borne up by the wind; but how far he can fly, travellers don't inform us, probably not many yards.

The Sloth.

The Sloth is about the bigneſs of a large Spaniel; has a round head, ſmall eyes, and very ſharp teeth and claws: He feeds on the leaves of trees, and frequently kills them, not leaving a ſingle leaf on the tree he viſits; but he is ſo many days in getting down one tree, and climbing another, that tho' he be fat when he comes down, he grows lean before he gets up to the top of another: He is eight or nine minutes, according to DAMPIER, in moving one of his legs three inches: Nor will blows make him mend his pace; he ſeems inſenſible of ſtripes, and can neither be frighted or provoked, as the ſame gentleman tells us he has frequently experienced.

The Armadillo.

The Armadillo was ſo called by the Spaniards, from its ſhell reſembling the ſcales of armour; is as big as a Sucking-pig, and has a long body incloſed

cloſed in a thick ſhell, which is join'd under the belly: This ſhell opens, and it puts out its head and legs when it walks; but, upon the apprehenſion of any danger, the creature draws in both its head and legs like a Land-tortoiſe, and, tho' it be toſs'd from place to place, will not move out again: It has ſtrong claws, with which it digs holes in the ground like a Rabbet. The fleſh is eſteemed good meat.

The Racoon.

The Racoons, according to DAMPIER, are only a ſpecies of Rats, but four times as large, and burrow in the earth like Rabbets.

Rabbets different from ours.

They have Rabbets alſo of a different ſpecies from ours, as large as Hares, and without tails.

The Ounce.

Deer without horns.

The Ounce, or Tyger-cat, ſeems to be only a ſmall ſpecies of Tygers: They are ſaid to be fiercer than thoſe of a larger ſize, and more miſchievous; nor are theſe peculiar to America: The Eaſt-Indians inform'd me, that they have the ſame ſort of ſmall Tygers in their country: But there are a ſpecies of Deer without horns in Mexico, which I don't meet with any where elſe.

Peruvian Sheep.

As to the Lama's, or Camel-ſheep, as they are call'd, from the form of their heads and necks reſembling a Camel's: Theſe are of a very different make from our Sheep, uſed to carry burdens, and twice as large. But as theſe were only found in Peru, and other parts of South America, I ſhall treat of theſe, and ſeveral other beaſts peculiar to that country, when I come to deſcribe that part of the Spaniſh dominions.

Beavers, &c.

There are ſeveral other animals alſo found in North America, particularly Beavers, of which many ſurpriſing ſtories are told; and theſe will be conſidered, when I come to treat of New-England and Canada.

Manatee.

As to the Manatee, DAMPIER, in his Firſt Volume, deſcribes it in the following manner: He ſays, it is about the bigneſs of a Horſe, and 10 or 12 foot long: That the mouth of it is like a Cow's; and it has great thick lips: "The eyes no bigger than a ſmall pea, and the ears only two ſmall holes on each ſide of the head." The neck is ſhort and thick, bigger than the head: The largeſt part of the creature is its ſhoulders: It has two large fins before, and under each of theſe fins the female has a ſmall dug: From the ſhoulders to the tail the animals leſſens gradually: The tail is flat, and about 14 inches long; and from the head to the tail it is round and ſmooth, having no fins but thoſe two already mention'd: The fleſh is white, and extraordinary ſweet wholeſome meat. DAMPIER adds, "That they never come on ſhore, or into ſhallower water than where they can ſwim:" That the Muſqueto Indians ſtrike them as they ſwim in the water with an harpoon, which the creature runs away with; but, a long line and a float being faſten'd to the harpoon, they let it run 'till the animal has tired itſelf, and then draw it to ſhore. But DAMPIER ſeems to be miſtaken in great part of this relation; or, rather, he makes the Manatee a very different creature from the Sea or River-horſe: For he ſays, in his Second Volume, p. 102 of his Second Part, that the Mountain-cow (as he there calls this creature) is ſhap'd like a Cow in body, but her head much bigger, more compact, and round: That ſhe has no horns; "her eyes are round, full, and of a prodigious ſize:" That ſhe has great thick lips, but not ſo thick as a Cow's lips; and "her ears in proportion to her head, rather broader than thoſe of the common cow:" That her neck is thick and ſhort; "her legs ſhorter than ordinary:" That it has a long tail, thin of hairs, and no bob at the end, and coarſe thin hair all over her body; her hide near two inches thick; her fleſh red, and the fat white: That it is ſweet wholeſome meat; and the creature weighs five or ſix hundred weight: That it was "always found in woods," near ſome large river; and feeds on thin long graſs and moſs, which grows on the banks of rivers; but never on good graſs, as other cows do: That when her belly is full, ſhe lies down to ſleep on the brink of the river, and at the leaſt noiſe "ſlips into the water, where, ſinking down to the bottom, ſhe walks on the ground."

Theſe relations, the reader muſt obſerve, are widely different; and, as DAMPIER acknowledges he never ſaw any of theſe animals, it is evident, he was impoſed on in one of theſe accounts. I ſhall give the reader therefore two other deſcriptions of the River-horſe, or Cow; the one from my friend Captain ROGERS, late Governor of the Bahama Iſlands; and the other from KOLBEN, which I have already mention'd in the deſcription of the Cape of Good Hope.

The Captain aſſures us, that the Hippopotamus, or Sea-horſe (as he calls this animal) lives as well on the land as in the ſea and rivers: That it is ſhap'd like an Ox, but bigger, weighing fifteen or ſixteen hundred pound: That it is very full-bodied, cover'd with hair, and of a mouſe-colour; thick, ſhort, ſleek, and very beautiful when it firſt comes out of the water; the head flattiſh on the top: That it has no horns; but large lips, a wide mouth, and ſtrong teeth, four of which are longer than the reſt, viz. two in the upper jaw, one of each ſide, and two in the under jaw: That the latter are four or five inches long; the other two ſhorter: That it has large broad ears, great goggle eyes, and is very quick-ſighted: It has a thick neck, ſtrong legs, but weak foot-locks; the hoofs of his feet are cloven in the middle; his tail is ſhort and tapering, like a ſwine's, without any bob at the end: The creature is commonly fat, and very good meat: It grazes on the ſhore, in wet ſwampy grounds, near rivers or ponds; but retires to the water, if purſued: When they are in the water, they ſink down to the bottom, and there walk as on dry ground: They will run almoſt as faſt as a man; but, if chaſed hard, they will turn about, and look very fierce, like a boar, and fight, if put to it. The natives have no wars with theſe creatures, ſays the Captain; but we have had many conflicts with them, both on ſhore and in the rivers; and tho' we commonly got the better, by killing ſome, and routing the reſt; yet, in the water, we durſt not attack them, after the following accident, which had like to have proved fatal to three men, who went in a ſmall canoe to kill a ſingle Sea-horſe, in a river which had eight or ten foot water. The horſe, according to his cuſtom, was marching at the bottom of the river; and, being eſpied by theſe men, they wounded him with a long lance, which ſo enraged the beaſt, that he roſe up immediately, and, giving a fierce look, he open'd his jaws, and bit a great piece out of the gunnel or upper edge of the canoe, and was like to have overſet it; but preſently ſunk down again to the bottom, and the men made off, for fear he ſhould return. "Theſe the Captain met with on the South-eaſt coaſt of Africa."

KOLBEN informs us, that there is a creature called a Sea-cow, at the Cape of Good Hope, which always feeds on graſs aſhore, and only runs into the ſea for its ſecurity: That the head of it reſembles

ſembles rather that of a horſe than a cow: That it is as large as a rhinoceros, and of the ſame colour; but the legs ſomething ſhorter: That the noſtrils are very large, out of which it ſpouts water, as it riſes from the ſea or the bottom of a river: That the hoof is not cloven, and the tail like that of an elephant, with very little hair on it; and that it has no hair at all on the body, and the female ſuckles its calves as other cows do, which he had often ſeen: That the ſkin of the creature is tough, and near an inch thick; ſo that a musket-ball will ſcarce penetrate it, which is the reaſon they uſually aim at the head to break his ſkull.

That, on each under jaw, the animal has two large teeth, the one ſtreight, and the other crooked, about the thickneſs of a cow's horn, and running a foot and half out of its mouth; which teeth weigh each of them about ten pound, are exceeding white, and never change yellow, as ivory does; and therefore are more valuable.

That, when this creature is wounded in a river, or near the ſhore, the natives follow her in boats by the blood, and with hooks and grapling-irons fiſh up the carcaſe, which, he ſays, is a good load for a waggon: That the fleſh of this creature is ſo much admired by the Dutch at the Cape, that they give twelve or fifteen pence a pound for it: That the leaf and fat is valued as much as the lean, melted and uſed like butter in cookery, and ſome eat it with bread.

The antients deſcribe the Hippopotamus of the Nile in much the ſame manner as Kolben does the Sea-cow of the Cape: And Mr. Thevenot, an author of good credit, ſays, when he was in Egypt, in the year 1658, he ſaw one of theſe animals that was kill'd near the Nile: That it was about the bigneſs of a camel, of a tawney colour; the hinder-part made much like an ox, and the head like a horſe: That its eyes and ears were ſmall; but it had great open noſtrils, thick large feet almoſt round, and four claws; the tail like an elephant, and had not more hair than there is upon an elephant: That, in the lower-jaw, it had four great teeth half a foot long; two of them crooked, and as big as the horns of an ox; and the other two ſtreight, but ſtanding out in length; and that ſome Janizaries ſhot it as it was grazing on the land: It received ſeveral ſhot before it fell, the bullets hardly piercing the ſkin; but one, that happen'd to hit the jaw, brought it down: And that theſe monſters are very rare in the Nile, there having been no ſuch animal ſeen there for many years before.

Upon the whole, it ſeems to me, that the Sea-cow and River-horſe, called by the antients Hippopotamus, are the ſame animals; but the Manatee is of a different ſpecies: For the firſt is an amphibious creature, with four legs, that feeds on ſhore; the other a pure fiſh, without legs: For ſuch is Dampier's firſt deſcription; and ſo the reſt of the Buccaneers deſcribe the Manatee, and tell us, their Muſqueto Indians ſtruck them often, and their ſhip's crew lived upon them ſome time; and therefore they could not eaſily be miſtaken in the ſhape of the creature; neither would they have omitted to tell us, that it had legs, if it had any. And I am in ſome doubt, whether the Hippopotamus, or River-horſe, was ever ſeen in America; but if I find reaſon to alter my opinion, upon farther enquiry, I ſhall not fail to acknowledge my miſtake before I conclude the deſcription of America.

Crocodiles or Alligators.

As to their Alligators (which are certainly a ſpecies of Crocodiles) theſe are ſo numerous, and have done ſo much miſchief, both to the natives and the Europeans, that there is no room to doubt of their being bred in America. They are amphibious animals, accuſtom'd both to land and water; ſhap'd like a lizard, twenty or thirty feet in length: They have four ſhort feet, or rather claws, on which they crawl; the head is flat, their eyes large, and their back cover'd with broad ſcales, reſembling armour, and as impenetrable; and ſome of them ſo large, 'tis ſaid, that they have actually ſwallow'd men whole: at leaſt, there are ſuch ſtories generally believed in the countries where Alligators or Crocodiles are found. Theſe animals ſeem to move with the greateſt ſtrength and agility in the water, and will run a good pace by land, but cannot eaſily turn about; ſo that a man turning to the right or left, eaſily avoids them: They lie waiting for their prey therefore, by the river ſides, in the flags and ruſhes; and ſo much reſemble the trunk of an old tree, that travellers have been unwarily ſurprized by them on ſhore. Tho' they are of that prodigious bulk, they proceed from an egg no bigger than a turkey's, which is hatch'd in the warm ſand, as is generally believed; nor is it to be conceived how it ſhould be hatch'd otherwiſe. They lay a great number of eggs, which are moſt of them eaten or deſtroy'd by fowls, or other animals, or they would ſwarm in theſe hot countries. As to the Crocodile's weeping over a man he has kill'd; and the little bird Trochileus, that is ſaid to live upon the meat ſhe picks out of the Crocodile's teeth; or the Rat Ichnenmen, of whom there is a tradition that he jumps into the Crocodile's mouth, and eats his way out again through his belly; I preſume there is no need to caution the reader to give but little credit to ſuch fictions: Tho' it were to be wiſh'd, that hiſtorians would not ſo frequently indulge a poetical vein, which makes it difficult ſometimes to diſtinguiſh between true and fabulous relations. But to proceed.

The Squaſh.

There is an animal, which Dampier calls a Squaſh, bigger than a Cat, and its head like that of a Fox, with ſhort ears and a long noſe; the legs ſhort, and runs up trees like a cat; the body is cover'd with a fine yellow hair, and the fleſh very good meat. Dampier ſays, it eats like pig. That the young ones may be tamed, and are as diverting as a monkey.

The Mexican Monkey.

The Monkeys of Campeachy, the ſame writer relates, are the uglieſt he ever ſaw: They are much larger than a hare, and have great tails two foot and a half long; the body and upper part of the tail cover'd with coarſe long black hair: They keep together twenty or thirty in a company, and ramble over the woods, leaping from tree to tree; and if they meet with a ſingle perſon, he is in danger of being torn in pieces by them: That he was very much afraid on meeting a party of them in a wood, tho' he had a gun in his hand; for they ſurrounded him, chattering and making a terrible noiſe; ſome of them broke the dry boughs and threw at him, while others ſcatter'd their water and dung about his ears: That they hung themſelves by their tails on the boughs over his head, and ſeem'd to threaten him all the way he paſs'd: But where two or three people are together, they uſually make off; and it is merry enough to ſee the females ſcamper away with their young ones under their arms, or upon their backs. This ſpecies of monkeys are very untractable, and hardly ever tam'd.

Birds and fowls.

As to the feather'd race, we find in Mexico, Parrots, Parrokites, Macaws, Quams, Curaſoes, Cockrecoes, Bill-Birds, Humming-Birds, Eagles, Vultures, Doves, Pigeons, Subtil-Jacks, Blackbirds, Turkeys, and tame poultry; Pelicans, Cormorants,

morants, Bats, and a multitude of other fowls and birds, which are not found in this part of the world, and many of which have not yet received any names, or at leaſt the Europeans are not acquainted with them.

Parrots.

Parrots and Parrokites are ſo well known amongſt us, that they need no deſcription.

Macaw.

The Macaw is not ſo common: He is ſhap'd much like a Parrot, but twice as big; the feathers of the body are of ſeveral bright and lively colours, particularly red, blue and green: It has a buſhy tail, with two or three long ſtraggling feathers, red or blue; the pinions of the wings of ſome of them are red, and of others blue; and their beaks yellow: They make a great noiſe in the morning, reſembling a hoarſe voice; but they will imitate the voices of the Indians, and their way of ſinging; as alſo the voice or noiſe of any bird or animal almoſt; and may be taught to talk. The natives tame them, and, when they are uſed to their houſes, ſuffer them to fly to the woods in the day-time, among thoſe that are wild, and they return in the evening to the houſe or plantation they belong to. There are great plenty of theſe birds in Mexico; and they are not only extremely beautiful and entertaining, but their fleſh is well taſted, tho' it is black and pretty tough.

Quam.

The Quam is a wild land-fowl, of the bigneſs of a Hen-Turkey, and has a bill like that fowl; the feathers of a dun-colour; his tail ſhort, and darker than the reſt of his feathers: It feeds upon berries and other fruits, and the fleſh is very good food.

Curaſoe.

The Curaſoe is larger than the Quam, but much of the ſame ſhape: The cock has a crown of black or yellow feathers on his head, with red looſe fleſh on his neck, like a Turkey-cock; but the hen has neither: They have a big groſs voice, which is liſten'd to by the natives, having ſomething melodious in it: The fleſh is tolerably good, but the bones ſo noxious, that the natives bury them, and will not ſuffer a dog to eat them; and the Europeans, 'tis ſaid, uſe the like caution; for that a dog runs mad, if he eats one of their bones.

Carrion-crow.

The bird call'd by the Engliſh the Carrion-crow, is black, and as big as a Raven; has a bald head and reddiſh neck like a Turkey, and lives altogether on carrion, from whence it has its name. The huntſman has no ſooner kill'd his game, but they immediately flock together from all parts, ſeveral hundreds of them, and will devour the carcaſe of a beaſt in an inſtant, if not prevented. Some of theſe Carrion-crows are white, but in all other reſpects like the former.

Subtil-Jack.

The Subtil-Jack, as the Engliſh call it, is as big as a Pigeon; the feathers generally black, but the tips of the wings yellow. It has obtain'd this name from the cunning it ſeems to exerciſe in ſecuring its neſt, which is always hung by a ſtring at the extremity of the bough of ſome high tree, that ſtands alone. Some trees are ſurrounded with ſuch neſts, which hang down 2 or 3 foot from the twigs they are faſten'd to; the ſtring that faſtens them, according to DAMPIER, being made of long twiſted graſs; but GEMELLI ſays, it is made of hair: However, both agree as to the neſts hanging on the bough of a tree, by a ſtring of its own making; and GEMELLI adds, that the bird ſings ſweetly.

Bill-Birds.

There are alſo ſeveral ſorts of birds, to which the Engliſh have given the name of Bill-birds, from their bills being almoſt as big as their bodies.

Cockrecoes.

The Cockrecoes are of the colour of a Partridge, but ſomething leſs, and their legs longer: They delight in creeks and watery places, and are remarkable for their calling and anſwering one another morning and evening. They are eſteemed delicious food.

Cardinal.

The bird call'd the Cardinal, is about the bigneſs of a Wood-lark; of a ſcarlet colour; has a beautiful tuft of feathers on the head, and ſings ſweetly: For theſe the Spaniards give ten or twelve crowns a bird, to ſend into Spain. There is another bird of the ſame beautiful colour, but leſs, and does not ſing.

Tygrello.

They have alſo a ſmall bird, of the bigneſs of a Thruſh, call'd the Tygrello, or Little Tyger, from its ſpotted feathers.

Cacalototol.

The Cacalototol is of the ſize of a Black-bird, but of a yellow colour, and ſings well.

Silguero.

The Silguero's are black and white, of the bigneſs of a Sparrow, and highly valued.

Pheaſants.

They have two ſorts of Pheaſants; the one of a dark colour, with black wings and tails, which they call Gritones; and the other, which are much larger, call'd Royal, from a tuft which appears like a crown upon their heads.

Dunghill fowls.

Guiachichil.

Their poultry, or dunghill-fowls, differ little from ours, but are ſomething leſs: Their Quails are of the ſame colour as thoſe of Europe, but their fleſh is not ſo good, according to GEMELLI, who mentions another bird, called Guiachichil, or Suck-flower, becauſe it is always ſeen flying with a flower in its mouth; but is never known to reſt on the ground, as he was inform'd by the natives: It will ſtick its beak into the bough of a tree, and remain there ſeveral months; and thus they often take it ſleeping.

Humming Bird.

The Humming-bird is a little feather'd animal, not much bigger than a large Waſp: It has a black bill, like the point of a needle; and its legs and feet are proportionable to its body: Its wings move when it flies, like thoſe of a Bee, and make a perpetual humming; from whence it obtain'd its Engliſh name: It reſorts to fruit-trees and flowers alſo, like the Bee when it is gathering honey; but keeps in perpetual motion, ſometimes on one ſide the flower, and then on the other; now approaching, and then retiring from it, for ſeveral minutes. There are two or three ſorts of them, of as many ſeveral colours: The largeſt are black.

Birds of prey.

Water-fowl.

Their birds of prey are Eagles, Vultures, Hawks, and the Carrion-crow, already mention'd: Their water-fowl, Geeſe, Ducks, Curlews, Herons, Crab-catchers, Pelicans, Cormorants, Fiſhing-hawks.

Ducks.

They have three kinds of Ducks; the Muſcovy Duck, and another, which perch upon old trees without leaves, and ſeldom light upon the ground; and they have another kind of Ducks, like ours, that never perch upon trees.

Curlews.

There are two ſorts of Curlews alſo; the largeſt ſort as big as Turkeys, with long legs and long crooked bills; the feathers of their bodies of a dark colour, and their wings black and white; their fleſh black, but pretty good food: The other Curlews are half the bigneſs of the former, and their fleſh much better taſted.

Herons.

Their Herons are not different from thoſe of Europe.

Crab-catchers.

The Crab-catcher is of the ſame ſhape and colour as the Heron, and has its name from feeding on ſmall Crabs not bigger than Pigeons eggs.

Pelican.

The Pelican is a web-footed fowl, almoſt as big as a Gooſe, and of a grey colour: Its legs are ſhort, the neck long, the bill ſeventeen or eighteen inches long, and two inches broad; the fore-part of the neck and breaſt cover'd with a ſoft looſe ſkin, like that of a Turkey-cock's: It is a very heavy fowl, and ſeldom flies much above the water; and uſually ſits on the tops of the rocks, a little diſtance from the ſhore, either for its ſecurity, or to look out for prey; and is eſteem'd pretty good meat. It is remarkable for a bag or purſe in the neck, in which it keeps a reſerve of prey after the appetite is ſatisfied.

Cormorant.

The Cormorant is of the ſhape and ſize of a Duck, and the bill and feet like a Duck's; the feathers on the body black, only white on the breaſt: They live on ſmall fiſh, and will perch on trees by the water-ſide to watch for their game.

Fiſhing-hawk.

The Fiſhing-hawk is of the ſize and ſhape of an Engliſh Sparrow-hawk, and ſits on the ſtump of a tree or a rock by the ſea or river-ſide, from whence he flies at the ſmall fiſh, which are his prey, and ſnatches them out of the water without wetting his wings: He does not ſwallow the fiſh whole, as moſt other fowls do that prey upon fiſh, but tears it in pieces, as our Hawks do the birds they ſtrike.

Bats.

The Bats of this country are as large as Pigeons, travellers inform us, which is not at all improbable; for in the Eaſt-Indies, and ſome other hot countries, they are much larger.

Inſects and vermin.

In all hot countries there are abundance of poiſonous and troubleſome inſects and vermin, and Mexico has its ſhare of them; ſuch as Snakes, Scorpions, Centapees, Spiders, Toads, Flies, Musketoes, and Piſmires.

Snakes.

There is in Mexico, as Mr. DAMPIER relates, a yellow Snake, as big as the ſmall of a man's leg, 6 or 7 foot long; a lazy animal, that takes little pains to hunt for its prey; but lies concealed in cover, and ſurprizes the Lizards, Guanoes, and other ſmall animals, as they paſs by: The fleſh of it is eaten by ſome people; and my author ſays, he has taſted of it, but did not much reliſh it. He ſays, his brother Logwood-cutters inform'd him, that ſome of theſe ſnakes are as big as an ordinary man's waiſt, and ſtrong enough to hold a bullock by the horns: But he is ſo good as not to require us to give entire credit to the latter part of the ſtory. There is alſo a green Snake, about the bigneſs of a ſmall cane, and 4 or 5 foot in length: Theſe lie among buſhes and trees full of leaves, and prey chiefly on ſmall birds. Here is alſo a dun-colour'd Snake, about 2 foot long, that frequents houſes, and kills mice and other vermin; and is ſo harmleſs a creature, that no body endeavours to kill him. There are a great many other ſpecies of Snakes in America, and particularly the Rattle-ſnake, which will be deſcribed in their proper places.

Scorpions.

Gally-waſp.

Their Scorpions and Centapees do not differ from thoſe of other countries already deſcribed; but Mr. DAMPIER mentions an animal, which he calls a Gally-waſp, that I don't remember to have met with any where elſe: It has, he ſays, ſome reſemblance of a Lizard; has four ſhort legs, and is of a dark brown colour; delights in low marſhy grounds, and is very venomous.

Spiders monſtrous.

Their Spiders, the ſame writer obſerves, are of a monſtrous ſize, particularly one, that is near as big as a man's fiſt; has long legs, and two black teeth, or horns, two inches in length, and as ſharp as a thorn: That theſe Spiders are cloathed with a yellowiſh down as ſoft as velvet: But he could not tell whether they were venomous or not. There is no doubt, but Spiders, Toads and Rats grow to a prodigious ſize in all hot countries; though, 'tis poſſible, travellers may enlarge a little in the deſcribing of them.

Ants.

The Ants, or Piſmires, are another plague in every warm climate. Here are great black Ants, whoſe bite is ſaid to be almoſt as painful as the ſting of a Scorpion; nor are their ſmall yellow Ants leſs dreaded, which come in ſuch ſwarms ſometimes, that a man ſhall be covered with them in an inſtant: They have neſts on the bodies of great trees, DAMPIER relates, as big as hogſheads, in which they live all the winter; and here they preſerve their eggs: In the fair ſeaſon they quit their neſts, and ſwarm in the wood-lands and high grounds; but are ſeldom found in meadows or watery places. There are another ſort of black Ants, with long legs, that come into houſes, run over their cheſts and beds, and ſearch every place: Wherever their leader marches, the reſt follow him in ſuch crowds, that they are two or three hours paſſing by: However, they uſually quit the houſe before night; nor do they ſeem to be ſo miſchievous as the African Ants, that will, according to ſome travellers, devour a ſheep in a few minutes; and men with difficulty eſcape, by ſetting fire to them.

Muſkitoes.

There are another ſort of inſects, that ſufficiently try the patience of the natives, and are much more miſchievous to ſtrangers, in hot countries, viz. Muſkitoes, or Gnats, which ſwarm in all countries that are hot and moiſt, and will not ſuffer a man to reſt night or day, but are perpetually buzzing about his ears: When a perſon firſt comes on ſhore, his face ſhall be ſo ſwell'd by their ſtings in a night's time, that his acquaintance can ſcarce know him; and, though their ſtings have not this effect, after we have been ſometime in the country, yet they are always very troubleſome.

Another troubleſome inſect called Migua.

GAGE, in his Survey of this country, ſays, there is an inſect, call'd by the Spaniards Migua, which is common in all parts of it almoſt, and ſo ſmall, that it can ſcarce be diſcern'd. This creature uſually ſtrikes into the feet or legs of a man, but ſeldom into the hands, or any part of the body; from whence he conjectures, it is bred in the duſt of the ground: They make the part they ſtrike into burn and itch, and at firſt it appears black, and no bigger than the point of a needle, when they may be eaſily pick'd out; but if they are let alone, they get farther into the fleſh, and lay a great many nits or eggs, which increaſe to the bigneſs of a great pea, and itch intolerably; and, if the part be rubb'd or ſcratch'd, immediately feſters, and endangers the loſing of the limb. Some, he ſays, hold it beſt to take them out as ſoon as they firſt perceive the part itch; but people do not know at firſt what is the matter with them, and the creature ſoon gets too deep to be diſlodged; and therefore they are uſually let alone 'till they have laid their little bag of nits or eggs, which appears like a bliſter through the ſkin, and then, with the point of a needle, they dig round it, and take the bag out whole, for if it be broken they breed again. If any perſon would avoid this vermin, the ſame writer ſays, he muſt not go bare-legg'd, or lay his ſhoes or ſtockings near the ground. The Indians, however, that go bare-foot, are ſeldom troubled with them, which he ſuppoſes proceeds from the hardneſs of their ſkins. The Europeans therefore ſuffer moſt from theſe inſects. GAGE himſelf relates, that he was two months under the Surgeon's hands, having ſcratch'd the part where one of theſe vermin enter'd his ſkin 'till it feſter'd, and was in great hazard of loſing a leg: And ſome gentlemen, lately arrived from America, inform me, that there cannot be a more troubleſome inſect than this is, againſt which ſcarce any thing can ſecure them.

Leg-worms.

DAMPIER alſo mentions Leg-worms, that he met with in the Bay of Campeachy: He ſays, he perceived a ſwelling in one of his legs, that was very painful to him; and, drawing it to a head, there came out two ſmall worms, of the bigneſs of a hen's quill, and three quarters of an inch long; and that each of them had three rows of black, ſhort, ſtiff hair, running quite round them.

The Shining-fly.

The Shining-fly is an inſect common to the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies: Theſe, in the night-time, appear like ſo many ſtars, at a little diſtance, when they reſt on the boughs of a high-tree, as they frequently do.

Bees.

As to Bees, they have ſeveral ſorts, which make their neſt in trees, or in the holes of the rocks; from whence the natives get a great deal of honey, with which they make ſome of their ſtrongeſt liquors. WAFER doubts, whether ſome of theſe Bees have ſtings, becauſe he ſaw the Indians put their naked arms into the neſts without being ſtung.

Cochineel inſect.

The inſect, call'd Cochineel, is ſtill more profitable to the Mexicans and Spaniards than the Bee: It is bred in a fruit that grows on a ſhrub about five foot high, and full of thorns: There is a red flower on the top of the fruit, which falls down, and covers the fruit when it is ripe and begins to open; ſo that no rain or due can wet the inſide: The flower being ſcorch'd and wither'd away in a day or two, by the heat of the ſun, the fruit opens as wide as the mouth of a pint pot, and the inſide is, by that time, full of theſe ſmall red inſects, which have curious thin wings. When the Indians perceive the fruit opens, they ſpread ſheets under the trees, and ſhake them; whereupon theſe inſects take wing, and hover for a little while over the tree, and then fall down dead into the ſheets, the heat of the ſun killing them, as my author ſuppoſes. When they fly up, they appear red; but when they fall down, they are black. However, they are uſed in dying the fineſt ſcarlet: Some people infuſe them in coffee and other liquors, to raiſe their ſpirits, or give them freſh vigour; and they are probably uſed in medicine; but phyſick is not my province.

The Mexicans did not know the value of this inſect 'till the Spaniards came amongſt them, and had none of the trees that produce them, but thoſe that grew wild in foreſts; but the Spaniards and Indians have now large plantations of them.

Locuſts.

The Locuſt is an inſect that brings deſtruction with it wherever it comes, and is found in almoſt every hot country at one time or other: They are much like Graſhoppers, but bigger; and fly in ſuch numbers, as Mr. GAGE obſerves, that they hide the face of the ſun, and darken the brighteſt day. While he was in Mexico, a cloud of theſe inſects viſited that part of the country where he reſided, lighting upon the trees and ſtanding corn, and, in one night, devour'd both the fruit and leaves of the trees, and conſumed the corn in every field where they fell: The highways were ſo peſter'd with them, that there was no travelling in quiet; and neither the plantations of ſugar or indico eſcaped them.

Upon the approach of this wing'd army, all people were commanded out into the fields, with trumpets, braſs-pans and kettles, and every thing that would make a noiſe, to frighten them away; and, according to Mr. GAGE's obſervation, the fields of thoſe huſbandmen that made moſt noiſe eſcaped beſt: He was of opinion, that ſome entirely ſaved their corn and fruits by this ſtratagem. However, ſuch numbers were left upon the ground, that they were forced to dig trenches, and bury them; and the next year the people were afflicted with a contagious diſtember, little inferior to the plague; he calls it a fever in the bowels, which carried off the patient in four or five days: But, notwithſtanding this diſtemper was very fatal to the Indians, the Spaniards were not much afflicted with it; and, indeed, at Surat in the Eaſt-Indies, when the natives are ſwept away by the plague in vaſt numbers, the Europeans uſually eſcape; which we were apt to aſcribe to the good liquor we drink, the natives having ſcarce any other beveridge than water. But this cannot be the reaſon of eſcaping any contagious diſtemper in America, where the people drink almoſt as much ſtrong liquor as we do.

Fiſh.

I proceed, in the next place, to enumerate the ſeveral ſorts of fiſh that travellers take notice are found in the American ſeas, lakes and rivers.

Paracood.

The Paracood is about three foot and a half long, and eight or ten inches round, and haunts the lakes, iſlands, and places near the ſhore; and, 'tis ſaid, will attack a man in the water. It is a firm well-taſted fiſh; but ſome of them have been found unwholeſome food. DAMPIER ſays, he has known men poiſon'd with them at ſome ſeaſons of the year; and WAFER relates, that people have had their hair and nails come off after eating them.

Gar-fiſh.

The Gar-fiſh is of the ſhape of the former, but leſs; and has a long ſharp bone in his ſnout, like the Sword-fiſh; only as the Sword-fiſh's bone is flat, and indented like a ſaw, this of the Gar-fiſh is faſhion'd like a ſpear, round, ſmooth and ſharp at the end, and about a foot long: They ſwim very ſwift, and will leap out of the water frequently, flying as it were juſt above the ſurface for twenty or thirty yards, and then, wetting their fins, ſpring forward again, darting themſelves with ſuch force, that they will ſtrike their bony ſpear through the ſides of a canoe, or the body of a man, if they meet with him in the water. Theſe are eſteem'd well-taſted wholeſome food.

Mullet, Snook, Ten-pounder.

Mullets and Snooks are plentiful in this part of the world; and the Ten-pounder, in form much like a Mullet, but ſo full of bones there is ſcarce any eating them, is found here.

Spaniſh Mackerel.

The Spaniſh Mackerel are in ſhape and colour like thoſe of Europe, but a yard long or more, and nine or ten inches about. Theſe are eſteemed excellent meat.

Raſpray.

There are three ſorts of Flat-fiſh, called the Stingray, the Raſpray, and the Whipray: They are any of them about a foot and a half broad; and the Raſpray is mightily valued for his rough skin, which makes good ſhagreen, and will raſp any thing like a file.

Old Wife. Cavally.

The Old Wife is alſo a flat fiſh, and very good meat; as is the Cavally, a ſmall ſlender fiſh, taken upon this coaſt.

Turpom.

The Turpom is a good firm fiſh, of fifty or ſixty pound weight, and ſaid to reſemble a Salmon.

Sculpin.

The Sculpin is a fiſh ſurrounded with little ſharp bones; but, when his skin is ſtripp'd off, he is very good food: It is generally about a foot long.

Manatee.

The Manatee is the beſt fiſh on the coaſt, which has been already deſcribed among the amphibious animals: I ſhall only take the opportunity here to acquaint the reader, that this is certainly a fiſh, and never goes on ſhore, as the Hippopotamus, or River-horſe, does; neither does he reſemble that animal, either in ſize or form. The Manatee is generally taken in the ſea, and ſometimes in creeks and the mouths of rivers; but never quits the water, according to the beſt information I can get.

Tortoiſe.

Of Tortoiſe, or Turtle, as the ſeamen call them, there are ſeveral ſorts: Some are Sea-tortoiſe, and have fins; theſe ſeldom come on ſhore, but to lay: Others live, for the moſt part, on the land; have claws, and will run a good pace. Some weigh upwards of three hundred pound, and others not five. DAMPIER gives a very particular deſcription of the ſeveral ſorts of American Tortoiſes: He ſays, the Land-tortoiſes they met with at the iſlands of Gallapagos in the South-ſea were very large and fat, and no Pullet was better eating; and that ſome of the biggeſt of them weigh'd an hundred and fifty, and two hundred weight, being two foot ſix inches broad on the Callapee, or flat ſhell, that incloſes the belly: That there is ſuch plenty of theſe tortoiſes at thoſe iſlands, that a ſhip's crew of five or ſix hundred men might ſubſiſt on them for ſeveral months, without any other proviſions. Then he proceeds to deſcribe the ſeveral ſorts of tortoiſes; one of which is called by the Spaniards the Hecatee, that lives for the moſt part in freſh water, and ſeldom comes to land: Theſe weigh ten or fifteen pound, have ſmall legs, flat feet, and ſlender long necks. A ſecond ſort are called Tenapen, which are much leſs, ſcarce half ſo big as the former; the convex ſhell on their backs naturally finely carved and clouded: Theſe live in bogs or watery plaſhes, or on the firm land near ſuch places. Both theſe are very good meat.

Hecatee.

Tenapen.

Sea-tortoiſe.

Trunk-tortoiſe.

Loggerhead.

Hawks-bill.

Green-tortoiſe.

As for the Sea-tortoiſe, or Turtle, he obſerved there were four ſorts, viz. the Trunk-turtle, the Loggerhead, the Hawks-bill, and the Green-turtle. The Trunk-turtle is the largeſt, the ſhell on their backs higher and rounder than the reſt, and their fleſh rank and unwholeſome. The Loggerhead is ſo called on account of his great head, which is much bigger than that of any other turtle: The fleſh of theſe alſo is rank, and never eaten, but in caſes of neceſſity. The Hawks-bill is the leaſt, and ſo denominated from his mouth reſembling that of a Hawk's-bill: Theſe are but indifferent food, tho' better than the Loggerhead; and it is the ſhell of theſe that is ſo much eſteem'd for making boxes, cabinets, combs, and other toys. The Green-turtle is ſo called from the greenneſs of its ſhell: It is very thin, tranſparent, and better clouded than the Hawk's-bill; but only uſed in inlaying-work, the ſhell is ſo very thin: Their fleſh is the ſweeteſt of all turtle; the fat yellow, and the lean white; and in ſome places they are ſo large, that they weigh two hundred pound, and upwards; but in the Bay of Campeachy they are not ſo big, and the fat is green, the lean of a browniſh colour. The turtle that haunt the keys, or ſmall iſlands, ſouth of Cuba, are of various kinds; ſome bigger, others leſs; the fleſh of ſome green, of others dark brown, and a third yellowiſh: And with theſe the Engliſh at Jamaica uſually are ſupplied; the markets are every day plentifully ſtock'd with them, and they are the uſual food of the common people. The Green-turtle live on graſs that grows at the bottom of the ſea in four or five fathom water.

Every ſpecies of turtle, according to DAMPIER, lay their eggs in the ſand, and lay three times in the ſeaſon, at every time fourſcore or an hundred eggs, about the bigneſs of an Hen's egg, but round, and cover'd only with a white tough ſkin or membrane. In the Bay of Honduras are ſeveral iſlands where the Hawks-bill turtle lay their eggs; and there are ſome ſandy bays on the continent near Vera Cruz, in the Gulph of Mexico, where they breed. When a ſhe-tortoiſe comes out of the ſea to lay, ſhe is an hour, at leaſt, before ſhe returns again; for ſhe always goes above high water-mark; and if it be low water when ſhe comes aſhore, ſhe muſt reſt once or twice (being very heavy) before ſhe comes to the place; and, having found a ſpot to her mind, ſhe makes a great hole with her fins in the ſand, where ſhe lays her eggs, and then covers them up two foot deep, and returns to ſea, leaving the ſun and the warm ſand to hatch them. Thoſe that make it their buſineſs to catch tortoiſe, wait for them when they come on ſhore to lay, and, turning them on their backs with poles, the creature can never get up again. It is very eaſy to intercept them, they march ſo ſlow, and two men will turn a great many in one night; but ſome of them, 'tis ſaid, are too big and heavy for a ſingle man to turn: They are frequently ſtruck by the ſeamen with a ſpear or fiſgig, which the ſportſman darts at them from the yard-arm, ſtriking through the ſhell; and, a line being faſten'd to the ſtaff, he draws them up into the ſhip.

Mr. DAMPIER remarks, that the tortoiſes, at the time of their breeding, leave their uſual haunts for two or three months, and reſort to other places, ſometimes above an hundred leagues diſtant, to lay their eggs; and he is of opinion, that they eat nothing during this ſeaſon. He obſerves alſo, that the male always accompanies the female when ſhe goes to lay, and never leaves her 'till ſhe returns: That they are both very fat at the beginning of the ſeaſon; but before they return the male is ſo lean, that he is not eatable; but the fleſh of the female is good to the very laſt, tho' it is not ſo fat as at the beginning: They are nine or ten days, 'tis ſaid, in the act of generation in the water, the male on the female's back; nor is the male to be frighten'd or drove away at theſe times; ſhe indeed endeavours to get away, if a boat approaches when they riſe to blow or take breath; but the male graſps her with his two fore-fins, and holds her faſt; and a very bad ſtriker may ſtrike them both at ſuch times. It ſeems, a Sea-tortoiſe cannot remain in the deep, without coming up to the ſurface of the water to blow or take breath once within eight or ten minutes. Thoſe that are not good meat, afford however a great deal of oil.

Theſe animals live to a very great age, at leaſt we are ſure the Land-tortoiſes do ſo; for Archbiſhop LAUD put one into his garden at Lambeth 100 years ago, which I ſaw there very lately. This creature makes a hole in the ground, about Michaelmas, every year, where it lies all the winter, and appears again about Eaſter; and is ſuppoſed to eat nothing while under ground; ſome of the Lambeth family having had the curioſity to weigh him a little before he diſappears, and when he comes up again, and they find him ſome pounds lighter in the Spring than he was the preceding Autumn.

Oyſters.

Pearl oyſters.

I don't find they want any ſhell-fiſh in the American ſeas, that we have here; and they have Oyſters and Muſcles of a prodigious ſize. FUNNEL mentions ſome Rock-oyſters he met with, ſo large, that one of them would dine ſeveral men: But the moſt valuable oyſter is the Pearl-oyſter, found in the Gulph of Nicoya, the Gulph of California, and in ſeveral other parts of the Mexican coaſt. Theſe are about the ſize of our middling oyſters, but flatter and thinner; the pearl is found at the head of the oyſter, between the meat and the ſhell, and ſome will have twenty or thirty ſmall ſeed-pearls about them, and others none at all: The ſhell of the oyſter is more beautiful on the inſide than the pearl itſelf: The fleſh, however, is leſs valuable than that of any other oyſter, and ſcarce eatable. The Indians dive for theſe oyſters in five, ſix, ſeven, or eight fathom water, and bring up ten or twelve oyſters at a time; and thoſe on board the veſſel open them as they are brought up. The Spaniards, 'tis ſaid, deſtroy'd a great many thouſands of the Indians ſoon after the conqueſt, by compelling them to dive and drudge for oyſters beyond their ſtrength: A pearl was more valued by them than a hundred of theſe poor wretches lives: They had no mercy on them therefore, but kept them in the water frequently 'till they loſt the uſe of their limbs, or died in the ſervice. And thus it was that the natives of the Bahama iſlands in particular, who were eſteem'd excellent divers, were deſtroy'd.

Conch. The Conch is another large ſhell-fiſh, form'd like a Snail: The colour of the ſhell within is like mother of pearl; but the outſide of it rough: The fleſh of it is very good eating, after it has been well ſcour'd with ſand.

As to the Lobſters, Crabs, Prawns, Shrimps, and other ſhell-fiſh, they have in common with us: Theſe need no deſcription. They have, in their lakes and rivers, fiſh like our Jacks and Carp, and plenty of others, that are excellent food, that will be deſcribed, in treating of other parts of America. I ſhall proceed, in the next place, to enquire into their vegetables.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Mexican vegetables, viz. their foreſt and fruit-trees, corn, herbage, roots, and flowers; and alſo of their huſbandry.

Vegetables. THE woods on the tops and ſides of the mountains, and in the upland country, are either fine foreſts, or delightful groves of trees, of various kinds, large and tall, with little or no underwood; ſo that a man rides through them with pleaſure: Whereas on the drown'd lands, near the coaſts, and at the mouth of rivers, there is nothing but Mangroves, Bamboe-canes, Log-wood, and Shrubs, with buſhes and brambles, through which it is difficult to penetrate. There is not much timber in the low-lands.

The Cotton-tree. The Cotton-tree, for its ſize and its uſe, is one of the moſt remarkable in this country: Of theſe there are two ſorts, the white and the red: The white Cotton-tree grows like the oak, but is much larger and taller; the body is ſtreight, and clear from knots or boughs to the head, where it ſpreads out its great limbs horizontally like the Oak. The bodies of theſe trees are ſome of them three or fourſcore foot high, and ten or twelve in diameter; the bark is grey and ſmooth; the leaves are like thoſe of the Plum-tree, oval and indented on the edges, and of a dark green; the leaves fall off the beginning of April, but, the young ones ſprouting out at the ſame time, it is always green: It bears a pod as big as a ſmall Wallnut, which burſts when it is ripe, and then the cotton falls, or is blown away. This ſort of cotton is of little uſe, unleſs to ſtuff quilts or pillows; the cotton that is ſpun and wove into cloth, grows upon a ſhrub. The red Cotton-tree is not ſo large as the white, and bears no cotton. The wood of both is very ſoft, ſpungy, and light, and eaſily wrought; but the red is the hardeſt. Of the white the Indians make their canoes and periagoes, which differ only in their dimenſions; the canoe being ſmall, and holding but two or three men, and the periagoe three or fourſcore men: However, the largeſt are made out of the body of one ſingle cotton-tree. Theſe the Indians uſed to burn hollow, or form with their flint hatchets, 'till the Europeans taught them the uſe of iron. The Indians alſo uſe this wood in erecting their ſlight huts; but it is by no means fit for more ſubſtantial buildings, being ſofter than our Willow; nor will it laſt long converted into boats or canoes, unleſs it be frequently pitch'd and tarr'd, and great care taken of it. The reaſon they make uſe of this wood for canoes, is becauſe the body of the tree is ſo large, the wood light, and eaſily wrought. DAMPIER calls it a weed; but obſerves, it is the largeſt plant that grows in America.

Cedar-trees. Their Cedar-trees are exceeding tall and large, and uſed chiefly in building; the wood is very red, of a fine grain and fragrant ſmell; and this timber is ſo plentiful in Mexico, that whole towns are built with it. This wood alſo makes the beſt and moſt durable canoes, tho' not ſo large as the cotton-tree: But it is a miſtake, DAMPIER obſerves, that the worm will not take it; for he had ſeen ſeveral canoes, made of it, that were worm-eaten. There are ſome white Cedars, that differ from the former only in their colour. Of Oaks and Fir-trees alſo there is great plenty in Mexico: So that they want no manner of timber, either for building houſes or ſhips.

Logwood. They have ſeveral kinds of wood proper for dying, particularly Logwood, which grows chiefly in the Bays of Honduras and Campeachy, on the overflow'd grounds, among the Mangroves. DAMPIER, who was a Logwood-cutter, ſays, it is much like our white Thorn, but a great deal bigger: That the rind of the young branches is white and ſmooth, and ſet with Thorns; ſo that it may be eaſily miſtaken for white Thorn: But the body and old branches are blackiſh, and the rind rough, and the leaves reſemble thoſe of the white Thorn: That they chuſe to cut the old black rind-trees, which have but little ſap; for the ſap and outſide is white: The heart, which is red, is only uſed in dying; and therefore they chop off the white ſap 'till they come to the heart; and, after it has lain a little while, it turns black, and will tinge the water it lies in like ink. Some trees are five or ſix foot in circumference; and theſe they cut out into logs fit for a man's burden; for they carry them on their ſhoulders to the boats; and it is a very ponderous wood.

Blood-wood. There is another kind of wood mention'd by DAMPIER, which he calls Blood-wood, uſed in dying reds: He ſays, it is more valuable than Logwood, and grows in the Gulph of Nicaragua.

Mangrove Trees. There are three ſorts of Mangrove-trees, according to DAMPIER, black, red and white. The black is the largeſt, growing ſometimes to the bigneſs of a moderate Oak, and about twenty foot high. It is very hard ſerviceable timber, but extraordinary weighty. The red Mangrove grows uſually by the ſea-ſide, or by rivers and creeks, and from ſeveral roots of the bigneſs of a man's leg, which, about ſix or eight foot above the ground, join in one body, that ſeems to be ſupported by ſo many artificial ſtakes. Where this ſort of tree grows, it is extreamly difficult to march: For theſe roots or ſtakes, are ſo interwoven, that the traveller is often forced to cut his way through: And DAMPIER ſays, he has gone half a mile, ſtepping from one root to another, without ſetting his foot upon the ground. The inſide of the bark is red, and uſed in tanning leather; and ſome have conjectured, that this is the ſame with the Jeſuits, or Peruvian-bark: But of this I ſhall enquire farther, when I treat of Peru. The white Mangrove is the leaſt of the three, and of no great ſervice: And neither the black or white Mangrove proceed from ſuch ſtakes as the red does, but grow from their roots like other trees. It is the red Mangrove that over-runs the flat country near the ſea, and grows in water moſt part of the year; and from this tree it is, that thoſe bogs and moraſſes are uſually called Mangrove-land, in our books of travels.

Bamboe.

There is another tree, if it may be called ſuch, that grows on the ſame kind of land, and uſually amongſt the Mangrove-trees, and that is the Bamboe, a large knotted hollow cane, that grows to the thickneſs of a man's leg, and ſometimes as big as his middle. Theſe Bamboes ſerve for meaſures; and they convert them into veſſels to hold their liquors, when ſaw'd off at the joint; and put them to ſeveral other uſes.

Maho-tree.

The Maho-tree is of the bigneſs of an Aſh. The bark looks ragged like tatter'd canvas; and it will ſtrip of in ſtrings from the top to the bottom: Of this they make ropes, and even cables. Having ſtripped off the bark in great flakes, they then divide them into ſmaller ſtrings, which they beat as we do Hemp, and afterwards twiſt into ropes: Of theſe ſtrings they alſo make fiſhing-nets.

Lightwood.

The Lightwood-tree, ſo called from the lightneſs of the wood, is of the ſize of an Elm, ſtreight and well-bodied, and ſomewhat reſembles Cork: It is ſo exceeding light in the water, that three or four blocks of it, of the thickneſs of a man's thigh, and four foot long, will make a rafter on which three men may go out to ſea; and the Indians ſometimes make large rafters of it to carry their goods along the coaſt; which on the coaſt of the South-ſea are called Bark-logs.

Whitewood.

There is another tree, which has obtained the name of Whitewood, from its exceeding whiteneſs. The body of it is about as thick as a large nine-pin, and 18 or 20 foot high: The wood hard, cloſe, and ponderous, and of a very fine grain, and eſteemed fit for inlaying and cabinet-work. The reſt of their foreſt-trees will be deſcribed in treating of other parts of America.

Fruit-trees and fruits. Cabbage.

I proceed, in the next place, to the deſcription of their fruit-trees and fruits, among which I range the Cabbage. This is a tall ſlender tree, frequently 90 or 100 foot in height. **Dampier** ſays, he meaſured one after it was cut down, in the Bay of Campeachy, that was 120 foot long; and there are ſome much longer. There are no boughs on it, but at the head; and there the branches are of the bigneſs of a man's arm, and 12 or 14 foot long. About 2 foot from the trunk, theſe branches ſhoot out long narrow leaves, about an inch broad, which grow ſo regularly on each ſide, that the whole branch ſeems but one leaf. The fruit is found at the top of the tree, amidſt the branches. It is about a foot long, and ſix inches round; of the form of an ordinary Cabbage, and ſurrounded with young leaves. According to **Dampier**'s deſcription, it is as white as milk, and as ſweet as a nut, if eaten raw; and is very good boil'd. There hangs down alſo from the top of the tree great bunches of red berries, of about ſix pound weight, like bunches of Grapes; but theſe are only food for their hogs, not being at all palatable. The body of the tree is mark'd with rings or ſtreaks, from the top to the bottom, at half a foot diſtance the one from the other. The bark is thin and brittle, the wood black and hard, and the heart or middle of the tree is a white pith. They uſually cut down the tree for the cabbage; for the gathering the fruit kills it, if they let it ſtand; and the climbing this lofty plant is as much trouble as the felling of it. The wood is uſed, in ſome places, for boarding the ſides of their houſes; the body being eaſily ſplit into four parts for that purpoſe. Theſe trees appear extreamly beautiful in the foreſts, ſpreading their fine branches above the heads of all other trees.

The Calabaſh.

The Calabaſh-tree is ſhort and thick, and the fruit grows among the boughs as Apples do; the ſhell is hard and thin, of a globular figure, and will hold from two to five quarts. There are two ſorts of them; of the one, the fruit is ſweet; of the other, bitter: The ſubſtance of both ſpungy and juicy. The Indians eat the ſweet Calabaſh frequently on a journey; but it is not very palatable: The bitter is medicinal, and eſteem'd a remedy for Agues. But what this fruit is moſt valued for, is its ſhell, of which the Indians make bottles, bowls, drinking-cups, and all kind of veſſels for their meat and drink.

The Cacao-tree and nut.

The Cacao ſhall be deſcribed next. This tree, full grown, and of the largeſt ſort, according to **Dampier**, is ſeven or eight foot high to the branches, and a foot and a half thick: The boughs ſpread horizontally, like the Oak; and have dark green leaves, like thoſe of the Plum-tree, but larger; and the nuts are encloſed in cods, which hang down by a tough ſtalk from the body of the tree, and from the larger branches; and there are uſually about twenty or thirty of theſe cods upon a well-bearing tree. The cod, or ſhell, is almoſt half an inch thick, neither ſpungy nor woody, but of a ſubſtance between both, brittle and harder than the rind of a Lemon, and, like that, the ſurface is grained or knotted, but more coarſe and unequal. The cods are, at firſt, of a dark green; but the ſide next the ſun of a muddy red. As they ripen, the green turns to a fine bright yellow, and the muddy to a more beautiful red. They neither ripen, nor are gather'd at once; but, for three weeks or a month, while the ſeaſon laſts, the Overſeers of the plantations go every day to ſee which are turn'd yellow, not cutting more than one or two from a tree in a day. When the cods are gather'd, they are laid in heaps to ſweat; after which, they break the rind or ſhell, and take out the nuts, which ſtick cloſe together in regular rows, like the grain in an ear of Maiz. There are fourſcore or an hundred nuts in a cod, according to **Dampier** (thirty or forty, according to **Funnel**; but ten or fifteen, ſays **Gemelli Careri**) about the bigneſs of an Almond. The young trees are raiſed from nuts, and bear in four or five years; and they have from five hundred to two thouſand trees in a plantation, or Cacao-walk, as it is called. The young trees are ſhelter'd from the ſun at firſt by Plantain-trees ſet about them; but, when they are grown to any bigneſs, the Plantains are cut down.

Gemelli Careri gives us this account of the tree and fruit. He ſays, the nut is planted in a hot and dry ſoil: That it ſprings up within a fortnight, but does not grow above three ſpans in two years, at which height it muſt be tranſplanted; and then the Spaniards ſet them in rows, eighteen ſpans from each other. A ſtake is ſet up to ſupport them, and Plantains and other trees planted about them, becauſe they thrive beſt in the ſhade: However, the root muſt be kept warm, and defended from too much wet, and from a ſpecies of worms that are very prejudicial to them. Within the ſpace of five years, it is as thick as a man's wriſt, and ſeven ſpans in height; and then it bears. Its leaves are like the Cheſnut, and it bloſſoms all over like the Jeſſamin: From the bloſſom ſhoots out an ear, or cod, like that of Indian-wheat, which is at firſt green,

green, and of a cheſnut colour when ripe; but ſometimes yellow, white, or purple. Within the ear (or ſhell) are found the Cacao-nuts, with a white down upon them; being from ten to fifteen in number. Theſe ears are gather'd about the full of the moon; and the nuts, being taken out, are kept drying in the houſe, in the ſhade; then laid three days in the ſun, and afterwards in the houſe, 'till they are well dried.

Venella.

The Venella, or Bainilla, call'd by the Spaniards Bexuco, which is uſually mix'd with the Cacao-nut to make Chocolate, is a ſort of cane, which twines about the Orange-tree, or any other, like Ivy: It produces a long green cod, which, when gather'd and dry'd in the ſun, is hard and blackiſh. He obſerves, that the Europeans to every pound of Cacao add a pound of Sugar, and an ounce of Cinnamon: But neither the Indians, or the Spaniards of America, uſe any Venella's, eſteeming them unwholeſome. The beſt Chocolate, according to the Indians, is made with Cinnamon, adding to every pound of Cacao two ounces of Indian-wheat. This liquor was drank by the Indians (without Cinnamon) before the Spaniards arrived there; but they have improved it, and it is ſo common now at Mexico, that there is ſcarce a Negroe or a common Porter but drinks it every day, and the better ſort of people four times a day. GEMELLI obſerves, that Cacao-nuts go in the markets of Mexico inſtead of ſmall money, twelve or fifteen of them being about the value of a penny; but they riſe and fall in their value, according to the plenty or ſcarcity of this fruit.

Plantains and Bananoes.

Plantains and Bananoes are fruits very common here, as well as in Africa and the Eaſt-Indies. The Plantain fruit is of the ſize and ſhape of a Bologna ſauſage; the rind yellow, and very tender, which being ſtripped off, we find a ſoft luſcious pulp, very agreeable to ſome palates: It has the largeſt leaf of any plant. The Bananoe is much the ſame kind of fruit, but leſs; and both of them are eaten raw, or roaſted, by the natives all day long. They ſteep them alſo in water, and, adding ſome honey to them, make a liquor tolerably ſtrong and pleaſant.

The Pine-apple.

The Pine-apple alſo is common to the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies. It is of the ſhape of one of our Pine-apples, but much larger; the rind full as rough, but eaſily pared off: The fruit is yellow, and as firm as a Peach; and is generally ſaid to have the taſte of every delicious fruit. Nothing can excel thoſe I met with in the Eaſt-Indies; but they were held to be hot and feveriſh. The Spaniards, who preſerve all manner of fruits, eſteem this the beſt. The reader will find a full deſcription of the tree and fruit, as alſo of the Plantain and Bananoe, in the Firſt Volume of *Modern Hiſtory*, which treats of the Eaſt-Indies.

Sapadillo.

The Sapadillo reſembles the Pear-tree in its ſize and figure, and the fruit appears to the view like that of the Bergamot-pear. When firſt gather'd, the juice is white and clammy, and the pulp hard; but, after it has lain two or three days, it becomes ſoft and very ſweet. In the middle of it are two or three black ſtones or ſeeds; and it is generally eſteem'd an excellent cooling fruit.

Avogato Pear.

The Avogato Pear-tree is of the ſize of the former, and not unlike it in ſhape; the fruit green, and as large as a Lemon, and, when ripe, turns yellow: It has a ſoft thin rind, which is peeled off; and the pulp is as ſoft as butter, but a little inſipid; and therefore they uſually mix it with ſugar and lime-juice; and thus order'd, the Spaniards eſteem it an excellent diſh, eating often of it: And it is the more eſteemed by that people, according to DAMPIER, as it inſpires them with freſh vigour for venereal encounters.

Mammee-tree.

The Mammee-tree is a large, tall, ſtreight-bodied tree, without knots or branches for ſixty or ſeventy foot in height: The head ſpreads its branches pretty wide: the fruit is round, and of the ſize of a French pippin; the rind yellow, and tough when it is ripe; the pulp yellow, and has in it two large ſtones as big as Almonds: It has a fine fragrant ſmell, and the taſte is anſwerable.

Mammee-Sappota-tree.

The Mammee-Sappota-tree is not ſo large or tall as the former; the rind of the fruit thin and brittle, and the pulp a deep red, with a rough flat ſtone in it: This fruit is extremely well reliſh'd, and wholeſome; and as generally eaten as any fruit in the Weſt-Indies. There is alſo the wild Mammee-tree, which bears no fruit; but the timber, being very ſtreight and tall, ſerves for maſts for ſhips.

Grape-tree.

The Grape-tree is 7 or 8 foot high, and 2 or 3 in circumference; the fruit about the bigneſs of a common Grape, and grows in cluſters, but has a great ſtone in the middle of it; the pulp is reddiſh, wholeſome, and well taſted; tho' there is but little of it.

Guava.

The Guava is common to the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies; grows upon a ſhrub; the fruit green on the outſide, perfectly round, and of the ſize of a Crab-apple; the rind is ſoft, and, being taken off, we find a yellow or reddiſh pulp, full of ſeeds: It has both a tart and a ſweetiſh flavour, very agreeable to the palate; but moſt valuable for being of ſuch an aſtringent nature, that it will either prevent or cure a Dyſentery or Bloody-flux (the diſtemper that the Europeans are moſt liable to in all hot countries) if the patient has not neglected himſelf too long: And the Pomegranate has much the ſame effect. If our people were acquainted with the virtues of theſe, and ſome other fruits, when they firſt arrive in the Eaſt or Weſt-Indies, we ſhould not loſe half the men we uſually do; for they are to be had at any time of the year almoſt. The Guava is eſteem'd more wholeſome when it is green, than when it is ripe; for ſome have obſerved, when it is over-ripe, it has a laxative quality.

Prickle-pear.

The prickle-pear is a ſhrub about 5 foot high, that delights in a barren ſandy ſoil, eſpecially if it be near the ſea, where the ſand is brackiſh. It is ſo full of large ſtrong thorns (from whence it takes its name) that nothing makes a ſecurer fence. The fruit is as big as a large Plum, and opens when ripe like a Medlar, diſcovering a red pulp full of ſeeds; pleaſant to the taſte, and very cooling and refreſhing; but colours the urine like blood, which has frighten'd ſtrangers that were not acquainted with it: However, this is attended with no ill conſequences.

Bibby-tree.

The Bibby-tree has a ſtreight ſlender body, naked of leaves, but full of thorns; ſixty or ſeventy foot high: At the top it is full of branches, among which grows the fruit, being white berries of the bigneſs of a Nutmeg: They are very oily: The Indians beat them in a mortar, and boil the liquor that comes from them, which produces a bitter oil, that they anoint themſelves with, and mix it with the colours they uſe in painting their bodies. They alſo tap the Bibby-tree, and it affords them a tart liquor, of the colour of Whey, which is fit to drink, after they have kept it two or three days.

European fruits here.

Beſides the fruits proper to Mexico, the Spaniards have introduced Oranges, Lemons, Grapes, Figs, and almoſt all manner of European fruits, except Nuts and Cherries: But the Grapes of this country

No wine.

try will not make wine; nor do I remember any country between the Tropics, where wine is made of Grapes, unleſs in Peru, where they have not thoſe exceſſive rains annually as they have in every other country that lies within the Tropics.

As to their Sugar, Indico, Otta, Silveſter, and other dyes; Tobacco, Pepper, Ginger, and ſuch plants as they have in common with the reſt of America; I ſhall deſcribe them hereafter, when I come to treat of the Britiſh plantations.

Gourds.

But I muſt not forget their Gourds, which grow to a very large ſize, and either run upon the ground, or up the trees; the meat or pulp of ſome of them ſerving for food, and others for medicine: But they are valued moſt by the natives for their ſhells, which ſerve them for pails, bowls, and buckets.

Melons, &c.

As to Melons, Cucumbers, and Onions, they have them in much greater perfection here, and in all hot countries, than in colder climates.

Silk-graſs.

There is alſo a very uſeful plant here, to which the Engliſh have given the name of Silk-graſs. It pretty much reſembles Flags or Sedge, and grows on the ſides of hills. The leaves are as thick as a man's hand in the middle, and thin at the edges; a yard or two in length, and indented like a ſaw. The Indians cut them at a proper growth; then dry and beat them, and no Flax affords a better thread; and of theſe they make cordage and fiſhing-nets, ſtockings and hammocks: They alſo make a yellowiſh lace of the thread, which is worn by the Meſtiſe women.

Manchinel-tree.

There are ſtill ſome other trees I have omitted, which deſerve a particular notice, as the Manchinel-tree, whoſe fruit is in ſmell, taſte and colour like a lovely Apple, but leſs, and of a poiſonous nature; inſomuch, that if any animal has been feeding on it, the fleſh of the creature will poiſon the man that eats it. Theſe trees have large bodies, fine ſpread heads, full of leaves; but are very low: The wood has a curious grain; and therefore is ſometimes uſed in carving and cabinet-work; but the very ſap, 'tis ſaid, will raiſe bliſters where it falls, as will the rain-water which runs from it, according to WAFER.

Tamarinds, Locuſt, Baſtard Cinnamon.

Sapotes, a farther account of them.

Thy have alſo Tamarinds, Locuſt-trees, and a Baſtard Cinnamon, in Mexico: And GEMELLI CARERI gives us this farther account of the Sapotes. He obſerves, there are four ſorts of them: 1. The Black Sapotes, as big as a Walnut-tree, but the leaves ſmaller; the fruit round, and has a thin green rind; the pulp of the colour and taſte of Caſſia, with four ſmall kernels in it. 2. The White Sapotes, as tall as a Pear-tree, and the fruit as large as a Pear; green without, and white within; and has four white kernels: This fruit inclines people to ſleep. 3. The Sapote Borachio, or Drunken Sapote, ſo called from its inebriating quality: A pleaſant tart fruit. 4. The Little Sapote, whoſe fruit is of a purple colour, and pleaſant taſted; and as much valued as any fruit that grows in Mexico.

Granadilla.

The Granadilla de China grows like Ivy, winding about ſome neighbouring tree 'till it perfectly covers it: The fruit is as big as a Hen's egg, white and yellow without, and white within; and has ſeeds like the Grape: There is a pretty mixture of ſweet and ſour in the taſte. Moſt of theſe fruits are to be had, in the markets of Mexico, from March to September; and the Mammees and Black Sapote grow on the mountains all the year round.

The ſeaſon of fruit.

Maghey-tree and liquor.

According to GEMELLI, there is not a plant of more general uſe than the Maghey; for the leaves, he ſays, furniſh the natives with thread for linnen and cordage: It alſo yields Balſam, and a liquor as ſweet as Honey; into which the Indians infuſe a root that makes it ferment like wine, and it is of equal ſtrength, making people very drunk. They diſtil a ſpirit from it alſo as ſtrong as Brandy: This was ſo univerſally drank in the city of Mexico, GEMELLI relates, that the exciſe of it came to eleven hundred thouſand pieces of eight (about two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling) per annum: But the Indians frequently getting drunk and mad with this liquor, and making an inſurrection in the year 1692, when they ſet fire to the Viceroy's palace, and committed many other outrages, it was prohibited for ſome time: However, the duty being ſo conſiderable, GEMELLI ſays, there came orders from Spain to permit the making and drinking this liquor again, when he was at Mexico in the year 1698.

Gums and drugs.

I proceed, in the next place, to enquire into the moſt remarkable balms, gums, and drugs, that are found in Mexico; among which are the Copal and Anime; both of them a kind of roſin, and not much unlike.

Gum Copal.

The Copal is very white and clear, and has a pretty good ſcent: Of this the Indians made incenſe and perfumes for their ſacrifices in their temples; and, when the Spaniards firſt arrived, their Prieſts went out to meet them with little fire-pans, or cenſers, in which they burnt this Copal: And the Spaniſh Phyſicians now burn it under their patients noſes, for diſeaſes ariſing from the coldneſs of the head.

Anime.

The Anime alſo is a white gum, or roſin, diſtilling from a great tree, and more oily than Copal: It has an exceeding pleaſant ſmell, when burnt. This alſo is uſed by Phyſicians for pains in the head, and in plaiſters and ſear-cloths applied to the ſtomach.

Tacamahaca.

The gum Tacamahaca is got by making inciſions in a tree like a Willow: It has a very fine ſcent, and is of great uſe to diſſolve ſwellings, remove pains in the limbs, and in many other caſes: And the gum Coranna hath much the ſame effects.

Coranna.

Liquid Amber.

The liquid Amber is obtained by making inciſions in a fine fair tree that grows in Mexico. The bark of this tree, as well as the liquor diſtilling from it, has an exceeding ſweet ſmell, but more when it is burnt; a little of it being ſufficient to perfume whole houſes, and even ſtreets: It is mighty refreſhing to the head, and, uſed in plaiſters, diſſolves ſwellings, and eaſes pains in the ſtomach or limbs.

Oil of Amber.

The oil of Amber is drawn from liquid Amber, and is eſteemed an excellent medicine for pains in the limbs, or dead palſies, the patient being rubbed with it.

Balſam.

The Balm, or Balſam, uſually called the Balſam of Peru, is alſo found in Mexico. The tree that yields it, is of the ſize and figure of the Pomegranate-tree: It is got by making inciſions in the bark, and is almoſt of all colours, viz. white, red, green, and blackiſh: It is uſed both in medicine and as a perfume; and the Indians applied it to the healing of wounds before the Spaniards arrived there. Taken inwardly, it is good for coughs and ſhortneſs of breath; for diſeaſes in the bladder, and for obſtructions: It ſtrengthens the ſtomach, and removes pains in it; and is ſaid to have many other virtues. When the Spaniards firſt made uſe of it to cure their wounded men, at the ſiege of Mexico, as they had been taught by their Indian allies, the cures were perform'd ſo ſuddenly, that they imagined there was ſomething miraculous in it. The beſt ſort of this balſam, which is obtained by inciſion, is called Opobalſamum. There is another ſort they get by boiling the wood of the tree cut into ſmall pieces, there ariſing a kind of oil on the top of the liquor, which, when cool, grows thick, and is called Xylobalſamum.

There are three ſorts of wood alſo found in Mexico, of great uſe in medicine, viz. Guiacum, China Root, and Sarſiparilla.

Guiacum.

The Guiacum is a tree as large as an Oak; the bark dry, but full of gum; the heart of the tree almoſt black, very hard, and ponderous: It has a ſmall leaf, and yields a yellow flower, out of which proceeds a round fruit, of the ſize of a Crab-apple, with ſmall kernels. The Phyſicians make a decoction of the wood and bark, cut into thin ſlices, for their patients; and it is held to be an excellent remedy for the French diſeaſe. It is ſaid alſo to cure the Dropſy, and many other diſtempers.

China-root.

The China-root we received firſt from China: But this is alſo a Mexican plant, and is ſaid to have much the ſame virtues as the former, and to give relief in the Gout and Sciatica.

Sarſiparilla.

The Sarſiparilla alſo is chiefly remarkable for its roots, which are very long and large. It is found in the province of Honduras. They ſometimes make a ſyrup of it; but it is taken ſeveral ways, for the ſame diſtempers, as the China-root is taken.

Mechoacan.

The root Mechoacan, which takes its name from a province of Mexico, where it is found, is another excellent medicine in the Dropſy, Jaundice, and many other diſtempers.

Caſſava-root.

The roots which ſerve the Indians chiefly for food, are the Caſſava, or Caſſabi-root, Yams, and Potatoes.

The Caſſava-root ſomething reſembles a Parſnip, There are two ſorts of them; the one ſweet and innocent, the other poiſonous: The ſweet ſort they roaſt, and eat as they do Potatoes and other roots: Of the poiſonous ſort they firſt boil and preſs out all the juice, then dry and grind it to powder, and make biſcuit of it; and this is the only bread or flour they have in moſt parts of South America, and in ſome provinces of North America. But the natives, for the moſt part, in North America, make bread and flour of Maiz, or Indian-corn, as they did before the Spaniards came thither.

As to Yams, Potatoes, Rhadiſhes, &c. they need no deſcription: I ſhall only obſerve, that all manner of European roots and fruits grow much larger, and come to much greater perfection there than here; and that the Spaniards have tranſported thither almoſt every ſpecies of herbs and ſallads.

Corn and huſbandry.

I come now to ſpeak of their huſbandry. The Spaniards have carried over Wheat and Barley, Peas and Beans, and other European grain, which thrive very well in ſome places; but their principal grain is ſtill (as it was before the conqueſt) Maiz, or Indian-corn, which is the food of Men, of Horſes, Mules and Oxen. This they plant in little hillocks, like thoſe in our Hop-grounds, at the beginning of the rainy ſeaſon, in May or June; and reap in October when the fair weather returns. They may, and ſome of them do, plant this grain at other times, and it grows pretty well; but the Spring is the general ſeed-time; and their principal harveſt falls in our Autumn.

This Maiz, or Indian-corn, we ſee frequently brought to England: The ſtem is as big as a ſmall cane, and uſually bears two or three heads or ears, in each of which are ſeveral hundred grains, ſet as cloſe as poſſible; being of a yellow colour, and taſting much like our dry'd Peas, pretty ſtrong; and the bread or cakes made of the flour is harſh and unpalatable, if it is not eat the ſame day it is made. This grain they alſo ſteep in water, and make ſtrong drink of it, as has been obſerved already. They ſow European Wheat, Barley, Peas and Beans almoſt at any time, only contriving that the harveſt may be in the fair ſeaſon.

Grazing.

The Spaniards of Mexico, beſides their arable, have large grazing-farms, in which one Grazier ſhall have ſeveral hundred head of Black cattle, and a great many thouſand Sheep. During the rainy ſeaſon, which laſts near half the year, and for ſome months after, they never want good paſture. When the meadows and low grounds are overflow'd, their hills produce plenty of graſs. They are moſt put to it for fodder in February, March and April, when their grounds are burnt up; and there is very little graſs to be met with, except on the banks of their lakes and rivers, and in the woods; then they have little elſe to feed them with, but Barley and Indian-corn, ſtraw, and the blades that ſhoot from the Indian-corn, which is not much better than ſtraw; for they make no hay in any hot countries.

Plantations of the Indians.

As to the Indians, who have hitherto preſerved their liberties, and are not yet under the tyranny of the Spaniards, they have only ſmall plantations among the woods, at a diſtance from the Spaniſh towns; where they plant a little Maiz, Yams and Potatoes, with ſome few Plaintains, and other fruits. The men cut down the timber, and clear the ground at firſt; but both the planting and gathering in the grain and fruits are left entirely to the women, as well as the buſineſs within doors: And as the unconquer'd Indians ſubſiſt chiefly by hunting and fiſhing, many of them, 'tis ſaid, plant little or nothing, but rob the Spaniſh plantations, of which they look upon themſelves the true proprietors, and furniſh themſelves that way with Corn, Cacao, and other proviſions.

Rice.

Sugar-farms, plantations of Tobacco, Indico, &c.

The Spaniards, beſide their Maiz, Wheat, and other European grain, ſow ſome Rice; for which this country (being flooded every year) is extremely proper, that grain growing in water: They plant Rice therefore ſoon after the rainy ſeaſon begins, and it is fit to be moved by that time the fair weather returns. They have alſo large farms or plantations of Sugar, Tobacco, and Indico; but of the cultivation and huſbandry of theſe I ſhall enlarge in the deſcription of the Britiſh plantations, where they are brought to as great perfection as any-where.

Logwood, Cochineel plantations, Silveſter, Otta, Cotton, Salt, Fiſheries.

They are pretty much employ'd alſo in cutting Logwood in their Cochineel plantations, and looking after the Silveſter, Otta, and other dying plants and herbs; in cultivating and dreſſing their Cotton; in the making of Salt, and in their fiſheries, which are very conſiderable on their ſea-coaſts, and in their numerous lakes and rivers.

Mexican flowers.

As to flowers, ACOSTA obſerves, that the Indians are extremely fond of them, and have great variety, which they make up into noſegays, and preſent to their ſuperiors, when they have any favour to aſk, or would teſtify their eſteem and affection for them: That their great men are ſeldom ſeen without a noſegay in their hands; and they always preſent them to their gueſts at entertainments, expreſſing a great deal of art in the matching and diſpoſing of the flowers: That they now uſe Spaniſh flowers, as well as thoſe of the country; and that European flowers come to great perfection there; namely, Roſes, Jeſſamin, Violets, Gilliflowers, and ſeveral others that have been tranſported from Spain. As to the names of the Indian flowers, ACOSTA does not mention them; only ſays, they have blue, red, violet, yellow and white, and a thouſand different colours; which the Indians uſed to wear on their heads, as they did feathers, for or-

Flowers of trees.

nament: But he acknowledges, their flowers do not ſmell very ſweet, unleſs they be the bloſſoms or flowers that grow upon trees; one of which he calls the Floripondro, which bears no fruit, but the flowers are larger than a Lilly, and remain upon the tree all the year round; the ſcent whereof is exceeding ſweet and agreeable, morning and evening. Another tree bears a flower of the ſhape of a heart, whoſe ſcent is too ſtrong and ſweet to be borne with pleaſure: And the tree Granadilla, the ſuperſtitious imagine, has the portraiture of the inſtruments of our Saviour's paſſion; as the nails, the pillar to which he was faſten'd, the ſcourge and crown of thorns, and the five wounds: But Acosta acknowledges, it requires a very lively imagination, and a great deal of faith, to diſcover theſe things.

Flowers have very little ſcent in hot countries.

But how beautiful ſoever the Indian flowers may be to the eye, every one, who has reſided in hot countries, muſt know they have little or no ſcent (exeept thoſe on their trees.) The ſun appears to be a great enemy to fragrant flowers, where it ſhines with an intenſe heat. We may obſerve, even in this cool climate, that no flowers ſmell ſo ſweetly in the heat of the day, as they do morning and evening. Therefore thoſe who recommend Mexico for its odoriferous herbs and flowers, are certainly under a miſtake; tho' it is true, they abound in ſweet woods and aromatic gums, which make ſome amends for this defect. And thus having gone through their vegetables, as far as is conſiſtent with a work of this general nature, I proceed to enquire into their minerals.

CHAP. X.

Of the Mexican minerals; their coin; their precious ſtones and pearls; and of their weights and meaſures.

Minerals.

IT was an inſatiable thirſt after theſe rich treaſures, that chiefly incited the Spaniards to viſit the Mexican ſhores, and plant colonies in that new world. A zeal for the propagation of Chriſtianity, which they pretended, was certainly a very laudable motive for their paſſing the Atlantick ocean; but had there been no Gold, Silver, or Precious ſtones to be found there, poſſibly the Adventurers had not been very numerous.

The Gold and Silver mines of Mexico are in the rocky, mountainous, and barren parts of the country; and, indeed, neither theſe or any other metals are found in a fruitful ſoil.

Gold mines.

Gold is found here either in grains, in duſt, in the ſands of rivers, or in ſtone in the mines. The grains are ſmall pieces of Gold, like the ſeeds or kernels of fruit, which are found without the mixture of any other metal, and have no need of melting or refining: And Acosta aſſures us, he has ſeen theſe ſo large as to weigh many pounds; and ſometimes they find pieces very fine and pure, like ſmall round roots. But much the greateſt quantity of gold is found in duſt in the ſands of rivers and torrents, after the rains have fallen; and it is the buſineſs of many thouſand Indians and Negroes to take up and waſh ſuch ſands, in bowls and baſons, 'till they have ſeparated the gold from the ſand. As to the gold which is found in the mines, it is intermix'd, and in a manner incorporated, with great hard ſtones; ſome of which, the ſame writer relates, he has ſeen, that were half gold and half ſtone: That it runs in veins like ſilver, and is exceeding hard to dig and ſeparate: That this gold is uſually mix'd with ſilver or copper; and that which is incorporated with copper is the beſt. The gold ſeems to lie much nearer the ſurface than ſilver, it being found in large pieces at the roots of trees on the mountains, and waſh'd into the rivers by the rains; and, as far as I can learn, if they do not find it pretty near the ſurface in the mines, they never dig ſo deep for it as they do for ſilver. Another obſervation they make is, that gold is uſually found in very hot countries, and ſeldom in a cold climate; from whence ſome imagine, the ſun has a great ſhare in producing it. The pureſt gold in Mexico is found in the province of Veragua.

The reaſon that gold is more eſteem'd than any other metal, Acosta obſerves, is, becauſe it is the moſt durable and incorruptible; for fire, which conſumes and diminiſhes other metals, amends this, and brings it to perfection. Golds keep its colour alſo, tho' it have often paſs'd through the fire; and, notwithſtanding the body is ſo firm and ſolid, yet is it the moſt ſoft and malleable, and the moſt eaſily wrought, of any other metal. But I take it, that the chief reaſon gold is more valued than other metals is, the ſcarcity of it, and the difficulty of coming at it; for iron, no doubt, is much more uſeful and ſerviceable than gold; and, were it as ſcarce, would be much more valued, all manner of tools, arms, and inſtruments of huſbandry, being made of this metal, and no other ſo proper for theſe uſes.

Silver mines.

Acosta begins his deſcription of Silver with the following paſſage out of the book of Job, viz. "Silver hath certain beginnings and roots in its "veins; and gold hath a ſettled place where it engenders and thickens; iron, with digging, is "drawn out of the earth; and ſtone, molten with "heat, is turn'd into copper." Thus, ſays that writer, Job wiſely ſhews, in few words, the nature of ſilver, gold, iron, and copper: But, methinks, very little of the nature of theſe metals is to be learnt from this paſſage. Thus much, however, may be obſerved from hence, That the antients, in thoſe very early ages, uſed to work ſuch mines, and underſtood how to ſeparate and purify ſuch metals.

The ſame writer proceeds to obſerve, that the reaſon the ſecond place among theſe metals is given to ſilver, is that it approaches nearer gold than any other; is more durable, leſs endamaged by fire, and more malleable; and even ſurpaſſes gold in its brightneſs, beauty, and ſound: For the colour, ſays he, more reſembles light, and the ſound is more lively, than the other. But I muſt obſerve, as on the laſt head, that the principal reaſon ſilver has the ſecond place in our eſteem is, that it is more difficult to come at than any metal but gold; for iron is certainly much more uſeful than ſilver. But Acosta very juſtly obſerves farther, that there has been more ſilver found in America than in all parts of the world beſides; tho' China and Guinea ſeem to have a greater plenty of gold.

The ſilver mines, as has been hinted already, are uſually found in barren rocks and mountains; tho' they are ſometimes met with in plain and champain fields. There are two ſeveral ſorts of them; the one ſtraggling here and there in ſpots, the other more continuous and fix'd. It is the fix'd mine that has the greateſt depth and length; and theſe are ſaid to reſemble the branches and ramifications of trees and plants; and where they find one, they uſually meet with a great many in the ſame place. The Indians, it ſeems, knew how to purify ſilver by fire, and to ſeparate it from lead and other metals, before the Spaniards came amongſt them; but they knew nothing of the art of refining it by quickſilver, which the Spaniards uſe at this day. There are ſome ſorts of ſilver-oar, which cannot be purified and refined by fire alone without quickſilver: This kind of oar they call poor, from its yielding but little ſilver, and great quantity of baſer metals.

The veins where they find ſilver run between two rocks; the one commonly hard as flint, and the other ſofter and eaſy to break. The oar is very unequal; for in the ſame vein they find that which is very rich, and that which is very poor: The richeſt oar is of an amber colour, and the ſecond ſort that which inclines to black; a third is red, and a fourth of an aſh-colour; and ſome of the oar is ſcarce to be diſtinguiſh'd from common ſtone, unleſs by thoſe who are well skill'd in minerals. It is uſual to draw from one quintal (or five hundred weight) of oar, thirty, forty, and fifty peſo's of ſilver, of the value of thirteen ryals (ſix ſhillings and ſix-pence): And ACOSTA relates, that he ſaw ſome from whence was extracted two hundred and fifty peſo's out of every quintal; but this is a very great rarity. The pooreſt oar yields from two to ſix peſo's the quintal, or very little more: This the Indians look'd upon as rubbiſh before the Spaniards came, not being able to refine it by fire; but this is found to be much eaſier refined by quickſilver than the richeſt oar; and they uſe quickſilver now both in Mexico and Peru, which is found to extract more ſilver out of any oar than the fire will: But, as they have no mines of quickſilver in Mexico, as they have in Peru, the ſilver is refin'd at a much eaſier expence in Peru than it is in the country I am deſcribing.

As the rich oar yields much ſilver, ſo it conſumes a great deal of quickſilver; and that which yields but little ſilver, waſtes but little quickſilver.

Refining of ſilver.

The manner of refining ſilver, according to ACOSTA, is thus: They firſt grind or beat the oar to powder, and then ſift it through a fine ſieve: After which, they put the powder into veſſels, and ſet it over furnaces, putting to every fifty quintals of oar five quintals of ſalt, the ſalt ſeparating the earth and droſs from the ſilver, and making way for the quickſilver to operate more effectually: Then they ſtrain the quickſilver through a piece of fine linnen into the oar, ſtirring it about, ſo that it may the better incorporate with the other. Before they uſed furnaces, they mingled the oar with the quickſilver in great troughs, letting it remain ſome days, and then mixed and ſtirred it 'till they thought the quickſilver was well incorporated with the ſilver, which was about twenty days; but when they found that fire incorporated them much ſooner, they ſet their veſſels over furnaces, and, in five or ſix days, the quickſilver is incorporated with the ſilver. When the mercury has done its part, and aſſembled all the ſilver, leaving nothing behind, but is filled as a ſpunge with water, and has ſeparated the ſilver from the lead and copper, with which it was engender'd; they put the oar into coppers and veſſels full of water, turning it about with wheels, and waſhing of it: Whereupon the earth and droſs goes off with the water that runs away, and the ſilver and quickſilver, being more ponderous, remains at bottom. Then they take it out, and waſh it again in other tubs and veſſels, until they have well cleanſed the ſilver and quickſilver from all the droſs: After which, they ſtrain it through cloths, and make it into the form of ſugar-loaves, of about an hundred pound weight each; on which they put earthen veſſels or caps of the ſame ſhape; and, ſetting theſe over a violent fire, the quickſilver exhales in ſmoak, which, ſtriking againſt the earthen cap, thickens and diſtils like the ſmoak of a pot cover'd; and by a pipe, like that of a limbeck, they receive the quickſilver, which diſtils from it, the ſilver remaining without changing its form; but its weight is diminiſh'd five parts in ſix, and is light and porous like a ſpunge. Thus the quickſilver is ſeparated from the ſilver; and of two of theſe loaves they make one bar of ſilver, of ſixty-five or ſixty-ſix marks weight, eight ounces in every mark, and then carry them to be touch'd and mark'd.

GEMELLI CARERI relates, that when he was at Mexico, in the year 1698, he went to ſee the ſilver mines of Pachuca; one of which, call'd Santa Cruz, was 224 Engliſh yards deep; and the other, call'd Navarro, was 195 yards deep: That out of the firſt, the oar was drawn up by wheels, which were kept in perpetual motion by four mules, and as one bucket came up another went down; and that they drein'd the mine of water the ſame way; That out of the mine, call'd Navarro, the Indians brought up the oar on their backs with imminent danger, climbing up many ladders, or rather upright poſts with notches in them: for which they were paid four ryals (two ſhillings) a day, and at night were allowed to carry up as much oar as they could at once, and ſhare it with the owner of the mine. The ſame writer relates, that he went to ſee the mines on a neighbouring mountain, where he found a little city of thatch'd houſes, not leſs than twelve thouſand Indians getting a livelihood by digging in thoſe mines; adding, that there are, within ſix leagues of that mountain, no leſs than a thouſand mines; and that out of one of thoſe, called the Trinity, nine hundred or a thouſand men were employ'd every day, and, within the ſpace of ten years, had drawn forty millions of ſilver (I preſume he means pieces of eight or crowns): And that it had coſt them two millions to prop up thoſe mines with timber, and throw out the water; and it was then become ſo dangerous, that there was no working of it: And, indeed, nothing is ſo common with the Spaniards of Mexico and Peru, as to dig mountains perfectly hollow, in ſearch of ſilver, and leave nothing but a cruſt of earth and rocks, which it requires no ſmall skill and labour to ſupport, 'till they have exhauſted the treaſure.

But tho' the Trinity-mine was become impracticable, our author ſays they ſunk another near it, no leſs rich; into which he had the curioſity to go and ſee the veins of ſilver; and, having gone down five ladders or ſtages, he was aſtoniſh'd to ſee how likely the mine was to tumble in, and would have gone up again, but the Miner, his guide, who carried a light in his hand, perſuaded him to go down the reſt; which he did, in great fear, becauſe he found it difficult ſometimes to claſp the poſt in his arms, in which the ſteps were cut, and fix his feet in the notches: But having, at length, gone down three times as far as the Miner told him it was, he came at laſt to the place where the workmen, with iron wedges, were ſplitting the hard oar, and made it fly about; but they inform'd him, that it was ſofter in ſome places, and of various colours.

When he was at the bottom of the mine, he began to reflect on the danger he run, not only of falling, but of the peſtilential damps that frequently ariſe in theſe diſmal caverns: After he had ſtaid there about two hours, therefore, he went up again in the utmoſt terror, the aſcent being exceeding difficult; and, when he got up into the open air again, he ſeem'd newly born into the world, and condemn'd the raſhneſs of the attempt, wherein he thought he ran more hazards than he had done in travelling rouhd the globe.

From this mine GEMELLI went to ſee the oar ſeparated at the ſilver-works in Pachuca; where he obſerved the workmen, when the oar was brought to them, firſt broke it in pieces with hammers, to ſeparate the metal from the tepate, or ſtone, that had no ſilver in it: After which, they ſent the good oar to the mills to be reduced to powder, where they beat it as gun-powder is beaten in our mills. He afterwards proceeds to ſhew how it is refined; but, having taken this from ACOSTA, I omit that part of his relation, and obſerve, that quickſilver being ſcarce at Mexico, the owners of the mines have much leſs profit than in Peru: Whereupon the King, inſtead of a fifth he receives there, takes but a tenth part of the ſilver here.

Any one may open a mine.

Any perſon, who diſcovers a mine of gold or ſilver in Mexico, may work it, paying the King's tenth of the product; and the King's officers aſſign the diſcoverer ſixty yards round about the place he chooſes to dig; beyond which ſpace another may open a mine, leaving five yards between them for a partition: And, as they ſink under ground, one may work into another's diviſion, 'till he meets with his workmen; but then he muſt deſiſt, and retire into his own part.

Four millions ſterling produced annually.

All the ſilver dug in the mines of Mexico, or New Spain, is brought to the King's exchequer in the capital city, and enter'd there; except what is run and concealed, which amounts to a great deal: And it is related, that there are two millions of marks, of eight ounces each, enter'd in one year; out of which they coin annually, in that mint, ſeven hundred thouſand marks into pieces of eight.

Silver coin.

There are five ſorts of money coin'd in the mint of Mexico, viz. pieces of eight (of the value of four ſhillings and ſix-pence each) half pieces of eight, quarter pieces, ſingle ryals (about the value of ſix-pence engliſh) and half ryals.

There being ſome gold frequently mixed with the ſilver, they are ſeparated in this manner; viz. The metal being run and converted into little balls, theſe are put into veſſels, with aqua-fortis, to diſſolve, and the gold remains at the bottom of the veſſel like black powder: Then the aqua-fortis, containing the ſilver, is put into two glaſſes, their mouths fix'd together, and, fire being put to them, the ſilver remains in one of the glaſſes. The gold is afterwards run in a furnace, and caſt firſt into round pieces, and then into bars; as is alſo the ſilver ſeparated from it: And the gold is coined into pieces of ſixteen, eight, four, or two pieces of eight; which are call'd crowns of gold.

Gold coin.

Officers of the mint at Mexico.

All the chief Officers of the mint at Mexico, ſuch as the Treaſurer, the Aſſayer, Cutter, Clerk, Weigher, two Guards, and two Alcaids, are appointed by the King; and all the inferior Officers by the Treaſurer. The principal Officers purchaſe their places, and have the privilege of making them over, or aſſigning them to whom they pleaſe; but then the Officer that reſigns muſt live twenty days after his reſignation, to make it valid; and he, to whom the reſignation is made, muſt acquaint the Viceroy with it within ſixty days, and pay a third part of the value of his place to the King, and the other to his predeceſſor or his heirs.

Their ſalaries.

The Treaſurer's place is worth between fifty and ſixty thouſand pieces of eight (four ſhillings and ſix-pence each) per annum; thoſe of Aſſayer and Founder, ſettled for ever on the monaſtery and hermitage of the Bareſooted Carmelites of Mexico, fifteen or ſixteen thouſand pieces of eight per annum. The reſt of the chief Officers have three thouſand five hundred, and none of them leſs than eight hundred pieces of eight per annum. The Maſters of the eight furnaces and twenty Coiners have each of them eight hundred or a thouſand pieces of eight per annum, and the meaneſt ſervant earns a piece of eight a day, a great number of which being the Treaſurer's ſlaves, he has the profit of their places.

No coin among the Indians.

As to the Indians, they had no coin of any ſort when the Spaniards came amongſt them; gold and ſilver ſerved them only for ornament: Their traffick conſiſted in bartering and exchanging one thing for another; only the Cacao-nuts ſerved them to purchaſe herbs and flowers, and things of ſmall value; as they do ſtill in the markets of Mexico, neither the Spaniards or Indians having any copper-coin.

As to weights, the Indians had none; but they had both dry and liquid meaſures, made either of Calabaſhes, Bamboe-canes, or wood, by which they diſtinguiſh'd quantity: And they had their numbers and characters, by which they adjuſted the value of goods and the taxes impoſed on them.

Stones for buildings.

As to ſtones for building, there are in Mexico quarries of Jaſper, Porphyry, and all kinds of excellent Marble; for of ſuch ſtones, the Spaniſh hiſtorians relate, the palaces and temples of Mexico were built before the conqueſt.

Precious ſtones and jewels.

They mention alſo a great many precious ſtones and jewels in the ornaments of MONTEZUMA; but have not ſpecified what they were, unleſs Emeralds and Pearls, and of theſe the world is furniſh'd with great quantities from Mexico.

Emeralds.

The Emerald is a green ſtone, and, according to ACOSTA, grows in a ſtone like Cryſtal; and he ſays, they ſeem by little and little to harden and refine: Some he had ſeen that were half white and half green; others all white, and ſome perfectly green, which were moſt eſteemed: He had ſeen ſome of them as big as a nut; and there were others larger: But as to the Emeralds, mentioned by the antients in the temples of Jupiter and Hercules, ſeveral cubits long, of which pillars were form'd, he ſays, there might be green ſtones called Emeralds; but they were certainly falſe Emeralds, and not comparable to the true.

Pearls.

With their jewels and precious ſtones I may very well range their Pearls; of which there are great quantities found on the coaſts of Mexico, as well as in the ſeas of South America. Multitudes of Indians and other ſlaves have been deſtroy'd by the Spaniards in this part of the world, in fiſhing up the Oyſters that contain them. Theſe ſlaves, ACOSTA relates, were forced to dive into ſix, nine, and even twelve fathoms water, in ſearch of theſe Oyſters, which are faſten'd to rocks and gravel in the ſea; and that they continue above a quarter of an hour under water, as he himſelf had ſeen, being dieted in ſuch a manner as might beſt enable them to hold their breath. The ſame writer obſerves, that Pearls differ much in their ſize, figure, colour, and luſtre; and that it is very rare to find two of the ſame ſize, form and colour; and, when they do find two alike in all reſpects, it much increaſes the value of both, eſpecially for ear-rings: He had ſeen ſeveral pair valued at a thouſand ducats each; which, however, fell ſhort of CLEOPATRA's two Pearls, one of which was valued at an hundred thouſand ducats; and yet that Queen had the vanity, it ſeems, to beat one of them to powder, and ſwallow it at a draught, at a ſupper ſhe made for MARK ANTHONY: And the

CHAP. X.

the other, 'tis ſaid, was cut in two, and hung in the ears of the image of Venus in the Pantheon at Rome. But, as they are more plentiful now, eſpecially ſince the diſcovery of America, there are none of near that value at preſent; tho' they are not inferior to thoſe the antients mention, in any reſpect but the price.

CHAP. XI.

Of the traffick of Mexico; their carriages, inns, and way of travelling.

Traffick with foreigners prohibited.

THE people of Mexico, and the reſt of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, are prohibited trading with any but the ſubjects of Spain; nor are foreigners ſuffer'd to viſit their coaſts, unleſs the Aſſientiſts, who furniſh them with ſlaves, and that under ſeveral reſtrictions, as will be related hereafter.

Notwithſtanding which, the traffick of Mexico is one of the richeſt and moſt extenſive in the world; for they trade with the Philippine iſlands near the Coaſt of China, through the South-ſea, or Pacific-ocean; with Peru and Chili, through the ſame ſea; and with Old Spain and the Spaniſh iſlands, through the North-ſea and Atlantic-ocean. They carry on alſo a trade with our Aſſientiſts, or South-ſea company, under certain limitations: All which trades are held lawful. There is alſo a very conſiderable ſmuggling or clandeſtine trade, carried on between the Mexicans and Indians on the one ſide, and the Engliſh, French and Dutch on the other; which five branches of their trade I ſhall endeavour to give ſome light into.

Their trade with the Philippines near China.

Fine ſailing thither.

A tedious ſtormy paſſage from the Philippines to Mexico.

I ſhall firſt treat of their traffick with the Philippine iſlands, which are under the dominion of Spain, and lie between the 10th and the 20th degrees of north latitude, a little to the ſouth-eaſt of the province of Canton in China, lying 140 degrees of longitude from Mexico; which, reckoning ſixty miles to a degree, makes it eight thouſand four hundred miles from Mexico to Manila, the capital of the Philippine iſlands; and theſe the Spaniards ſail in ten weeks, or three months, in going from Mexico to Manila, having a conſtant trade-wind from the north-eaſt, and ſerene weather in 10 or 12 degrees of north latitude, which they get into as ſoon as they can; and have ſcarce any occaſion to alter their ſails 'till they arrive at the Ladrone iſlands, about four hundred leagues ſhort of the Philippines, where they touch, and take in water and freſh proviſions: And in this latitude the South-ſea may well be ſtiled PACIFICK; for they ſcarce ever meet with any ſtorms or bad weather all the way: But it is not ſo in their return from Manila, in the Philippine iſlands, to the port of Acapulco in Mexico: This is a voyage of incredible hazards and hardſhips, which no gain or advantages would induce a wiſe man to undertake twice; for, when they leave the Philippines, they are forced to abandon the pacific part of this ocean, and ſtand away to the north, 'till they come into 35, or perhaps 40 degrees, before they can meet with weſterly, or even variable winds: And here they are toſs'd with frequent ſtorms, and their patience try'd by unconſtant weather. DAMPIER obſerves, that this ſea is very far from deſerving the name of the Pacific-ocean, after we have paſs'd the latitude of 30; and GEMELLI CARERI aſſures us, it is the moſt tempeſtuous of all ſeas. And yet this wide and tempeſtuous ocean muſt have been paſs'd by the Chineſe and the Aſiatics, if we ſuppoſe they ſent fleets and colonies from thence to people Mexico, as ſome have fondly imagined. If the Europeans, now the art of ſhip-building and navigation is ſo much improved, and they have the compaſs to guide them, are ſix or ſeven months paſſing from Aſia to America, and that with infinite labour and hazard; can any one, that has ever ſeen the China junks and Aſiatic ſhipping, and knows what poor ſeamen they are even at this day, ſuppoſe that ever any fleets were ſent from thence to America, in the early ages, ſufficient to people that part of the world? Let any one but read GEMELLI's deſcription of his voyage on board the Spaniſh galeon from Manila, in the Philippine iſlands, to Acapulco in Mexico, and he will need no arguments to convince him, that America was never peopled by the Chineſe, or any Aſiatic nation, by ſea: Some particulars whereof I ſhall take the liberty to recite.

CHAP. XI.

Which it was impoſſible to perform before the compaſs was known.

Gemelli's account of this voyage.

This voyage, ſays GEMELLI, from the Philippine iſlands to America, may be looked upon as the longeſt and moſt dreadful of any in the world; as well becauſe of the vaſt ocean to be croſs'd, being a third (almoſt half, according to my author) of the terraqueous globe, with the wind always ahead; as for the terrible tempeſts that happen there one upon the back of another; and for the deſperate diſeaſes that ſeize people, who are ſometimes ſo exceeding cold, and then ſo exceſſive hot, that it is enough to deſtroy a man made of ſteel, much more fleſh and blood, where they have ſuch indifferent food as ſea-faring people feed on in long voyages.

For this tedious voyage, GEMELLI aſſures us, they were forced to lay in a thouſand jars of water: And, at their firſt ſetting out, which was the latter end of June, the winds were ſo contrary, that they ſcarce ſailed three leagues in five days; and the heavy rains that fell at the ſame time, with the exceſſive heat of the climate, made the beginning of the voyage very uncomfortable. Before they got clear of the Philippines, he ſays, ſearch was made to diſcover whether any of the ſeamen or paſſengers had filled their jars with merchandize inſtead of water; and ſeveral being found filled with pepper, China ware, and other goods, they were thrown into the ſea; and the Captain took in two hundred jars of water more; under ſuch apprehenſions they were of being diſtreſs'd for water in this tedious voyage, where there is no land in the way to touch at.

The ſouth monſoon ſets them to the northward.

The Spaniards, in ſailing from the Philippine iſlands to America, always take advantage of the ſoutherly monſoon, which ſets-in in May or June, on the coaſt of China, and blows 'till September or October; this carrying them as high as the latitude of 30 north, where they begin to meet with variable winds; it being very difficult for them to ſail eaſt, as the trade-wind is always in their teeth under the latitude of 30.

The hardſhips they ſuffer'd in this voyage.

GEMELLI relates, that when they had ſailed into this latitude, the weather became very tempeſtuous and cold; and that ſeveral galeons have been caſt away in that vaſt ocean, between the 30th and 40th degrees of north latitude: That, in this voyage he made from Manila to Mexico, the wind was oftner contrary than fair, and they were very ſeldom free from ſtorms; beſides which, they were forced to endure hunger, thirſt, cold, ſickneſs, and continual watchings: That they were almoſt eat up with the ſcurvy; their biſcuit was full of little inſects, and their allowance of water was ſcarce a pint in a day's time: That, at length, all their proviſions grew naught, except their chocolate and ſweetmeats; whereupon many of the ſeamen, that wanted theſe, fell ſick, and the reſt ſuffer'd ſuch hardſhips,

ſhips, that they vow'd never to undertake the voyage again: And yet the ſeamen, when they arrived at the port of Acapulco in Mexico, for the ſake of getting three hundred ſeventy-five pieces of eight (four ſhillings and ſix-pence engliſh each) which the King allows them for returning to Manila, ſeem'd to ſlight their paſt ſufferings, and went to the Philippines again, in the very ſame ſhip. He adds, that it was the latter end of January before they arrived at their deſired port of Acapulco in Mexico, being about ſeven months after they ſet ſail from Manila.

Seven months without ſight of land.

Thus much I thought was neceſſary to obſerve from GEMELLI, who made this voyage in the year 1697, to ſhew the length and difficulty of the paſſage from Aſia to America at this day: From whence we may infer, how impracticable, and even impoſſible, it was for the Chineſe, or any other Aſiatic nation, to ſend colonies to America by ſea; when navigation was in its infancy, and the uſe of the compaſs was not known. Nor do the difficulties of their paſſing to America by land, appear to me much leſs than thoſe of their going thither by ſea: For, in the firſt place, there has been no land yet diſcover'd between Japan and California, which are at leaſt 80 degrees aſunder; and, if there be any land within that ſpace, it lies probably ſo far north, that it is neither habitable or paſſable, or we ſhould have heard of the inhabitants by this time. Beſides, if it might be paſs'd at one time, it would have been ſo at another; and ſome people would have return'd from America to Aſia, by the ſame way, in ſo long a tract of time as it is ſuppoſed that part of the world has been peopled.

The paſſage by land from Aſia to America impracticable.

But, farther, I believe it will be admitted, by all that are converſant in hiſtory, that the extremities of the north and ſouth were peopled after that part of the world that lies in the more temperate climates; and that thoſe countries which lie neareſt the Poles are, at this day, and have ever been, more thinly inhabited than the temperate part of the earth. As to the Scythians of old, or the Goths and Vandals of later days, theſe none of them dwelt ſo far to the north as the natives of Lapland, Samoieda, and their brethren of the north-eaſt Tartary (which ſome men will have contiguous to America) do. And, if America was planted by colonies that went by land from the north-weſt or north-eaſt part of our continent, it muſt be by a people that dwelt as far to the northward as Lapland extends: Againſt which I have ſtill more objections than were mention'd in the introduction; and, firſt, if America had been planted by people from the extremity of the north, this muſt have happen'd ſo lately, and by ſuch ſmall colonies, that thoſe countries could never have been ſo populous as the Spaniards found them. Every one knows, that Lapland, and all countries in thoſe cold latitudes, are extremely thin of people: For one man they have there, we have an hundred at leaſt here. How then can it be ſuppoſed, that they ſhould plant one half of the globe?

A farther reaſon againſt the Laplanders, or any people dwelling ſo far north, planting America, is, that they were, and muſt be all cloathed; even their very faces and hands, in the winter-ſeaſon, muſt be cloathed, or their noſes and fingers would periſh: For which reaſon the Laplanders are actually wrapped up in Furs from head to foot; whereas moſt of the Americans went naked almoſt when the Spaniards arrived there; and, I believe, there is ſcarce any inſtance of a nation, that had once worn cloaths, leaving them quite off again. If they had not occaſion for warm furs to cover them all over, when they deſcended to warmer regions; yet it is not to be ſuppoſed they would have left off every rag of cloaths, and appeared without any, as many of the Indians did when the Spaniards arrived there.

Thirdly, Thoſe northern people are the leaſt poliſh'd, and have the meaneſt capacities, of any thing in human ſhape (the Hottentots not excepted); whereas the Americans were famous for their excellent parts and genius, and ſeveral pretty manufactures, as thoſe of feathers, painting, &c. but, above all, for carving and architecture, which they perform'd to admiration, without the help of iron tools; far excelling any thing that was ever ſeen among the Laplanders; which makes it highly improbable they ſhould derive their origin from them. And why ſhould we endeavour to break through ſo many difficulties at laſt to people America from Aſia, when there was ſo eaſy a way of doing it from Africa by ſea, from whence the winds always ſit fair for America, and the voyage is ſo ſhort, that, conſidering the great fleets the Carthaginians had on thoſe ſeas, it muſt have been a miracle if ſeveral of their ſhips had not been driven to America? Thus much I thought proper to add to my former argument, "That America was peopled from Africa, and not "from Aſia;" which the reader will excuſe, when I had ſo fair an opportunity of introducing it again, in ſpeaking of the commerce of the Spaniards between the Philippine iſlands and Mexico. I proceed, in the next place, to give a farther account of that traffick.

The trade managed by two great ſhips.

It ſeems, the Spaniards employ but two ſhips annually in this rich trade; but then they are ſhips of good force, and uſually eight hundred or a thouſand tons burden. Theſe ſhips, according to DAMPIER, do not go together in company, but make the voyage alternately: One of them ſets out from Acapulco in Mexico the latter end of March, or the beginning of April, and arrives at Manila in the Philippine iſlands ſome time in June; when the other is ready to ſail from Manila to Acapulco in Mexico. This laſt ſhip, ſays the ſame writer, ſtretches away to the north, as far as 36, and ſometimes into 40 degrees of north latitude, before ſhe gets a wind to America; and falls in firſt with the coaſt of California, and then coaſts along the ſhore to the ſouth again, never miſſing a wind to bring her away from thence to Acapulco, where ſhe uſually arrives about Chriſtmas.

The courſe they ſteer.

The cargo of theſe ſhips.

The cargo of this ſhip conſiſts of Diamonds, Rubies, Saphires, and other precious ſtones, found in the Eaſt-Indies; of Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, and Pepper; of the rich Carpets of Perſia; the Camphire of Borneo; the Benjamin and Ivory of Pegu and Cambadia; the Silks, Muſlins and Calicoes of Eaſt-India; the Gold-duſt, Tea, China-ware, Silk, Cabinets, &c. of China and Japan. All which amount to a prodigious value; this one ſhip having more riches in it than ſome whole fleets.

The gains of the Merchants.

The Merchants, GEMELLI relates, get an hundred and fifty or two hundred per cent. by this voyage. It was computed, the Pilot of the ſhip he ſailed in would make twenty thouſand pieces of eight; his Mates nine thouſand each; the Captain of the galeon forty thouſand; the Boatſwain, who has the privilege of taking ſeveral bales of goods on board, gets an eſtate in one voyage; the wages of every Sailor, is three hundred and ſeventy pieces of eight; and the King's duties of this one ſhip amounted to fourſcore thouſand pieces of eight.

Trade between Mexico and Peru.

At the time this ſhip arrives at Acapulco from Manila, there comes in two or three ſhips from

Lima in Peru, very little inferior to the former in value, being laden with Silver, Quickſilver, Cacao-nuts, and other rich merchandize of South America; with which they purchaſe the merchandize of Europe and the Eaſt-Indies: For, in the months of January and February, a great fair is held at Acapulco; and a vaſt concourſe of Merchants come from Mexico to vend the goods of Europe, and buy thoſe of China, the Eaſt-Indies, and Peru. There are ſuch crowds of people at Acapulco at this time, that all proviſions are exceſſive dear, and a Negroe Porter will earn fourteen or fifteen ſhillings a day.

Silver carried from Acapulco to the Philippines and China.

The galeon from Manila, having ſold all her effects, takes in a new cargo, chiefly of Silver, and returns in April, arriving at Manila again in the month of June, where ſhe finds the other galeon, ready to ſail to Acapulco. In the mean time, the ſhips of Peru, having furniſh'd themſelves with the merchandize of China, the Eaſt-Indies, and Europe, return to Lima.

Little coaſting trade in Mexico.

There is very little traffick carried on by ſea on the coaſt of Mexico; all goods are carried from Acapulco to the city of Mexico by mules and pack-horſes; and from thence to Vera Cruz on the North-ſea, in like manner, in order to be ſhipped for Europe; which brings me to ſpeak of the trade between Old Spain and Mexico, or New Spain.

The trade between Old Spain and Mexico.

Cargoes of the galeons.

Belongs to ſtrangers.

Thirty or forty ſhips carry on all the trade between Old Spain and the Spaniſh dominions in America; and theſe are almoſt all of them their own veſſels, no trade being ſuffered to be carried on in foreign bottoms, except that of the Aſſientiſts, already mentioned. The veſſels uſed by the Spaniards, in tranſporting merchandize from Old Spain to America, are generally large and of good force, and called galeons: They ſail in fleets annually from Cadiz, laden with the goods of almoſt every country on this ſide the Atlantic; the woollen Cloth and Stuffs of England, the Linnen and Lace of Holland and Flanders, the Silks of Italy and France, the Muſlins, Silks and Calicoes of the Eaſt-Indies, with the Merchandize of China, Turkey and Perſia, make up their cargoes, which belong indeed to almoſt as many different nations: At leaſt the Engliſh, Dutch, Italians and French, are proprietors of great part of their cargo, and the Spaniards in a great meaſure their Factors; for when the galeons return from America, with the treaſure for which theſe effects have been ſold, it is moſt of it diſtributed amongſt the Merchants and Factors of the four nations laſt mention'd. But ſo true are the Spaniards to their truſt, 'tis ſaid, that thoſe in whoſe names the effects are ſent over, and the returns made, ſcarce ever abuſe the confidence that is placed in them, or betray their principals: For the reader will pleaſe to remember, that, by the laws of Spain, no ſtranger can, directly or indirectly, trade to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, but he forfeits his goods.

The Government connive at it.

However, it cannot be ſuppoſed but the Government of Spain is very well apprized that this trade is in a manner carried on by foreigners, and, for very good reaſons, connive at it: They know their own people are not able to freight theſe fleets; and, if they were not enabled to do it by foreigners, their American dominions muſt want all manner of neceſſaries almoſt for cloathing and furniture. Beſides, there is doubt, but the Spaniſh Merchants, Factors and Seafaring people have greater advantages from theſe effects paſſing through their hands, as well as by exporting them; and the revenues of the Crown muſt be vaſtly increaſed by the importation and exportation of them, which alone is a ſufficient reaſon for their conniving at this traffick, and encouraging of it: Tho' it muſt be confeſs'd, it would be much more for the advantage of the kingdom of Spain, to encourage manufactures at home, and traffick a little more with the product of their own country. But, ſince they are not eaſily to be brought to this, the next beſt thing they can do is, to turn Factors and Carriers for their neighbours, and ſupply their American colonies with the goods of foreigners.

The greateſt part of the galeons ſail to Carthagena and Porto-Bello, and are called the Flota; the other part, called the Flotilla, or Little Fleet, ſail to Vera Cruz in Mexico. The former ſell their merchandize chiefly at the fair of Porto-Bello, where they take on board the gold and ſilver, and other rich treaſures, of Peru and Chili, in return for their merchandize. The latter ſell their cargoes at the fair of Vera Cruz; to which place is brought the gold and ſilver of Mexico, with the gold-duſt, precious-ſtones, and other treaſures of China and the Eaſt-Indies; and with theſe the Flotilla is freighted, on its return to Europe.

The courſe of the galeons to America.

From America.

Spain has the leaſt ſhare of the treaſure.

The Galeons, on their going out, ſail to the ſouth-weſt, and get into the way of the trade-wind as ſoon as they can, which carries them into 11 or 12 degrees of north latitude; then, bending their courſe directly weſt, they leave the Caribbee iſlands on their right, or ſtarboard-quarter, and continue their courſe to the weſtward, 'till they arrive at Rio de la Hacha, where they come to an anchor, and expreſſes are immediately diſpatched to Carthagena, Panama, Porto-Bello, Vera Cruz, &c. to prepare the King's treaſure for the galeons to take on board at their return. After which, the greateſt part of the fleet ſails to Carthagena and Porto-Bello, and the reſt to Vera Cruz; the whole joining together uſually, in their return, at the Havannah, in the iſland of Cuba; and, ſailing from thence to Spain in company, take a very different courſe from that by which they came from Europe; for in their return they ſail north through the Gulph of Florida, and continuing their courſe to the north-eaſt 'till they come into the latitude of 36 or 40, where they meet with variable winds: They then ſhape their courſe as near to the eaſt as the winds will permit them, 'till they come upon the coaſt of Spain; and are uſually ſix or eight weeks in their paſſage. Theſe fleets, 'tis ſaid, have ſometimes brought home near the value of ſixty millions of pieces of eight (amounting to twelve or fifteen millions ſterling) in gold and ſilver only; of which the King has a fifth, and great part of the remainder is diſtributed among the Factors of the ſeveral trading nations above-mention'd; the leaſt ſhare perhaps coming to the ſubjects of Spain.

Trade between the continent and iſlands by the Barlavento fleet.

There is a trade carried on alſo between Mexico and the Spaniſh iſlands of Cuba, Hiſpaniola, and Porto Rico; as alſo between Mexico and Terra-firma in South-America, by the Barlavento fleet, ſo called from its ſurrounding the Barlavento, or Leeward iſlands, annually.

This fleet comes to Vera Cruz in October or November, and remains there 'till March. It conſiſts of ſix or ſeven ſail of ſhips, of good burden and force, that ſerve both as men of war and merchant-men; for they are ordered to viſit all the Spaniſh ſea-ports in the North-ſea every year, as well to ſupply one place with what another wants, as to prevent foreigners trading in their ports, and to clear the ſea of Buccaneers or Pirates. From Vera Cruz this fleet ſails to the Havannah, where they diſpoſe of the merchandize they bring from Mexico: After which, they ſtand to the northward, through the Gulph of Florida, 'till they come into the latitude of 30 or 40; then they ſtretch away to the ſouth-eaſt, 'till they make the iſland of Porto Rico; and, having diſpatch'd their buſineſs there, they continue their courſe to the ſouthward, 'till they arrive at the iſland of the Trinity, near the mouth of the river Oroonoko, being the moſt eaſterly ſettlement the Spaniards have in the North-ſea: From thence the fleet ſails to Margarita, another conſiderable iſland near the main, coaſting along to Comana, and ſo to Caracos; then they double Cape la Vela, and coaſt along by Rio de la Hacha, St. Martha, and Carthagena; on which coaſt they frequently meet with Engliſh and Dutch trading-ſloops, and make prize of them: And, having ſtaid ſome time at Carthagena, they proceed to Porto Bello; and, having viſited the Bay of Campeachy, they return at length to Vera Cruz again. And this is the annual navigation of the Barlavento fleet about the coaſt of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies in the North-ſea, as well on account of their trade, as to drive all foreigners from their coaſts; which, however, they are not able to effect entirely. And this brings me to ſay ſomething of the ſmuggling or clandeſtine trade that is carried on between the Engliſh, French and Dutch, and the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies.

A clandeſtine and ſmuggling trade.

I have already taken notice, that the Spaniards do not ſend more than thirty or forty ſhips annually from Old Spain to their territories in America, with the produce and merchandize of Europe; which is far from being ſufficient to ſupply their extenſive dominions in that new world. Indeed, moſt part of the merchandize carried over in the galeons is ſold at the fair of Porto Bello, and bought up at extravagant rates, to be tranſported again by the South-ſea to Peru; ſo that many of the Spaniſh provinces upon the North-ſea would be deſtitute of neceſſary cloathing and furniture, and even proviſions for their tables, if they were not ſupplied with them by foreigners. The Engliſh therefore from New-England, New-York, Jamaica, &c. the French from Hiſpaniola, and the Dutch from Curaſſaw, fit out ſloops, with all manner of proviſions and neceſſaries, which they know are wanting on the coaſt of Mexico, in order to trade with the Mexican Spaniards, who are no leſs ready to receive the goods of theſe foreigners, than they are to ſell them, giving pieces of eight for what they buy; which makes this a very beneficial trade to the Engliſh, French, and Dutch. But then, if the Barlavento fleet, or the Spaniſh Guarda de Coſta's, meet with ſuch trading-ſloops and veſſels, they never fail to make them all prize; and ſometimes ſeize on ſhips that have never been concerned in this clandeſtine trade, on ſuſpicion; and, finding pieces of eight on board, have frequently procured them to be condemned; which has been the occaſion of thoſe many complaints our Merchants have made of the Spaniſh Guarda de Coſta's, to the Parliament and Board of Trade; and which it is high time was ſettled, that our trade and navigation in the Weſt-Indies may not be interrupted, and the fair Trader brought under ſuch hardſhips as may diſcourage him from carrying on a trade to our plantations, which is, of all others, the moſt advantageous to Britain.

The Spaniards take our fair Traders as well as Smugglers.

Logwood trade.

There has been another trade or buſineſs carried on by the Engliſh in North America, which has occaſion'd many diſputes between the two nations of Britain and Spain, and is not yet adjuſted; and that is, the buſineſs of Logwood-cutting in the Bay of Campeachy. This the Engliſh had follow'd, in a part of the country deſtitute of Spaniſh or Indian inhabitants, for a great many years; and look'd upon it, that their long poſſeſſion had given them at leaſt as good a right to that part of the country, as the Spaniards had to any of the reſt: And in ſome treaties the Spaniards ſeem to have yielded this buſineſs to the Engliſh. However, they have thought fit, of late years, to fall upon our Logwood-cutters, killed many of them, and carried the reſt into perpetual impriſonment, not ſuffering them to be exchanged or ranſomed. And thus have we been driven violently and unjuſtly from a very valuable branch of buſineſs, under pretence that becauſe the Spaniards had forcibly ſettled themſelves in one part of the continent, no other nation had any right to ſettle in another part of it: A rule, that we find the French are too wiſe and too brave to ſubmit to. The Spaniards, indeed, the firſt of all Europeans, diſcover'd and ſent colonies to America, and particularly to Florida; and yet we find the French make no ſcruple of ſettling in the heart of that country, and even in the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh ſettlements of New Mexico: Nay, after the Spaniards had been two hundred years in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Hiſpaniola, the French took the liberty of making very conſiderable ſettlements in it; for this very good reaſon, That the Spaniards were not able to cultivate or people a tenth part of what they claimed in America; and it was highly unreaſonable, that countries of a vaſt extent ſhould remain uninhabited and uncultivated, only becauſe the Spaniards were pleaſed to ſet up a title to them. And this ſort of reaſoning the Spaniards ſeem to allow of, by their neglecting to drive the French either from Florida or Hiſpaniola. While, on the other hand, our tame Britons are ſo extremely condeſcending, as to ſuffer the Spaniards to drive them from the Logwood trade in the Bay of Campeachy, which has been yielded to them by ſeveral treaties; and would frighten us alſo from extending our plantations in Carolina, Virginia, &c. farther to the weſtward, tho' we do it with the conſent of the natives, only becauſe they (the Spaniards) have the little Forts of St. Auguſtin and St. Matthew a little to the ſouthward of us.

The Britiſh ſubjects have the beſt title to extend their ſettlements in Florida.

But, ſurely, if the French are permitted to ſettle in Florida, much more ought the Engliſh, who have ſo long been in poſſeſſion of Virginia and Carolina (parts of Florida) and made ſuch conſiderable improvements there, with the approbation of the natives who alone have a right of transferring their country to foreigners. And, I hope, neither French or Spaniſh aſſurance will ever prevail on our Governors to diſcourage the Britiſh ſubjects extending their trade or ſettlements to the weſtward, even through that part of Florida which the French have denominated Louiſiana, and to the very banks of the famous river Miſſiſippi; ſince we are at preſent at peace and in alliance with moſt of the nations that lie between Virginia and Carolina and that river; and actually traffick with them more than either the French or Spaniards yet do.

The trade of the Engliſh by virtue of the Aſſiento. The title.

I proceed now to another branch of trade; namely, that which the Engliſh are entitled to carry on with the Spaniſh dominions in America, by virtue of the Aſſiento contract made between the two nations in the year 1713, and entitled, "The Assiento adjuſted between their Britannick and "Catholick Majeſties, for the Engliſh Company's "obliging itſelf to ſupply the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies "with Black ſlaves for the term of thirty years, to "commence on the 1ſt day of May, 1713, and "to end the 1ſt of May, 1743."

Preamble. The preamble of this contract recites, That the French Guinea Company had formerly enjoy'd the benefit of the Aſſiento; and that their term being expired, his Catholick Majeſty had determined to grant the ſame to the Engliſh Company.

Art. I. By the firſt article, her Britiſh Majeſty undertakes, for the perſons whom ſhe ſhould appoint Aſſientiſts, that they ſhall export to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, within the ſaid ſpace of thirty years, one hundred forty-four thouſand Negroes. viz. four thouſand eight hundred Negroes in each of the ſaid thirty years.

II. That for each Negroe, of the regular ſtandard of ſeven quarters, neither old or defective, the Aſſientiſts ſhall pay to the Crown of Spain thirty-three pieces of eight (Eſcudo's) and one third of a piece of eight; in which ſum ſhall be comprehended all manner of duties.

III. That the Aſſientiſts ſhall advance to his Catholick Majeſty two hundred thouſand pieces of eight, which ſhall not be reimburſed before the end of twenty years; and then it may be deducted, by equal portions, in the ten laſt remaining years, after the rate of twenty thouſand pieces of eight yearly, out of the produce of the duty on Negroes, which they are to pay in thoſe years.

IV. The Aſſientiſts ſhall pay the ſaid duties half-yearly.

V. It is declared, that the Aſſientiſts ſhall not be obliged to pay the ſaid duties for more than four thouſand Negroes yearly; the duties payable for the remaining eight hundred being given to the Aſſientiſts, in conſideration of the intereſt that ought to be paid them for the money to be advanced as aforeſaid.

VI. That the Aſſientiſts, if they find a demand for more Negroes, may import a greater number than four thouſand eight hundred during the firſt twenty-five years; for which ſupernumerary Negroes they ſhall pay no more than ſixteen pieces of eight, and two thirds of a piece of eight for each Negroe.

VII. That the Aſſientiſts may employ either Britiſh or Spaniſh ſhips in this commerce, provided that neither the Commanders or Seamen give any offence or ſcandal to the Roman Catholick religion, on pain of being puniſh'd, as they would have been in Spain for the like miſdemeanors.

VIII. That the Aſſientiſts may import and vend the ſaid Negroes in all the ports of the North-ſea, and that of Buenos Ayres, at their choice, provided they do not import or land any Negroe, except in ports where there are royal Officers to ſearch the ſhips and their cargoes, and certify the numbers of Negroes imported. And it is farther provided, that the Negroes which are carried to the windward coaſt, viz. Sancta Martha, Cumana, and Maracaybo, ſhall not be ſold by the Aſſientiſts for more than three hundred pieces of eight each, to encourage the inhabitants of thoſe places to buy them. But as to the other ports of New Spain, its iſlands and Terra-firma, the Aſſientiſts are at liberty to ſell their Negroes there for the beſt prices they can get.

IX. That the Aſſientiſts ſhall be at liberty to import into the river Plata, or Buenos Ayres, in four ſhips, twelve hundred of the ſaid Negroes annually, and to ſell them at ſuch prices there as they can get; eight hundred of which ſhall be diſpoſed of at Buenos Ayres, and the remaining four hundred ſerve in the provinces higher up the river, and in the kingdom of Chili. And it is declared, that her Britiſh Majeſty, and the Aſſientiſts in her name, may hold ſome parcels of land, to be aſſign'd them by his Catholick Majeſty, in the river Plata, from the commencement of this Aſſiento, ſufficient to plant, cultivate and breed cattle upon, for the ſubſiſtence of the perſons belonging to the Aſſiento and their Negroes; and may build houſes of timber only, but ſhall not throw up the earth, or make the ſlighteſt fortification: And his Catholick Majeſty ſhall appoint an Officer to reſide there, who ſhall have the command of all things relating to ſuch lands; and all other matters, concerning the Aſſiento, ſhall be determined by the Governor and royal Officers at Buenos Ayres: But the Aſſientiſts ſhall not be obliged to pay any duties on account of the ſaid lands.

X. In order to the carrying of Black ſlaves into the provinces of the South-ſea, liberty is granted to the Aſſientiſts to freight, either at Panama, or any other port of the South-ſea, ſhips of about four hundred tons each, to be navigated by ſuch Officers and Seamen as the Aſſientiſts ſhall appoint; on board of which they may ſhip Negroes to all the other ports of Peru (and no others on that ſide) and to bring back the produce of their ſale to the ſaid port of Panama, as well in the fruits of the country, as in money, bars of ſilver, or ingots of gold, without being obliged to pay any duties for ſuch ſilver or gold, it being ſtamp'd, and appearing to be the produce of their Negroes. And the ſaid Aſſientiſts are at liberty to ſend from Europe to Porto Bello, and from Porto Bello to Panama, by the river Chagre, or by land-carriage, cables, ſails, timber, and all other naval ſtores and proviſions, neceſſary for the ſaid ſhips; provided they do not ſell the ſaid ſtores, on any pretence whatſoever, on pain of confiſcation, and farther puniſhments to be inflicted both on the buyers and ſellers; and the Aſſientiſts, from that time, to be deprived of the privilege of ſending ſuch ſtores to the South-ſea: Nor ſhall the Aſſientiſts, at the end of the ſaid term of thirty years, be allow'd to carry the ſaid ſhips to Europe.

XI. The Aſſientiſts are at liberty to employ Engliſh or Spaniards for the management of this Aſſiento, as well in the ports of America, as in the inland country; and the Engliſh ſhall be regarded and treated as the ſubjects of Spain, provided there do not reſide in any one port more than four or ſix Engliſhmen, of whom they may ſend ſome into the countries where Negroes are allow'd to be carried, for the management and recovery of their effects.

XII. By this article two Engliſh ſhips of war, and another veſſel, are permitted to carry over the Company's Factors to America.

XIII. The Aſſientiſts are allow'd, by this article, to nominate Judges-Conſervators of the Aſſiento, in all the ports and chief places of America, provided they nominate ſome of his Catholick Majeſty's Miniſters; which ſaid Judges are to have cognizance of all cauſes relating to the Aſſiento, excluſive of all Audiences, Tribunals, Governors, or Viceroys, who are prohibited to intermeddle therein; and no appeal to lie from the Judges of the Aſſiento, but to the ſupreme Council of the Indies; and the Preſident, Governor, or Dean of the ſaid Council, is to be Protector of this Aſſiento.

XIV. No embargo ſhall be laid on the ſhips of the Aſſientiſts by the Viceroys, or other Spaniſh Governors in America, for any cauſe or pretence whatever; but, on the contrary, they ſhall afford the ſaid Aſſientiſts all the favour, aſſiſtance and ſuccour they or their Factors ſhall deſire, for the more ſpeedy fitting out, lading and diſpatching their ſhips; affording them ſuch proviſions as they ſhall want for their voyages, at the current prices, on pain of being obliged, at their own coſts, to make good all ſuch damages as the Aſſientiſts ſhall ſuſtain by ſuch impediment or detention.

XV. Nor ſhall any embargo be laid on the ſtock, goods or effects of the Aſſientiſts, or any of them ſeiz'd or detain'd by any Viceroy, Governor, Judge, or Officer, on any cauſe or motive whatever, on pain of their being puniſh'd, and paying, out of their own eſtates, the damages and loſſes the Aſſientiſts ſhall ſuſtain; nor are the houſes or warehouſes of their Factors to be ſearch'd, unleſs it is proved there has been ſome fraudulent importation; and then they are not to be ſearch'd but by the aſſiſtance of the Judge-Conſervator. And tho' prohibited goods may be ſeiz'd, the ſtock and effects of the Aſſientiſts are to remain free.

XVI. The Aſſientiſts are empower'd to employ ſuch Mariners, Carriers, and Workmen, in lading and unlading their ſhips, as they think fit.

XVII. They are permitted to bring their goods from America, either in the galeons or their own ſhips, without paying any duties; but they are not allow'd to bring over Spaniſh paſſengers, or the effects of the Spaniards.

XVIII. During this Aſſiento, neither the French Guinea Company, nor any other perſons, ſhall tranſport Negroes to Spaniſh America, but the Aſſientiſts, on pain of forfeiting ſuch Negroes to the Aſſientiſts, who are empower'd to ſearch ſuch ſhips as they ſuſpect are freighted with Negroes, and make prize of them, if any contraband Negroes are found on board; provided they firſt obtain leave of the Governor of the port.

XIX. The Aſſientiſts ſhall have power to navigate and import Negroes to all the northern ports of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and all others are prohibited to import them; his Catholick Majeſty obliging himſelf, by his faith and royal word, to maintain the Aſſientiſts in the entire and full poſſeſſion thereof.

XX. And if the Aſſientiſts ſhall be moleſted or diſturbed by ſuits of law, or in any other manner, his Majeſty will inhibit all other Courts to proceed therein, and take cognizance of ſuch cauſes ſolely himſelf.

XXI. When the ſhips of the Aſſientiſts arrive at any port of the Indies with Negroes, the Captains thereof ſhall certify, that there is not any contagious diſtemper amongſt them, before they ſhall be permitted to land.

XXII. Their ſhips ſhall be viſited and ſearched on their arrival; and if any merchandize be found, beſides the Negroes, and proviſions for them, it ſhall be confiſcated, and the Officers importing it ſhall be diſabled to ſerve in the Aſſiento; and the Captain or Maſter of the ſhip, that ſuffers ſuch goods to be brought on board, ſhall forfeit the value of them; and if he appear an accomplice, he ſhall be condemn'd to pay a forfeiture, be ſeverely puniſh'd, and diſabled to hold any employment in the ſervice of the Aſſiento: But the ſhips, on board which ſuch Negroes ſhall be, or the proviſions brought for their ſubſiſtence, ſhall not be forfeited; and the perſons who have the charge of them may go on with their traffick. And if it appears the Captain or Maſter was not an accomplice, he ſhall be obliged to deliver up the guilty perſon, but be free himſelf.

XXIII. The proviſions put on ſhore for the ſubſiſtence of the Negroes ſhall pay no duties.

XXIV. The Aſſientiſts are obliged to pay the duties for all the Negroes landed, tho' they die before they are ſold: But where the Factor deſires a Negroe may be ſet on ſhore, only for the recovery of his health, and not for ſale, they ſhall not be obliged to pay the duty for him, unleſs he live more than fifteen days on ſhore.

XXV. After the Aſſientiſts, or their Factors, have ſettled the duties, and ſold part of their Negroes in one port, they may carry the remainder of their Negroes to any other port, together with their merchandize and treaſure for which they have ſold the firſt, without being obliged to pay any duties, except the common duties for the fruits and merchandize of the country, which they are permitted to receive in exchange for their ſlaves, where money is wanting; and they may ſell ſuch fruits and effects at the ports they go to, paying the accuſtom'd duties for them.

XXVI. The ſhips of the Aſſientiſts may ſail either from the ports of Great-Britain or Spain; but an account ſhall be given to his Catholick Majeſty of what ſhips they diſpatch yearly for the Negroe-trade, and the ports for which they are deſign'd: After which, they are at liberty to return, either with money, bars of ſilver, gold, fruits, or the merchandize of the country, being the produce of the ſale of their Negroes. But if they return to the ports of Spain, the Commander of the ſhip ſhall give that Court an authentick regiſter, by which it may appear what he hath on board: And if the ſhip return to Britain, an exact account ſhall be ſent to Spain of their lading, that his Catholick Majeſty may be fully inform'd thereof; provided that the Aſſientiſts ſhall not bring over any other ſilver, gold, or effects, but what ſhall be the produce of the ſale of the Negroes.

XXVII. By this article, all prizes taken in time of war by the Aſſientiſts, on the coaſts of Spaniſh America, are to be carried to Carthagena, or Porto Bello, and the goods ſold by the King's Officers at the Fair of Porto Bello; three fourths of the produce whereof, after duties paid, to be enjoy'd by the Captors (together with the ſhip, tackle, guns, and furniture); and the other fourth by his Catholick Majeſty.

XXVIII. Their Britiſh and Catholick Majeſties are each of them to have a fourth part of the profits ariſing by this contract. And, as his Catholick Majeſty ought to advance one million of pieces of eight, or a quarter of the ſum adjudged neceſſary to carry on this trade, it is agreed, That if his Catholick Majeſty ſhall not think fit to advance the ſaid ſum, the Aſſientiſts ſhall do it out of their own money, on condition his Majeſty ſhall diſcharge the intereſt (out of what they ſhall be accountable to him for) after the rate of eight per cent. per annum, 'till they are reimburſed: And his Catholick Majeſty is to name two Directors or Factors to reſide at London, two more in the Indies, and one at Cadiz; who may be concerned, on his part, in all the directions, purchaſes, and accounts of this Aſſiento.

XXIX. The Aſſientiſts ſhall give in an account of their profits and gain, upon oath, at the end of the firſt five years; and, by legal inſtruments, certify the charge of the purchaſe, ſubſiſtence, tranſportation, and ſale of the Negroes, and all other expences on their account; and alſo certificates of the produce of the ſale in all the ports and parts of Spaniſh America: Which accounts ſhall be examined in the reſpective Courts of Great-Britain and Spain. And the ſaid Aſſientiſts ſhall pay his Catholick Majeſty's ſhare of the ſaid profits regularly and punctually.

XXX. If the amount of the gain made the firſt five years exceed the ſum the Aſſientiſts are to advance, together with the ſaid intereſt of eight per cent. they may reimburſe themſelves in the firſt place, and then pay his Catholick Majeſty the remainder of the profits of his ſhare: And this they ſhall do every five years during the term.

XXXI. The Aſſientiſts, after five years, alſo may reimburſe themſelves the quarter part and the intereſt, if they appear then to be gainers.

XXXII. The Aſſientiſts ſhall be allow'd three years, after the expiration of their term of thirty years, to adjuſt their accompts, and gather in their effects in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies.

XXXIII. The debtors to the Aſſientiſts ſhall be compelled to pay their debts, and the ſaid debts be conſider'd on the ſame foot as thoſe due to his Catholick Majeſty.

XXXIV. The Aſſientiſts ſhall be allow'd from time to time, to bring from Europe, or the Britiſh plantations in America, to the ports of Spaniſh America, where there ſhall be royal Officers, cloathing, medicines, proviſions, and naval ſtores, for the uſe only of the Aſſientiſts, their Negroes, Factors, Servants, Mariners, and Ships, in veſſels of about one hundred and fifty tons; giving a particular account of their cargoes, and the diſpoſal thereof, to the Council of the Indies.

XXXV. For preſerving the health of the Negroes, the Factors of the Aſſiento are allowed to hire parcels of land in the neighbourhood of their Factories, and to cultivate and plant the ſame, for raiſing freſh proviſions; provided ſuch cultivation be perform'd by the inhabitants, or by the Negroes.

XXXVI. The Aſſientiſts are allow'd to load a ſhip of three hundred tons, at the Canary iſlands, with ſuch fruits as are uſually taken on board there for America, once only during the ſaid term.

XXXVII. This has nothing material in it that is not contain'd in the former articles.

XXXVIII. A Junta of three Spaniſh Miniſters, the Fiſcal, and Secretary of the Council of the Indies, ſhall take cognizance of all cauſes relating to the Aſſiento.

XXXIX. The conceſſions in former Aſſiento's to Portugal or France, not contrary to the contents of this, ſhall be conſtrued in favour of the preſent, as if literally inſerted.

XL. In caſe of a war between Britain and Spain, the Aſſiento ſhall be ſuſpended: However, the Aſſientiſts ſhall be allow'd a year and half to remove their effects.

XLI. All laws in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, prohibiting traffick with foreigners, &c. to be ſuſpended, in favour of the Aſſientiſts, for thirty years.

XLII. His Catholick Majeſty grants to the Aſſientiſts all favours, privileges, and exemptions, that were ever granted to former Aſſientiſts, not contrary to theſe articles.

An annual ſhip granted to the Aſſientiſts.

His Catholick Majeſty alſo, on condition that the Aſſientiſts ſhall not carry on any unlawful or clandeſtine trade, on any pretence whatſoever, grants them the privilege of ſending out a ſhip of five hundred tons annually, to trade to the Indies, provided they give his Majeſty a fourth part of the gain, and five per cent. out of the gain of the other three parts: And it is farther provided, that the Aſſientiſts ſhall not ſell their merchandize, but at the Fair of Porto Bello only, when the galeons arrive there; and then the merchandize or cargo of the ſaid ſhip ſhall be free from all duties in the Indies.

Qu. Anne transfers the Aſſiento to the South-ſea company, and her fourth of the profits.

The late Queen ANNE afterwards transferred to the South-ſea Company the benefit of the Aſſiento contract, and granted them her fourth ſhare of the profits ariſing by that commerce; and yet I don't perceive that company have reaped any advantage from it; for Sir JOHN EYLES, in a ſpeech to the company, in the year 1731, giving them an account of this branch of their trade between the year 1721 and that time, ſays, Tho' the report of their having loſt two millions by this trade was not true; yet ſuch were the misfortunes they had undergone in the courſe of that commerce, their effects in the Indies having been twice ſeiz'd on thoſe miſunderſtandings with Spain in the years 1718 and 1727, they had gain'd little by it, tho' they were not out of pocket: That, upon the treaties of accommodation, reſtitutions had been order'd, and in a good meaſure complied with; yet were thoſe interruptions of their commerce attended with great loſſes, the expences of their factories having been as great under thoſe long ſuſpenſions of trade, as while it was carried on.

Nothing got by our traffick with Spaniſh America.

Then he mentions the frauds of the Captain of their annual ſhip the Prince William, who took in an hundred and fifty ton of goods at St. Chriſtopher's, outward-bound, in breach of the Aſſiento contract; which had very much embarraſs'd their affairs with Spain: And, indeed, ſuch have been the miſunderſtandings between Great Britain and Spain, ever ſince the Peace of Utrecht, whereby the Spaniards yielded Gibraltar and Port Mahon to this Crown, and let us into the traffick of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, that we have been great ſufferers in our commerce in general with that nation of late, and ſeem in a manner to have loſt the affections of that people.

The Aſſiento, &c. ſources of endleſs ſtrife.

The Spaniards were under a neceſſity of clapping up a peace in the year 1713, and compelled to yield to ſuch terms as we thought fit to impoſe on them at that time: But it is evident, they had no intention totally to relinquiſh thoſe important fortreſſes, or acquieſce long in our trading with their American plantations, by the repeated attempts they have made to drive us from both; nor will they ever be hearty friends with this nation, probably, as long as we inſiſt on the performance of thoſe articles.

There is no doubt, but the Aſſiento, conſider'd in itſelf, would be very advantageous to Britain: We ſend little, beſides our own manufactures, to Guinea, to purchaſe thoſe Negroes which we exchange with the Spaniards for gold and ſilver: The annual ſhip alſo goes to Porto Bello laden chiefly with Britiſh merchandize, for which ſhe receives the treaſures of Peru and Mexico in return. But ſtill, if the French and other nations run away with the other branches of the Spaniſh trade, and we muſt ever remain in a ſtate of hoſtility with that nation, whoſe friendſhip is of ſuch importance to us (while we inſiſt on thoſe advantages we ſtipulated for at the treaty of Utrecht) it were better we had never poſſeſs'd Gibraltar, or traded with the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, if this ſhould provoke that people to throw themſelves into the arms of the French, and enter into a confederacy againſt us: For this may not only embarraſs our affairs in Europe, but contribute more to the ruin of our plantation trade in America, than any thing that has hitherto happen'd. No doubt, it is the intereſt of Spain, as well as Britain, to prevent the French being too powerful in America; but if the Spaniards ſhould, through pique and reſentiment, connive at the encroachments of France in Florida, and other parts of the Weſt-Indies, both we and they, may, too late, repent there were any miſunderſtandings between us; and that we did not, in time, conſider our common intereſts, and oppoſe their eſtabliſhing themſelves in the neighbourhood of our ſettlements.

The Mexican carriages and way of travelling.

I ſhall conclude this head with the Mexican carriages and way of travelling. It ſeems, the country is ſo mountainous, that in their inland traffick they uſe ſcarce any waggons or wheel-carriages; but all merchandize is carried on Mules or Packhorſes from one province to another; and, before the Spaniards tranſported Mules and Horſes thither, all burdens were carried to the moſt diſtant places on the backs of Tamenes, or Porters. Their Princes and Great men were carried alſo on men's ſhoulders, lying or ſitting on a kind of couch, with a canopy over it, not much unlike the Palankins, in which people are carried in the Eaſt-Indies at this day. There were no beaſts fit for draught or burdens in the country. Indeed coaches are in uſe at Mexico, and in ſome other great towns, at preſent; but it is impracticable travelling long journeys over their mountains in coaches; and therefore they generally ride on Mules in the hilly parts of the country, and on Horſes in the plains.

Their inns.

They have ſome few inns upon their roads, but uſually miſerable houſes, and deſtitute of tolerable proviſions, if we may credit Gemelli Careri; and they are ſuch a diſtance from each other in ſome places, that travellers are glad to take up their lodging under trees and poor huts, where they ſuffer pretty much from the ſnows and exceſſive cold on the mountains, as they do from the ſultry heat and duſt in their valleys, unleſs in the rainy ſeaſon, when moſt of the plain country is covered with water, and every little brook a torrent: But travelling in that ſeaſon is almoſt impracticable in the provinces of Mexico.

CHAP. XII.

Of the hiſtory and government of the ancient Mexicans.

BEFORE I treat of the government of modern Mexico, it may be proper to enquire into the hiſtory and government of its ancient inhabitants; and of theſe particulars, Father Acosta, who reſided a conſiderable time in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and wrote the Natural and Moral hiſtory of that country, in the ſixteenth century, hath given us the beſt account. Indeed all the reſt of the hiſtories I have met with, relating to the original and antiquities of the people of Mexico, ſeem to be chiefly copies and tranſcripts from that author; and particularly that of Gemelli Careri's, who acknowledges himſelf obliged to him for this part of his hiſtory: And Antonio de Herera ſeems to have uſed great freedom with him, finding Acosta's account ſupported by the concurrent relations of the beſt writers of thoſe times.

The firſt inhabitants of Mexico.

Acosta relates, that, according to the tradition of the Mexicans, that country was firſt inhabited by a wild and barbarous people, who went perfectly naked, lived on the game they took in hunting, and on fruits and roots; never planting or manuring the ground: That they dwelt in caves of the rocks and mountains, or under trees; building no houſes, nor aſſociating together in communities, having ſcarce any religion or government amongſt them: And aſſures us, there were ſome ſuch people that inhabited the mountains of Mexico in his time, being called Chichemeca's and Otomies, from their ſavage way of life.

The ſecond nation that poſſeſs'd Mexico, conſiſting of ſeven tribes.

The next people that poſſeſs'd this country were the Navatlacas, who give no other account of their original, but that they came out of ſeven caves. Theſe were ſeven nations, or rather tribes, that anciently dwelt between the 30th and 40th degrees of northern latitude; but, about the year 820, began to remove to the ſouthward, and poſſeſs themſelves of that country, now denominated Mexico, or New Spain; which they did very gradually; for they did not move all together, only one tribe at a time; and that ſo leiſurely, planting colonies by the way, that it was the year 900, according to our computation, that the firſt tribe, called the Suchimilcans (or Gardiners of Flowers) fix'd themſelves on the ſouth bank of the Lake of Mexico, founding a city there, and calling it after their own name.

1. The tribe of Suchimilcans.

The ſecond tribe were the Chalci, who quitted their firſt ſeats a great while after the Suchimilcans, and, arriving on the banks of the Lake of Mexico, fix'd themſelves next to them, and built a city, calling the name of it Chalcas.

2. Of the Chalci.

The third tribe, call'd the Tapeneca's, or People of the Bridge, came next to the Lake of Mexico, and inhabited the weſt-ſide, building a city there, and calling the name of it Acapazulco, or Ants-Neſts, from their multiplying ſo faſt. And the fourth tribe, called Culhua, or the People of the Bending Mountains, from whence they came, planted the eaſt-ſide of the lake, and built the city of Teſcuco.

3. The Tapeneca's.

4. The Culhua's.

The fifth tribe were the Tlatelvica's, who, finding all the lands poſſeſs'd about the lake, continued their march over the mountains, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the valley of Quernavaca, or Eagle Valley; where they built a city, and gave it the ſame name. And the ſixth tribe, called the Tlaſcalteca's, went ſtill farther, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of Tlaſcala, or the Country of Bread-Corn, ſo denominated from its fruitfulneſs: And here, it is pretended they met with a race of giants, who for ſome time defended their country againſt the new-comers; but were, at length, driven to the mountains and inacceſſible parts of the country, as the reſt of the Chichemeca's and Otomies had been by the other tribes.

5. Tlatelvica's.

6. Tlaſcalteca's.

Three hundred and two years after the peregrination of the firſt tribe, according to Acosta, the ſeventh tribe, call'd Mexicans, from their leader Mexi, ſet forward towards the ſouth, to find new ſeats; being told, as 'tis ſaid, by their god Vitzliputzli (or his Prieſts) that they ſhould obtain the dominion of all the tribes that went before them, and poſſeſs a country abounding in gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, feathers and rich mantles. To which prophecy they gave ſuch credit, that they began their march, carrying the image of their god with them in a cheſt, or ark, on the ſhoulders of four of their chief Prieſts; to whom, ſays Acosta, their god revealed what way they ſhould take, and what accidents they ſhould meet with. By theſe Prieſts alſo he gave them laws, inſtructed them how they ſhould offer ſacrifices to him, and in the other rites of religious worſhip: Nor did they ever remove their camp, but by the command of their god; the Prieſts directed when they ſhould decamp, and how long they ſhould remain in any place. And the firſt thing they did, wherever they came, was to erect a tabernacle in the midſt of their camp, for the ark to reſt in upon an altar: And they continued their wandrings for many years before they came to the promis'd land. Thus did the Prince of

7. The Mexicans.

darkneſs, ſays Acosta, in all things, make theſe people imitate the children of Iſrael in their march from Egypt to the land of Canaan.

This tribe of Mexicans, like the former, made ſeveral long halts, remaining a great while in many places, building towns, and cultivating the ground, and, when they removed, left colonies of their people behind them, 'till they came to Mechoacan, or the Land of Fiſh, where they would have ſet up their reſt; but their god appeared angry with them, and killed many of the Mexicans in one night, for preſuming to ſtay here: Whereupon they proceeded to the lake of Mexico; and, the lands about it being poſſeſs'd by the former tribes, they, partly by force, and partly by treaty, obtained leave to ſettle on ſome iſlands in the lake, agreeing to pay a certain tribute for what they were permitted to poſſeſs. Soon after, the Mexican Prieſts inform'd their people, that their god Vitzliputzli had appeared to them in a dream, and commanded the Mexicans to fix themſelves in that part of the lake where they ſhould find an Eagle perching on a Fig-tree that was rooted in a rock; which they immediately went in ſearch of, and found a Fig-tree growing out of a rock, and on it a moſt beautiful Eagle, looking at the ſun, with her wings diſplay'd, and holding a little bird in her talons: Upon the ſight of which, they all fell down, and worſhipped the Eagle; and afterwards built a city on the very ſpot, to which they gave the name of Tenochtitlan, or the Fig-tree on a Rock; and the arms of the city (which afterwards obtained the name of Mexico, from their firſt leader) were an Eagle, with her wings diſplay'd, looking on the ſun, holding a Snake in her talons, and ſtanding with one foot on the branch of an Indian Fig-tree; to which the Emperor Charles the Vth added a Caſtle Or, on a Field Azure, to expreſs the lake, with a bridge over it, and two others on the ſides, on which are two Lions Rampant.

Mexico built.

The Mexicans, having firſt erected a tabernacle in the midſt of the rock, or iſland, for their god Vitzliputzli, then, by the Prieſts direction, laid out the four quarters, or wards, of their town, which now go by the names of St. John, St. Mary Rotunda, St. Paul, and St. Sebaſtian; every ward having its tutelar deity, or guardian, aſſign'd to it; as had alſo every one of the ſubdiviſions of the ſeveral wards.

The Mexican Chiefs afterwards falling into parties and factions, and being at the ſame time inſulted and oppreſſed by the other tribes, to prevent the ruin that threaten'd them, reſolved to elect a King, that might have the government of their State, and ſend them out to war; and, not being able to agree upon any one of their own tribe, they made choice of Acamapixtli, the grandſon of the King of Culuacan, under whoſe adminiſtration they ſoon began to make a conſiderable figure; which drew upon them the envy of the neighbouring tribes; and the King of Azcapuzalco, 'tis ſaid, did not only exact an increaſe of tribute, but required ſome things of them that were looked upon as impracticable, with no other view than to fall out with the Mexicans, and expel them the country: One of which demands, the ſtory ſays, was, that they ſhould ſupply him with a quantity of corn that ſhould grow in the water of the Lake; which they performed by the advice of their god, or his Prieſts, who directed them to make floats of canes and ruſhes, and to lay earth upon them, which, being ſow'd with grain, yielded conſiderable crops, and enabled them to pay their tribute: But, whatever truth there may be in this relation, certain it is, the Mexicans had floating-iſlands, or gardens, on the water, with fruits and flowers upon them, which they row'd to what part of the Lake they pleaſed: A curioſity, that I don't remember to have met with in any other part of the world, and deſerves as much to be admired as the hanging-gardens of Babylon. But to proceed: The King of Azcapuzalco continued to impoſe ſeveral other hard and whimſical kinds of tribute on the Mexicans, who remained in a manner vaſſals to that Prince fifty years.

Firſt King of the Mexicans, Acamapixtli.

In the mean time, Acamapixtli, the firſt King of the Mexicans, died, having reigned forty years, and very much improved the city, by buildings, canals, aquaducts, and bridges: He left ſeveral children, but appointed none of them to ſucceed him; telling his ſubjects, that as they had freely elected him their Sovereign, ſo he now left them at liberty to chuſe whom they pleaſed to ſucceed him. And this generous confidence in his ſubjects had the effect he probably foreſaw it would; for they had no ſooner perform'd the funeral obſequies of Acamapixtli, but they made choice of one of his ſons for their King, whoſe name was Vitzilovitli, or the Rich Feather; whom they crown'd and anointed with a divine ointment, as they called it, being the ſame with which they uſed to anoint the images of their gods. This Prince, by the advice of his Council, married the daughter of Azcapuzalco, who thereupon remitted all their tribute, but a couple of ducks and ſome fiſh, which he took as a teſtimony of their ſubjection, and that their country was a province of his kingdom.

Second King, Vitzilovitli.

Vitzilovitli and his Queen dying, the Mexicans choſe his ſon Chimalpopoca their King, out of regard to his grandfather Azcapuzalco, though the young Prince was but ten years of age: But the grandfather dying ſoon after, the Tapenecans, his ſubjects, treacherouſly murder'd the minor King of Mexico, which occaſion'd a war between the two nations; for the management whereof the Mexicans choſe Izcoalt their fourth King, a Prince of great courage and experience, being the ſon of Acamapixtli, their firſt monarch, by his concubine.

Third King, Chimalpopoca.

Fourth King, Izcoalt.

This Prince declared war againſt the King of Azcapuzalco, and, having made his nephew Tlacaellec his General, perfectly ſubdued his enemies, and divided their country among his Mexicans: After which, he made a conqueſt of Tacuba, Cuyoacan, the Suchimilca's, and all the tribes that inhabited the banks of the Lake; and became the moſt potent monarch that had been known in that part of the world; but died after a proſperous reign of twelve years.

He ſubdues ſeveral of the tribes.

Hitherto the Mexicans in general had all of them a voice in the election of their Kings; but Tlacaellec the General, who had now a great influence in the Mexican State, ſhewing them the inconvenience of theſe popular elections, perſuaded them to transfer their right of electing a Sovereign to ſix electors, viz. to the Kings of Tezcuco and Tacuba, and four Princes of the royal blood; which the people conſented to, and were never after ſuffered to intermeddle in elections.

Theſe electors (probably) by the direction of the General, choſe his nephew Montezuma their fifth monarch, who firſt inſtituted the cuſtom of the elected King's ſacrificing ſome of his enemies taken in war by himſelf at his coronation; and, to ſet his ſucceſſors an example, he invaded the Chalci, made ſeveral priſoners, and ſacrificed them on the day of his

Fifth King, Montezuma.

his inauguration. He alſo drew blood from his ears and legs before the ſacred fire in the temple; which was another ceremony he required future Kings to imitate him in at their coronations. The ſame day the ſeveral provinces brought him their tribute in kind, conſiſting of gold, ſilver, rich feathers painted, cotton, cloaths, cacao, and other fruits; grain, veniſon, and whatever the kingdom afforded: Whereupon he made a grand entertainment for thoſe who came to attend the Solemnity.

He afterwards continued the war againſt the Chalci, who having taken the brother of MONTEZUMA priſoner, would have made him their King; but he refuſed the honour they intended him, and killed himſelf rather than engage againſt his brother. Whereupon MONTEZUMA encreaſed his forces, and made an entire conqueſt of the territories of the Chalci; and his General TLACAELLEC ſoon after ſubdued all the nations bordering on the North and South-ſeas, except the Tlaſcalans, which tribe, ſays ACOSTA, they ſuffer'd to retain their independency; that they might have an enemy to exerciſe their youth in the diſcipline of war, and to furniſh them with priſoners to ſacrifice to their gods. MONTEZUMA alſo applied himſelf to regulate the Civil Government and the Officers of his houſhold, and built that celebrated temple in Mexico that was dedicated to their god Vitzliputzli, and died after he had reigned twenty-eight years.

Sixth King Ticocic.

Seventh King Axayaca.

The electors, aſſembling on this demiſe, would have ſet the crown upon the head of their General TLACAELLEC, who had contributed exceedingly to the enlargement of their territories, and ſettling the Civil Government; and, when he refuſed to accept it, they choſe the perſon he was pleaſed to recommend to them; namely, TICOCIC, one of the ſons of the deceaſed King; but he, proving an unfortunate Prince, was poiſon'd by his ſubjects, after he had reigned four years: Whereupon the electors, by the advice of the ſame General, choſe AXAYACA, another of the ſons of MONTEZUMA, for their Sovereign; and the General TLACAELLEC dying ſoon after his election, AXAYACA gratefully conſtituted his eldeſt ſon General of the Mexican armies; and, having ſolemnized the exequies of TLACAELLEC with great ſplendor, march'd with his army, to the ſouthward of Mexico, two hundred leagues, ſubduing the provinces of Tecoantipique and Guatulco; from whence he brought ſeveral captives, whom he ſacrificed at his coronation. ACOSTA relates, that he afterwards invaded the country of TLATELULCO; and that his enemies, in order to ſurprize him, metamorphos'd themſelves into frogs, and other animals; which ACOSTA ſeems to have been ſo weak as to believe; And, indeed, it muſt be admitted, that ACOSTA had a pretty deal of credulity and ſuperſtition in his conſtitution; but, making an allowance for theſe foibles, he is eſteem'd a good author. To return to our hiſtory: AXAYACA died after he had reigned eleven years; and the electors thought fit to chuſe AUTZOL, one of their number, his ſucceſſor; who added Guatimala, and ſeveral other large provinces, to his dominions: He alſo rebuilt and beautified the city of Mexico; but, endeavouring to bring a river of freſh water into the town, drowned great part of it: However, he found means to draw off the water again, and repair the damage. And here ACOSTA entertains us with another whimſical piece of Mexican tradition. He ſays, when the King was about to turn the river into Mexico, being told by a certain Magician that he would drown the country by it, he order'd the man to be apprehended, deſigning to put him to death; but that the Magician preſerved himſelf ſome time, by turning himſelf into the form of an Eagle, then into a Tyger, and afterwards into a Serpent: However, that he ſurrender'd himſelf to the King at length, and was executed. AUTZOL, having reigned eleven years, died; and MONTEZUMA the ſecond was elected King, being the ſame Prince that ſat upon the throne when the Spaniards firſt invaded Mexico.

Eighth King Autzol.

Ninth King, Montezuma the ſecond.

This Prince was elected by the unaninious ſuffrages of the electors, and the approbation of all his ſubjects; for he was, or appeared to be, the beſt qualified for that high dignity, of any of the royal family; wiſe, valiant, generous, affable, and endow'd with every other royal virtue. He refuſed the crown when it was offer'd him, and was in a manner forced to accept it: But he no ſooner aſcended the Throne, than he gave his ſubjects good reaſon to believe his humility and condeſcenſion were counterfeited, only to render himſelf popular; for he commanded that no Commoner ſhould be admitted into his Court, or hold any place or office under him: He would be ſerved only by his vaſſal Princes and Nobility; and made it death, 'tis ſaid, for any Plebeian to look upon him. However, they admit, he cauſed juſtice to be duly adminiſter'd throughout his empire, and ſeverely puniſh'd his Officers and Magiſtrates that were guilty of corruption or oppreſſion: That he was alſo a great General; ever returned victorious from the wars, and added ſeveral provinces to his dominions.

The Spaniards arrive 1517.

It was in the fourteenth year of his reign, anno 1517, when the Spaniards firſt appeared upon his coaſts. In the following year, 1518, CORTEZ arrived, and ſo amazed the Mexicans with his ſhipping, artillery, and horſes, that in the opinion of ACOSTA, they would have ſubmitted to any terms the Spaniards would have impoſed, without ſtriking a ſtroke, or offering at a defence, if that would have ſatisfied the Spaniſh General. The Mexicans, at firſt, looked upon theſe foreigners as Gods, or good Angels, ſent for their protection. ACOSTA obſerves the ſame. But they, by their outrages and devaſtations, ſoon gave the Indians occaſion to alter their opinion, and dread them as a kind of evil Genii ſent to deſtroy them, But, having already given a full account of the negociations and tranſactions between MONTEZUMA and the Spaniards, I ſhall not weary the reader with a repetition of them; only obſerve, that MONTEZUMA the ſecond is looked upon as the laſt of the Mexican Emperors; for tho' there were two elected afterwards, one was ſet up in the life-time of MONTEZUMA, which made his election void; and the other was taken priſoner by CORTEZ, before he was well ſettled on the throne, and at length put to death by that General, under pretence that he was engaged in a conſpiracy againſt the Spaniards: Nor do authors agree in the names of either.

The learning of the ancient Mexicans.

I proceed in the next place, to enquire into the learning and qualifications of the Mexicans, that we may be the better able to judge what credit is to be given to this hiſtory: And, for ought appears to me, they had neither letters or characters, as the Chineſe have, to expreſs their meaning by; ſtatuary and painting were the only ways they had to record what was paſt: An image or picture, with a crown on its head, ſignified a King; and an image, habited like a Prieſt, a Prieſt: But they had no word or character that would expreſs either, as the Chineſe have. There were ſome few things indeed that repreſented others, and may be ſtiled hieroglyphicks; as the painted wheel, that diſtinguiſh'd their age; and

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and leſſer circles, their years: And this brings me to ſpeak of their kalendar.

Their kalendar.

This they regulated and adjuſted by the motion of the ſun making his altitude and declination the meaſure of times and ſeaſons. Their year conſiſted of three hundred ſixty-five days, and was divided into eighteen months, to each of which was aſſign'd twenty days, which made three hundred and ſixty; but then there were five more, a kind of intercalary days, which they added at the end of every year, to make it anſwer the courſe of the ſun; during which five days, 'tis ſaid, they gave themſelves up entirely to pleaſure, or at leaſt a relaxation from buſineſs; tradeſmen ſhut up their ſhops, no cauſes were heard in their courts of juſtice, and even their ſacrifices and the ſervice of the temple were diſuſed at theſe times. At the end of the five days, the new year began, which happen'd on the 26th of our month of February. Their weeks conſiſted of thirteen days each, diſtinguiſh'd in their kalendar by different figures; and their age conſiſted of two and fifty years, or four weeks of years; for the deſcribing whereof they made a large circle, which they divided into two and fifty degrees, allowing a year for every degree: In the center of the circle, the ſun was painted, from whoſe rays proceeded four lines of different colours, which equally divided the circumference, leaving thirteen degrees to each ſemidiameter; and theſe diviſions ſerved as ſigns of their Zodiack, upon which their ages had their revolutions, and the ſun his aſpects, proſperous or adverſe, according to the colour of the line. In a larger circle, incloſing the other, they mark'd, with the figures of animals, plants, weapons, or other inſtruments, the moſt remarkable occurrences that happen'd; which, however, they ſeem'd conſcious, could not be perfectly underſtood by poſterity; and therefore ſchools were inſtituted, wherein the youth were taught to celebrate the great actions of their ancient heroes, and to repeat the moſt memorable tranſactions of the preceding ages; on which they relied much more than on their hieroglyphicks. So that their hiſtory, at laſt, muſt be reſolved into oral tradition; and how much this may have been alter'd or corrupted, by deſign or negligence, we may gueſs, by what has happen'd in other parts of the world. For my part, I never yet met with that nation whoſe traditions could be relied on; even the Egyptians, Grecians, and Romans, and of later days the Chineſe and Eaſt-Indians, we find have mixed ſo many improbable relations with their ſtory, that we know not what to make of their ancient hiſtory; much leſs can we depend upon the Mexican, where they had neither the uſe of letters or characters to tranſmit the actions of their anceſtors to poſterity.

The end of the world expected at the concluſion of every age.

At the end of every age, the Mexicans were taught to expect the end of the world, and prepared themſelves to take leave of it: On the laſt night they extinguiſh'd their fires, neglected their food, and abandon'd themſelves to ſorrow; not daring to take their natural reſt, but remained with their eyes fixed towards the eaſt, till they ſaw the dawn of the ſucceeding day appear; and then prepared to welcome the Sun, and ſalute him, both with vocal and inſtrumental muſick, on his firſt appearance: They alſo congratulated each other that a new age was begun, and they ſhould no more be in danger of the like calamity for two and fifty years; for which bleſſing they crowded to their temples, to give thanks, and ſacrifice to their gods, and to receive from their Prieſts new fires from the altar; concluding the day with ſongs and dances, and other expreſſions of their joy.

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Government of the ancient Mexicans.

I proceed, in the next place, to enquire into the government of the ancient Mexicans, which, it appears, was at firſt popular or republican; but falling frequently into factions, which had near endanger'd the ruin of their ſtate, they elected ACAMAPIXTLI their firſt King, ſoon after their arrival on the Mexican lake; and all his ſucceſſors were elected afterwards, as has been related already; at firſt by the whole community; but, on the death of IZCOALT, the Kings of Tacuba and Tezcuco, and four Princes of the royal blood, aſſumed the priviledge of electing their King or Emperor; and the reſt of the Nobility, as well as the People, were ever after excluded from having any ſhare in the election.

Ceremonies of the coronation.

The King elect, after the reign of MONTEZUMA the firſt, was obliged to invade ſome neighbouring nation, if the Mexicans were not at that time engaged in war, and to bring home a certain number of captives, to be ſacrificed at his coronation: And, on his return in triumph, was met by the Nobility, Miniſters of State, and chief Prieſts, and conducted to the temple of the god of war; where, after the ſacrifice was ended, he was cloathed by the Electors in the imperial robes; a golden ſword, edg'd with flints, was put into his right hand, and into his left a bow and arrows; by which he ſeems to have been inveſted both with the civil and military powers: After which, the King of Tezcuco ſet the crown upon his head, as firſt elector of the empire: Then one of the miniſters made a ſpeech in the name of all the Mexicans, congratulating him upon his acceſſion, and putting him in mind of the duties incumbent on thoſe who were raiſed to ſovereign power; and, above all, with what attention and diligence he ought to apply himſelf, to promote the happineſs of the people committed to his care: Then the High Prieſt anointed him with a thick balm or oil, as black as ink; bleſſed the King, and four times ſprinkled him with a conſecrated water, putting a mantle over his ſhoulders, painted with ſkulls and human bones, to put him in mind, ſays my author, that Princes were ſubject to mortality. They alſo uſed ſome drugs at the coronation, to preſerve him from diſeaſes and enchantments. After which, he offer'd incenſe to the god Vitzliputzli, and took an oath to maintain the religion and cuſtoms of his anceſtors. He alſo took an oath, 'tis ſaid, that, during his reign, the ſun ſhould give his light, and the rains fall in their proper ſeaſons; and that there ſhould be no inundations, famine, or peſtilential diſeaſes: Not that the people of Mexico thought theſe things in the power of their Sovereign; but they put him in mind that his conduct ſhould be ſuch as not to draw the vengeance of Heaven upon them; being ſenſible, that the publick ſometimes ſuffer'd for the faults of their Governors.

The Courts of their ancient Kings.

Having ſeen the prince crown'd, it may be proper to ſay ſomething of his Court, eſpecially in the time of MONTEZUMA the ſecond, who lived in the greateſt ſplendor of any of their monarchs. He had, as DE SOLIS relates, two ſorts of guards; one of ſoldiers, with which the courts of the palace were in a manner crowded; and the other of Noblemen, introduced in this Prince's time, conſiſting of two hundred, who daily attended in their turns, not only as a guard, but to add to the ſplendor of the Court.

He had alſo no leſs than three thouſand women in his palace, being the moſt beautiful young ladies the Governors of the ſeveral provinces could pick out, to adorn the royal palace: Theſe were taken from their relations either with or without their conſent, as a tribute due to their Prince; and among them there were two, the daughters of ſome of the vaſſal Kings, whom he treated with great regard; and theſe the Spaniſh hiſtorians call his wives, and give them the title of Queens, probably becauſe there was ſome ſort of contract or ceremony uſed before he took them to his bed.

Their women.

There was a perpetual ſucceſſion of women in the palace; for the King frequently gave them to his Courtiers and Favourites in marriage, and ſupplied their places with others, which were daily ſent up by his officers: And, while they remained in the palace, it ſeems, they were as ſtrictly watch'd and guarded, as in a Mahometan Seraglio, by the good old Prudes and Gouvernantes, who had the care of the royal Concubines.

This Prince appeared but ſeldom in publick; and when he admitted any of his vaſſals to petition him, they were not ſuffer'd to look him in the face. He eat alone, but in great ſtate, having above two hundred diſhes at his table, which were diſtributed among the Nobility in waiting when he had done with them: Beſide which, tables were kept for all others who reſided in the palace, or whoſe buſineſs or employments brought them thither.

The King ſat at table on a little ſtool, and the room was divided in the middle to keep off the crowd: Three or four of the eldeſt Courtiers waited within the rail, and near it ſtood an Officer to receive the diſhes, which were brought in by young ladies richly dreſs'd. The diſhes, which were of fine earthen ware, and the table-linnen, were every day diſtributed among the ſervants, being never uſed twice. He drank out of golden cups frequently, a privilege never allow'd to his ſubjects; tho' he ſometimes drank out of the ſhell of a Cacao-nut, or other natural ſhells.

There were generally attending at his table three or four buffoons, who did not only divert him with their impertinence, but frequently acquainted him with things that others durſt not name; which, 'tis ſaid, was his principal reaſon for entertaining them.

Having repoſed himſelf a little after dinner, he was entertain'd with ſuch vocal and inſtrumental muſick as his country afforded; their inſtruments conſiſting chiefly of horns, hollow canes, or ſea-ſhells, and wooden drums; and might entertain thoſe that never heard better, but does not ſeem to be much admired by the Spaniards.

Courts of juſtice.

As to their Courts of Juſtice, there was one ſupreme tribunal in Mexico, conſiſting of twelve Judges, who determined all appeals from the reſpective provinces; and both the town and country had their proper Judges and Officers, who heard the parties, and determined cauſes in a ſummary way. There could be no bills and anſwers, no written declarations or pleadings, where there was no ſuch thing as writing: But the Judges were uſually govern'd by the deciſions of their predeceſſors and ancient cuſtom, unleſs the royal authority interpoſed.

The crimes of treaſon, murder, ſodomy, and adultery, were puniſh'd with death; and ſome authors add, that robbery and theft were puniſh'd in the like manner; but others relate, that the firſt theft was only puniſh'd with loſs of liberty: However, all agree, that corruption in the Judges and Magiſtrates was puniſh'd capitally; and that bribery in an Officer or Miniſter was never pardon'd; into which this Prince examined more narrowly than any other offence whatever.

Military power.

There was alſo a Council of war eſtabliſh'd at Mexico, which regulated all things relating to the militia; for the ſoldiery were more favoured than any ſet of men in the empire, and more raiſed their fortunes, and acquired poſts and titles of honour in this profeſſion than any other. In every great town the military men were diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt of the inhabitants, by ſeveral privileges and immunities; and their armies were eaſily raiſed, every Cacique and Governor of a town or province being obliged to bring a certain number of men into the field upon a ſummons. And it is ſaid, by De Solis, and ſeveral other Spaniſh hiſtorians, that Montezuma had thirty vaſſal Princes in his dominions that could each of them bring an hundred thouſand men into the field. Theſe Princes commanded their reſpective troops in perſon, but received their orders from the Generaliſſimo, which was uſually the Emperor himſelf in any war of conſequence; theſe Princes eſteeming it very impolitick to truſt large armies to the conduct of any ſubject.

Honours.

There were ſeveral military honours inſtituted, for diſtinguiſhing and rewarding thoſe who had behaved well in the army; ſome were created Knights of the Eagle, ſome of the Tyger, and others of the Lion, who bore the device of their reſpective orders on their habits. There was ſtill a ſuperior order of Knighthood, to which none but Princes, and thoſe of the blood royal, were admitted; which the Emperor himſelf was of: Theſe had their hair tied back with a red ſtring, and a number of taſſels hung down their ſhoulders, according to the exploits they had perform'd, a new one being added every time they performed any ſignal action.

Revenues of the Crown.

There was ſtill another Court, or Council, which had the management of the royal revenues which aroſe from the produce of the gold and ſilver mines, and from the tributes or taxes paid in kind of the fruits of the earth and their manufactures; which were ſaid to be greatly increaſed in the reign of Montezuma the ſecond, who compelled his ſubjects, whether tradeſmen or huſbandmen, to yield him one third part of their profits; and the pooreſt people were obliged to work in the publick buildings, without any other wages than their food, when required. As to the Nobility, indeed, they were not obliged to pay taxes; but they were, by their tenures, required to ſerve in the army, with a certain number of their vaſſals, or give their attendance at court, upon every ſummons.

The laſt Council I ſhall mention, is the Council of ſtate, to which all others were ſubject. This was compoſed of the ſix Electors of the empire, and uſually held in the preſence of the Emperor; four of the members always reſiding in the royal palace, without conſulting whom the Emperor ſcarce ever determined any thing of conſequence: They were the laſt reſort in all caſes, and without their advice were no laws made or alter'd.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the modern government of Mexico, and of the forces and revenues of that viceroyalty.

Government of modern Mexico.

MEXICO, like the Spaniſh provinces in the old world, is govern'd by a Viceroy, and each of the larger diviſions of that viceroyalty has its Court of audience, to which all the leſſer provinces and diſtricts are ſubject. The Viceroy, or Governor, is Preſident of each Court of audience; and the Alcaid-Majors, Fiſcals, and Counſellors of State, are Members of it. Theſe take cognizance of all cauſes, criminal or civil, within a certain circuit round the city where the reſpective Courts are held, in the firſt inſtance; and, by way of appeal, of all cauſes which are removed from the Courts of inferior Judges, within their ſeveral juriſdictions, particularly from the Courts of the reſpective Alcaids, Rigidors and Corrigidors of the reſpective towns and diſtricts. Thoſe cities which have not a Corrigidor for their chief Magiſtrate, have a Rigidor, or Alcaid-Major, who has a certain number of Rigidors, or Aldermen, for his Aſſeſſors, who determine all cauſes within their ſeveral diſtricts. Thoſe towns which are not cities, have their Alcaids only, from whoſe ſentence the people may appeal to the Courts eſtabliſh'd in the cities, and from them to the Court of audience.

In the Viceroy is veſted the ſupreme military power, and he has the nomination to many civil and military employments; but moſt of the principal poſts are filled up by the King, or the Council of the Indies in Old Spain; to whom alſo there lies an appeal from the Courts of audience in Mexico: And the Spaniards make it an inviolable rule never to prefer any Mexican, tho' born of Spaniſh parents, to any conſiderable poſt in the Indies. Theſe muſt be all natives of Old Spain; and the term of the Viceroy's adminiſtration is uſually limited to five years; but ſometimes he amaſſes wealth enough in that time to purchaſe a continuance in his office for another five years. And the miſery of it is, that ſuch Governors are ſent over uſually as are neceſſitous or covetous; and, having given great ſums to purchaſe their places, are forced to oppreſs all under them, to make up what has been extorted from them by the Miniſters in Europe: They therefore uſually ſell all the poſts they have to diſpoſe of, without regard to the qualification or merit of the perſon preferred; ſo that there is a train of bribery, corruption, and oppreſſion, that runs through the whole adminiſtration: And, as the Spaniards oppreſs each other, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that the poor Indians, that lie at their mercy, eſcape better.

In the towns that are purely Indian, the Spaniards conſtitute the ſame ſort of Magiſtrates, and the Government is adminiſter'd in the ſame manner by Indians, as it is in the Spaniſh towns by Spaniſh Magiſtrates: But there are ſome tribes of Indians that are rather in alliance with the Spaniards than ſubject to them. However, moſt of the Indians acknowledge the King of Spain for their Sovereign; and their Chiefs accept a ſtaff with a ſilver head, which is in a manner a Spaniſh commiſſion to govern their own people. Theſe the Spaniards are cautious of diſobliging, and ſuffer them to live according to their own laws and cuſtoms; only ſending Miſſionaries amongſt them, to endeavour, by fair means, to make them conform to their religion and government: For, if the Spaniards attempt to compel or force them to ſubmit, DAMPIER relates, whole towns of them will fly to the woods and mountains; and, if they are accidentally diſcover'd, they will remove again, which is not very difficult for them to do, having ſcarce any houſhold-ſtuff but their hammocks and calabaſhes; and they ſoon build them new huts when they come into another part of the country, and raiſe a plantation ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence. The Indians who have no dependance on the Spaniards, have ſome Chief they obey as their Prince, who acts the part of a General when they take the field, and that of a Judge in time of peace; and, in his determinations, is govern'd by ancient cuſtom: But, it ſeems, he enters upon no buſineſs of conſequence, without conſulting the heads of their tribes or families.

The forces of Mexico.

The regular forces the Spaniards have in the viceroyalty of Mexico are very inconſiderable: In the Metropolis there are ſcarce five hundred ſoldiers; and at Vera Cruz, the port of the greateſt conſequence on the North-ſea, they have not half that number; and their fortifications are as contemptible as their garriſons. There is ſcarce a town, of any name, near the coaſt of the North-ſea, but has been taken and plunder'd by the Buccaneers more than once, tho' theſe Rovers ſeldom conſiſt of more than a thouſand or fifteen hundred men: Theſe ſmall bodies have in a manner defied all the militia of the country; tho' they have frequently remained long enough on the coaſts for the Spaniards to aſſemble their whole poſſe, yet have they generally carried off their booty in ſpite of them. The ſame Buccaneers have fought their royal fleets on the South-ſea, taken ſome of their ſtouteſt ſhips, and ſeldom been unſucceſsful in their encounters with the Spaniards, by ſea or land. And if the Buccaneers and Privateers have appeared ſo much ſuperior to all the forces the Spaniards have in that part of the world, what might not an Engliſh or French ſquadron of fifteen or twenty men of war, and five or ſix thouſand land-forces, effect in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies? We ſee the Scots fix'd themſelves at Darien with much leſs force; and, had not the Engliſh themſelves oppoſed and diſcouraged that expedition, it would not have been in the power of the Spaniards to have removed them. And, indeed, it is not the want of power, but the want of inclination, that has prevented the Engliſh fixing themſelves in the richeſt parts of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies. Our Governors ſeem to have been of opinion, that we ſhould loſe more by diſpoſſeſſing the Spaniards of their acquiſitions in the new world, than we ſhould get by the conqueſt, if we ſucceeded. And, I muſt confeſs, I am entirely of that mind; for tho' we might come in for a ſhare of their gold and ſilver, yet, if we loſt our traffick by it, we ſhould be no gainers in the end. I look upon it to be the intereſt both of Great Britain and Spain, to live in perpetual amity and good underſtanding, and to unite their whole powers to oppoſe the encroaching French, particularly in Florida, to which France hath already given the name of Louiſiania; for if the French ſucceed there, as they will be very uneaſy neighbours to the Britiſh plantations, they will be much more terrible to the Spaniard on the ſide of Mexico, which lies contiguous to it; ſince the gold and ſilver mines in Mexico may be ſuppoſed to draw them ſooner that way than to the Britiſh plantations, where there is nothing that can come in competition with thoſe treaſures: Nay, the Spaniards can never ſecure their mines in Mexico from the French, but by introducing the Engliſh into the weſtern part of Florida, before the French are too well eſtabliſh'd there. The Engliſh would be their beſt barrier for their Mexican dominions: They find the French have already driven them from their forts at the mouth of the river Miſſiſippi, and ſome of their ſettlements on the frontiers of New Mexico; and they may aſſure themſelves they will advance to the mines, if they are not diſappointed by the Engliſh. It is therefore undoubtedly the intereſt of Spain to cultivate a good underſtanding with Great Britain.

The intereſt of Britain and Spain to unite againſt the French in America.

Nor is it leſs our intereſt to have the Spaniards for our friends: If we do not drive them into the arms of France, we may have the cloathing of the greateſt part of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; and we ſhall not only loſe that moſt valuable branch of our trade by quarrelling with them, but, ſhould the Spaniard be provoked to join with the French in Florida, they would greatly diſtreſs our colonies that border on that country, and put a ſtop to our extending our plantations to the weſtward. And tho this would be a great ſtep to their own deſtruction, we can't be aſſured they will never take ſuch meaſures; for we find pique and reſentment go a great way, and that Courts, as well as private men, are ſometimes governed more by paſſion than reaſon. And if both our foreign traffick and plantations muſt evidently ſuffer by our quarrelling with Spain, it is not the poſſeſſion of a mine or two that would be an equivalent for them. Beſides, if ever we ſhould attempt to make ourſelves maſters of any part of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, we ſhall infallibly be oppoſed by the French, and perhaps by the Dutch, and other European nations. We have already ſuffered in our trade by quarrelling with Spain: A great part of the woollen and other manufactures and merchandize, they formerly took from us, are now furniſh'd them by the French and Dutch; and where trade has found a new channel, it is difficult to reduce it to the old one. I hope, therefore, both Britain and Spain will conſider their mutual intereſts better for the future. We are not poſſeſs'd of the mines of Mexico indeed; but great part of the treaſure the Spaniards dig there flows into this kingdom, as has been obſerved by others, in return for our manufactures: They have the labour, but we already ſhare the profit with them. On the other hand, Spain will not fail to be protected by us againſt the encroachments of the French, if they uſe us well; and I don't know any other Power that can protect their American dominions againſt that potent and enterprizing people.

The revenues of Mexico.

The revenues the King of Spain receives from the viceroyalty of Mexico are very conſiderable, and ariſe principally from three branches, viz. 1. The King's fifth or tenth of the treaſure dug out of their mines; 2. From the duties of exciſe and cuſtom; and, 3. From the rents and ſervices by which they hold their eſtates, and the produce of their husbandry and manufactures.

Ariſing from the mines.

Gemelli Careri informs us, that the King has but a tenth of the ſilver in Mexico, though he has a fifth of the ſilver of Peru, becauſe the Mexicans are at a very great charge in purchaſing quickſilver to refine their ſilver; whereas the Peruvians have mines of quickſilver in their country. Gold, however, pays a fifth to the King, both in Mexico and Peru. The ſame gentleman relates, that when he was at Mexico, in the year 1698, the King's part for that year came to ſix hundred thouſand marks, every mark eight ounces of ſilver (which muſt make twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling of our money); and that the Aſſayer aſſured him, the King's ſhare came to eight hundred thouſand marks, or ſixteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, in the year 1691: And the King's part of the plate of Peru comes to four times as much at leaſt.

Exciſe and cuſtoms.

The cuſtoms and exciſe alſo muſt raiſe a great deal of money; for the ſame Gemelli informs us, that the King's duties paid by the Manila ſhip, in which he came from the Eaſt-Indies, amounted to fourſcore thouſand pieces of eight; and thoſe ſhips which arrive from Peru and Europe annually, alſo are vaſtly rich, and pay very high duties to the Crown. The ſame writer relates, that the exciſe on a ſpirituous liquor, drawn from the plant Maghey only, amounted to eleven hundred thouſand pieces of eight per annum in the city of Mexico.

Rents and ſervices.

The third branch of the revenue, viz. the rents and ſervices due to the Crown, muſt be equal, if not ſuperior, to either of the former branches; for Gage obſerves, that the pooreſt married Indian pays four, ſix, and, in ſome places, eight ryals (four ſhillings) per ann. to the Crown; and others in proportion to their eſtates. There are lands alſo held immediately of the Crown, that pay very great rents. Others are held of the Encomendero's, that reſemble our Lords of Manors, or rather the ancient Barons; to whom their tenants pay a large portion of the produce of their grounds and manufactures in kind: And theſe Lords hold of the Crown by certain tenures or rents; for all lands there, as with us, hold mediately or immediately of the Crown, and the owners of them contribute to the ſupport of the government, either by their perſonal ſervice, or the rents they pay in lieu of ſuch ſervice.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the religion of the Mexicans, ancient and modern.

Religion of the Chichimeca's.

THE people that inhabited this country immediately before the Mexicans, according to tradition, were the Chichimeca's, who are repreſented by the Mexicans, that diſpoſſeſs'd them of their country, as a very brutiſh generation, without religion, without government, without cloathing, ignorant of husbandry, building, and every other art and ſcience.

They worſhip the ſun and moon.

But, notwithſtanding they are ſaid to be without religion, the Spaniſh hiſtorians, moſt of them, agree, that this ſavage people worſhipped the ſun and moon, and ſacrificed fowls and other animals to them. And Gemelli Careri relates, that when he was at Mexico, in the year 1698, being carried to the village of Teotiguacan, which ſignifies a place of gods, about a days journey from that city, to ſee ſome Indian antiquities; he found two pyramids of earth, with ſteps from the bottom to the top, like thoſe of Egypt; the one being the pyramid of the moon, and the other of the ſun: That two ſides of the pyramid of the moon were two hundred Spaniſh yards in length each, and the other two hundred and fifty Spaniſh yards in length (a Spaniſh yard being near a fourth leſs than an Engliſh yard). He had no inſtrument to take the height, but he gueſs'd it to be fifty Engliſh yards: That there once ſtood on the top of this pyramid a vaſt idol of the moon (of human form, as I underſtand him) made of a hard coarſe ſtone, which the firſt Biſhop of Mexico, out of a religious zeal, cauſed to be broke in pieces: However, there lay then three great pieces of it at the foot of the pyramid: That within the pyramid were ſeveral vaults, where Kings had been buried; for which reaſon the road to it was called Micaotli, or the Highway of the Dead; and about it were ſeveral little mounts, or tumuli, ſuppoſed to be the burying-places of their Great men.

Pyramids erected to them.

Image of the moon.

Kings buried here.

Our author afterwards viewed the pyramid of the ſun, called Tonagli, which ſtood two hundred paces ſouth of the former; and he found two ſides of it three hundred Spaniſh yards in length, and the other two about two hundred; and it was a fourth part higher than that of the moon: The ſtatue on the top of it was broken; but, however, the beſt part of it then remained there, being too large to be eaſily removed. This image had a great hollow place in the breaſt, where the figure of the ſun was placed; and all the reſt of it had been covered with gold, as was the image of the moon; and he found ſome great ſtones at the foot of the pyramid, that were part of the arms and legs of the idol.

Image of the ſun.

A tradition they were erected by an eaſtern people.

According to their traditions, theſe pyramids were built by the Ulmeco's, a people which came by ſea from the eaſt; which gave ſome Europeans reaſon to conjecture, they were colonies of the Egyptians and Carthaginians, who ſometimes joined in their naval expeditions to the weſtern coaſts of Africa and the iſlands in the Atlantic ocean.

Gemelli adds, that the Mexicans do not pretend to know when theſe pyramids were erected; and Dr. Siguenza, a learned Spaniard, looks upon them to be almoſt as ancient as the Flood. Certain it is, ſays my author, there was formerly a great city where they ſtand, as appears by the vaſt ruins about them: They muſt have been built by a people who inhabited the country before the Mexicans the Spaniards found there; for it appears, the Mexicans came from the north but four or five hundred years before the Spaniſh conqueſt; and, conſequently, they could not be the founders of theſe pyramids, the ſtructure whereof they don't pretend to have any traditions or memoirs.

Religion of the Mexicans.

I proceed, in the next place, to enquire into the religion of the Mexican tribes, who ſucceeded the Chichimeca's; and theſe, according to Acosta, De Solis, and other Spaniſh writers of figure, acknowledged one ſupreme God as well as the Peruvians, and worſhipped the idol Vitzliputzli as the image of this great God: But they contradict themſelves in other parts of their hiſtory; telling us, that Vitzliputzli was their Mars, or God of War; and that he had a brother, named Tlalock, of equal power; and that the like prayers and ſacrifices were made before each of them. How then, could the idol Vitzliputzli be adored as the one ſupreme God? Beſides, the ſame writers acknowledge, that there was not one Indian nation that had a word in their language, or any term, that ſignified God. Indeed Acosta ſays, the Peruvians did worſhip a being, to whom they gave the names of Pachamac, Pachania, or the Creator of Heaven and Earth; and of Uſapu, the moſt Admirable; which I ſhall conſider of when I treat of Peru. But neither he, nor any other writer I have met with, will pretend to ſay, that the Mexicans gave any of their gods ſuch titles or appellations. Indeed, moſt of their writers copy from Acosta, and give us nothing more, unleſs their own conjectures; and Acosta tells us, that their Miſſionaries were forced to uſe the Spaniſh word Dios, both in Mexico and Peru, when they ſpoke of God; the natives having no word of the like import.

If the Mexicans had any god which they imagined preſided over the reſt, it was the Sun. It is evident, they had a great veneration for this planet, from the ſpeeches of Montezuma, and their aſcribing whatever was great and wonderful to his direction and influence; but they had no image of the ſun or moon in the temples of Mexico, as the former inhabitants of the country (the Chichimeca's) had: Either they imagined it unneceſſary to make any reſemblance of thoſe glorious luminaries, which appeared to them every day; or, rather, they imagined they governed the world by the mediation of inferior deities; and therefore built temples, and paid their devotions only to the latter, as mediators for them to thoſe mighty beings they did not think themſelves worthy to approach directly: For this ſeems to have been the opinion of other idolaters, both Pagan and Chriſtian. I proceed therefore, in the next place, to enumerate the principal idols the Spaniards found in the temples of Mexico.

Their idols Vitzlipuſtli, Tlalock. Teſcalicupa.

The firſt idol the Spaniſh writers mention, was Vitzliputzli, and the ſecond Tlalock; which the reader will find already deſcribed, p. 142, 143. The third idol was Teſcalicupa, called the god of penance; to whom they addreſſed themſelves in their diſtreſſes, and in their faſts. It was an image of human form, carved out of a black ſhining ſtone, and repreſented ſitting on a chair in the middle of the altar: The hair was tied up with a golden fillet: He held four darts in his right hand, and in his left a golden mirror; and in the ſame hand a fan, made of feathers of all colours.

Quitzalcoalt.

The fourth image was the Mercury of the Mexicans, repreſented under a human ſhape, and called Quitzalcoalt: He was more particularly addreſs'd to by merchants and tradeſmen.

Tozi.

The had alſo a goddeſs called Tozi, or our great grandmother; a deity of their own framing; for, it is reported, their god Vitzliputzli directed them to demand of the King of Culiacan his daughter, for their Queen; which being complied with, they put her to death, flead off her ſkin, and put it on a young lad, and ever after adored her as their goddeſs.

An idol made of dough-paſte.

Another idol was formed of a paſte compoſed of the flour of ſeveral ſorts of grain mixed with honey; which they obliged their priſoners to adore that were deſtined to be ſacrificed: And this brings me to enquire into their human ſacrifices, with which the Spaniards charge them; making theſe a colour for all the outrages they committed in America. They inſiſt, that a people, which made the ſacrificing their own ſpecies the chief part of their religion, ought to have been extirpated. But the Spaniſh Biſhop of Chiapa, who reſided in Mexico at the time of the conqueſt, and was ſent over thither to enquire into theſe matters, and to protect the Indians againſt the barbarous uſage they met with from Cortez and his fellow-adventurers; aſſures us, that moſt part of the charge was falſe: That inſtead of the Mexicans ſacrificing thouſands and twenty thouſands annually, as thoſe adventurers reported, they never ſacrificed fifty in any one year. And, for ought I can learn, they neither ſacrificed beaſts or men conſtantly; but only on ſome grand feſtivals, or in the time of ſome general calamity, ſuch as famine, or ill ſucceſs in war, to appeaſe their angry gods, as the Phenicians and Carthaginians did, from whom it is highly probable they were deſcended. "Theſe adventurers, ſays "the good Biſhop, invented ſuch ſtories to juſtify "their own barbarity. It may truly be ſaid, that "the Spaniards, ſince their arrival in the Indies, "have annually ſacrificed to their adored goddeſs "avarice, more people than the Indians ſacrificed "in an hundred years." And, if their own writers have reduced theſe ſacrifices from twenty thouſand per annum to fifty, poſſibly there is very little truth in the reſt of thoſe relations we meet with, of their ſacrificing men, much leſs eating them. All writers agree, that their Prieſts offered incenſe four times a day to their gods; but thoſe that ſpeak of the ſacrificing men to their idols, mention it as done upon extraordinary occaſions only, and no part of their conſtant worſhip.

Their human ſacrifices magnified to a great degree.

If we might believe ſome authors, indeed, they did not only ſacrifice men, but eat them; and had ſhambles of human fleſh in their markets. But, as I ſhould with great difficulty believe this of any people, it being a thing ſo generally abhorred by all men I have ever ſeen or known; I ſhould believe it leſs of the Indians than any other people, ſince it is agreed, that they lived for the moſt part on fruits, roots and herbs, and very little on fleſh of any kind. The ſame Biſhop of Chiapa informs us, they were temperate and abſtemious to a very great degree; and that one Spaniard would eat as much as four Indians uſually

Their eating human fleſh not to be relied on.

uſually did. And it is very ſtrange, if ſuch a people ſhould feaſt on human fleſh, which, I am apt to think, is a ſtronger food, and harder to digeſt than that of any other animal; it muſt create a ſtrange diſorder in men that generally lived ſo abſtemiouſly. And, as I am inclined to doubt of many of the ſtories we meet with in the Spaniſh hiſtorians, relating to human ſacrifices; ſo I muſt abſolutely reject thoſe relations that charge the Indians, or any other nation, with devouring their own ſpecies. It is ſtrange, if there ever were ſuch a people in America, there ſhould be none of them left at this day. There are many nations, yet unconquer'd by the Europeans, who ſtill retain their ancient rites and cuſtoms in other particulars; and yet I can't learn there is one canibal amongſt them.

I ſhall proceed, however, to give a fair and impartial account of the religion of the Mexicans, as we find it in Father Acosta the Jeſuit, from whom moſt of the other Spaniſh writers have tranſcribed their relations; only premiſing, that tho' this Father be an author of very good credit, where he relates what he ſaw himſelf; yet he ſeems to have had a great ſhare of credulity and ſuperſtition in his conſtitution, as will appear from the pretended miracles he relates upon truſt, and the credit he requires his readers to give them.

A reſemblance between the Mexican and Chriſtian rites.

And, in the firſt place, Acosta obſerves, that the Devil has taught the Mexicans to imitate both Jews and Chriſtians in the worſhip and ſervice of their idols: That they had their Temples, Prieſts, Sacrifices, Sacraments, Prophets, and Miniſters, as the people of God had: And then proceeds to deſcribe the Mexican temples; of which having treated already, I ſhall, in the next place enquire into the Prieſt's office.

Their Pope.

Other Prieſts.

Their chief Prieſt, he informs us, was ſtiled their Papas, or Pope, veſted with ſovereign authority, and held his office by inheritance, as the reſt of the Prieſts of **Vitzliputzli** did: But that the other Prieſts were elected or dedicated to that office in their infancy.

Incenſe offer'd to their idols.

Penances.

That the daily employment of their Prieſts was to offer incenſe to their idols: This they did four times within the ſpace of twenty-four hours, viz. at break of day, at noon, at ſun-ſet, and at midnight; when they ſounded their drums and trumpets: The chief Prieſt in waiting, being cloathed in a kind of ſurplice, took fire from the altar at midnight; and, having incenſed the idol, was followed into a chappel by the reſt of the Prieſts and Officers of the temple; where they perform'd a very rigorous penance, laſhing and cutting themſelves 'till the blood follow'd, and then beſmear'd their faces with their own blood.

The Prieſts and Religious alſo faſted five or ten days before their grand feſtivals; and ſome of them cut and diſabled themſelves in ſuch a manner, as to render them incapable of enjoying women: Neither did they drink ſtrong liquor, or indulge themſelves in ſleep, moſt of their penances being perform'd in the night-time.

The manner of ſacrificing men.

Their ſacrifices come next to be conſider'd. Acosta relates, that the captives deſign'd to be offer'd, being brought to the foot of the temple-ſtairs, were met by one of the chief Prieſts, who preſenting them the image made of the flour of Wheat, Maize and Honey, declared, that "This "was their god;" and, after ſome other ceremonies, one of theſe unhappy men was led up to the platform on the top of the ſteps, where he found ſix Prieſts ready for the execution; two ſeiz'd upon his arms, two on his legs, a fifth put a wooden collar about his neck; and, having thrown him on his back on a pointed ſtone about 4 foot high, the ſixth, being the chief Prieſt, ripped open his breaſt with a knife edg'd with flint; and, tearing out the heart firſt, preſented it to the ſun, and then threw it in the face of the image of **Vitzliputzli** (or ſome other image) which ſtood on an altar in the chappel juſt before the place of execution: Then the body was thrown down the ſteps, and, being taken up by thoſe that took him priſoner, was carried away, boil'd, broil'd, or otherwiſe cook'd, and ſerv'd up for the entertainment of their friends, who feaſted on the fleſh of the ſacrifice. And thus, according to this writer, were fifty and more ſacrificed in a day ſometimes. The hands and faces of all the ſacrificing Prieſts were painted black when they officiated; and the chief Prieſt had on a red robe or mantle, with a crown of feathers of various colours on his head, pendants at his ears, and jewels hung on his lips. The reſt of the Prieſts had painted coronets on their heads, and were cloathed in white robes.

At ſome of their feſtivals, they flead a captive, and cloath'd another man in his ſkin, who went through the ſtreets begging the charity of the people, who gave liberally on theſe occaſions, the money being applied to the ſervice of the temple.

Sometimes they would ſtake a priſoner down, and giving him weapons, ſuffer him to defend himſelf againſt the ſacrificing Prieſt; and, if he were too hard for the Prieſt that attack'd him, they gave him his liberty, otherwiſe he underwent the ſame fate as the reſt.

Their feſtivals, 'tis ſaid, were uſually celebrated with human ſacrifices. The laſt day of every month, which conſiſted of twenty days, they ſacrificed ſome captives, and ran about the ſtreets, cloathed in their ſkins, to beg money, in the manner above related.

A captive alſo was annually given to the Prieſts, to be the repreſentative of their god. This man they cloathed with all the robes and ornaments of the idol he was to perſonate, and gave him the ſame name; and he was honoured and adored all that year as the idol was, lodged in the beſt apartment in the temple, feaſted and entertain'd by thoſe of the firſt rank, and, when he went through the ſtreets, he was attended by their Princes and Nobility; he play'd upon a pipe, or flute, and the people ador'd him as he paſs'd: But at the end of the year he was ſacrificed, and ſent to increaſe the number of their gods.

The Prieſts put both the King and People upon theſe barbarous ſacrifices, according to Acosta, who ſays, "They were weary of them when the "Spaniards arrived amongſt them, and were de-"termined to have left them off themſelves."

Feſtival of Vitzliputzli.

In their great feaſt of **Vitzliputzli**, which was held the beginning of May, their Nuns (for they had cloiſters of Nuns and Friars belonging to every temple) made an image of their god in paſte, of the flour of Maize and Honey; which having dreſs'd up, and ſeated on an azure throne, the Nuns, who at that feaſt call'd themſelves the ſiſters of **Vitzliputzli**, carried it in proceſſion on their ſhoulders to the area before the temple, where a ſet of young Friars received it, and carried it on their ſhoulders to the ſteps of the altar, where the people came and worſhipped it, throwing duſt on their heads.

They afterwards went in proceſſion with the image to a mountain, a league diſtant from Mexico, taking a tour through ſeveral of the neighbouring villages: After which they returned to the temple in a triumphant manner, ſounding their drums and trumpets, covering the idol with roſes, and ſtrewing the ground with all manner of flowers.

Their communion.

Then the Nuns took paſte, and made it into the form of human bones, which were laid at the feet of the idol, and being conſecrated by the Prieſts, were called, The Fleſh and Bones of **Vitzliputzli**: About which they ſung and danced, and paid the ſame divine honours to them as to the idol itſelf. After which, the Prieſts ſtripped the idol of paſte of its ornaments, broke that and the bones in pieces, which they diſtributed to the people, bidding them "eat the fleſh of their god;" the whole ceremony concluding with a ſermon or exhortation of the Prieſts.

Feaſt of Teſcalipuca.

On the 19th of the ſame month of May, was annually celebrated the feaſt of **Teſcalipuca**, when the Prieſts abſolved the people from their ſins. The temple gates being opened, one of the Prieſts appeared, and blew a horn, turning himſelf to the four winds: After which, he took up duſt and put in his mouth, pointing to the heavens; in which he was imitated by the people, who ſigh'd, wept and mourn'd for their offences; and proſtrating themſelves on the ground, implored the divine mercy. The horn was blown for ten days ſucceſſively, viz. from the 9th to the 19th of May; all which time was ſpent in weeping and mourning; and, on the laſt day the image of the god **Teſcalipuca** was carried in proceſſion, two Prieſts walking before it with cenſers in their hands; and, every time they cenſed the people, they lifted up their hands to heaven, adoring the ſun and their idol: And, during the ceremony, the penitents ſcourg'd themſelves with whips and knotted cords.

After the proceſſion, the people made their oblations, conſiſting of gold, ſilver, the fruits of the earth, or of their labour. They alſo ſet all manner of delicious meats before the idol, which were afterwards carried by the ſervants of the temple to the apartments of the Prieſts; the whole ceremony concluding with the ſacrifice of the perſon who had been the living image of the god of penance the preceding year, and the uſual ſongs and dances at ſuch ſolemnities.

Feaſt of Quitzalcoalt.

The next feſtival I ſhall mention, is that of **Quitzalcoalt**, the god of trade. Forty days before this feaſt, the Merchants purchaſed a beautiful young ſlave, without any manner of defect, to be the living repreſentative of this god; and, having waſh'd and purified him, they cloathed him with the ſame robes and ornaments with which the idol was adorn'd he was to repreſent: They danced, ſung, and adored him; furniſhing him with every thing that could render life deſirable: But, nine days before the intended execution, they put him in mind of his approaching fate; and, if he appear'd to be diſpirited and melancholy, they ply'd him with intoxicating liquors 'till he returned to his uſual gaiety, and became inſenſible of his ſufferings: And, on the night of the feaſt-day, about twelve o'clock, they ſacrificed the unhappy wretch in the uſual manner, ripping open his breaſt, and taking out his heart, which they firſt offer'd to the moon, and then threw in the face of the idol, tumbling the body down the ſtairs of the temple, which the Merchants took up, dreſs'd, and eat with their friends.

Feaſt to the god of hunting.

It is not pretended, that the Mexicans had any conſtant daily ſacrifices, either of men or other animals: But our author relates, that they adored the god of hunting; and, at certain ſeaſons of the year, uſed to ſurround the woods and mountains, where they expected to meet with wild beaſts, or game: And, having lighted fires on all ſides, and driven the beaſts to the centre, there they uſed to kill, and offer them to this god, who was placed on an altar on the top of the mountain thus invaded.

The inhabitants of Honduras, Jucatan, Nicaragua, and the reſt of the provinces, had idols of different figures, that were worſhipped with different rites: But moſt of them, we are told, ſacrificed men on ſome occaſions, particularly thoſe of the diſtrict of Tlaſcala; and the iſland of Cozumel, on the coaſt of Jucatan, was famous for ſuch ſacrifices, as well as for its oracles. But we are inform'd, that the Prieſts here, as well as the Pagan Prieſts of old, uſed to abuſe the people with pretended anſwers from their idols, which they themſelves pronounced unſeen from a hollow place, where they ſtood conceal'd.

I ſhall take an opportunity here to recite ſome of the miracles related by Father Acosta, which have any relation to theſe ſacrifices, or other parts of their religion.

Miracles related by Acoſta.

He ſays, that ſome Spaniards ſtanding at the foot of the temple ſtairs, when a body that had been ſacrificed, and the heart pulled out, was rolled down, the body ſpoke to them, and cry'd, "Knights, they "have ſlain me;" adding, that it is no incredible thing for a perſon to ſpeak after his heart is pull'd out.

The ſecond miracle he relates, was done by a Spaniſh ſoldier, who having committed ſome capital crimes, fled to the Indians in the mountains to conceal himſelf; and obſerving the Indians in great diſtreſs for water, and that they in vain called on their gods for rain, adviſed them to erect a Croſs, and offer up their prayers to it for relief; which they did, and there immediately fell abundance of rain, which ſo convinced the Indians of the virtue and holineſs of the Croſs, that they applied to it in all their diſtreſſes, obtaining whatever they demanded; which induced them to break their idols in pieces, and apply themſelves to the Chriſtian Prieſts to be baptized; and that the province was ever after called The Holy Croſs of the Mountain. However, Acosta is ſo good to tell us, that this miracle-working ſoldier was afterwards taken by the Spaniards, and hang'd for new offences, not being able to leave his wicked courſes.

The ſame writer proceeds to inform us, that ſome Spaniſh ſoldiers, who wander'd about in Florida ſeveral years, cured whole towns and provinces of their diſeaſes, by ſaying over ſome prayers of the church, and ſigning their patients with the ſign of the croſs, without adminiſtring any medicine to them.

He obſerves alſo, that in ſeveral battles a horſeman was ſeen in the air, mounted upon a white horſe, with a ſword in his hand, fighting for the Spaniards; and at other times the image of the bleſſed Virgin appeared fighting for them.

So very credulous and ſuperſtitious are the beſt Spaniſh authors, that treat of the conqueſt of Mexico! From whence it is natural to infer, how little their accounts are to be depended on, where it is their intereſt to traduce the Indians to advance the glory of their church, or magnify the actions of thoſe pretended conquerors that deſtroy'd the inhabitants of that new world.

Notwithſtanding 'tis pretended, that the Mexicans ſacrificed twenty and fifty thouſand men in one year, we find, when the ſame authors come to give a particular account of their religion, they confeſs, that on ſome of their greateſt feſtivals they were contented with the life of one ſingle victim; which it is not probable they would, if they had ſacrificed ſuch numbers at other times.

It is obſervable alſo, that in ſome parts of their hiſtory, they repreſent them rejoicing at theſe ſacrifices, cooking, dreſſing and eating the victims with an uncommon guſt; and yet, in other paſſages, we are required to believe, that they deteſted human ſacrifices, were put upon them only by their Prieſts, and were determined to have left them off before the Spaniards came: So inconſiſtent are theſe writers with themſelves. And we find the Biſhop of Chiapa, who was upon the ſpot at the time of the conqueſt, abſolutely denies the Indians ſacrificed ſuch numbers as was pretended, or any thing near ſo many.

I can't help taking notice alſo, that their hiſtorians relates, that the legs and arms only of the ſacrifice were choſen to eat, the body being neglected and thrown away; whereas in other animals, the loin, the breaſt and rump are looked upon as the choiceſt pieces, and the legs the moſt indifferent food. They alſo give us pictures and cuts of the Indians roaſting human fleſh on ſpits; whereas, every one knows, they roaſt no kind of fleſh, but ſtew or broil (which they call barbacuing) their meat. From whence I am confirm'd in my former opinion, that the Indians never eat any human fleſh; and if ever they ſacrificed men, it was but very ſeldom, and upon extraordinary occaſions. But to proceed in the deſcription of their religious rites.

Convents and nunneries.

Within the bounds of every temple there were two convents, the one of Nuns, and the other of Friars: The Nuns were cloathed in white, and called the daughters of penance, being admitted into the cloiſter at twelve or thirteen years of age, when their heads were ſhaved: Their buſineſs was to keep the temple clean, and dreſs the ſacred meats preſented to the idols, and afterwards eaten by the Prieſts; and they made the furniture and ornaments for the temple, and the idols it contain'd: They roſe at midnight to attend the ſervice of the temple, and perform the penances impoſed on them; and it was death to ſuffer their chaſtity to be violated while they remained in the cloiſter; but then they were to continue here but a few years; after which, they were allowed to leave their cells, and marry.

The young Friars were admitted at eight or nine years of age, had their crowns ſhaved, and attended the ſervice of the temple alſo: They were obliged to live abſtemiouſly, and practiſe great auſterities; but were, however, at twenty years of age, allowed to go into the world, and marry. There were no ſuch things among the Mexicans as vows of perpetual virginity and chaſtity; but, at proper ages, both Nuns and Monks entered into the married ſtate, which render'd their condition preferable to that of cloiſter'd Catholicks.

Circumciſion and baptiſm.

The Spaniſh writers alſo relate, that the Mexicans had the rites of baptiſm and circumciſion amongſt them; by which they initiated young children, eſpecially thoſe of noble extraction, into their religion.

Confeſſion.

Their Prieſts alſo obliged their people to come to confeſſion, and enjoin'd them penance, after the manner of the Roman Catholicks. Thus the rites of the Mexicans and Spaniards being pretty much the ſame, the latter had little more to do than to give them one ſet of images for another, and require them to direct their devotion to different objects repreſented by images conſiſting of the ſame materials their former idols were made.

Oracles.

Another part of the Mexican religion, or ſuperſtition, conſiſted in conſulting their idols as to future events: But I find the Prieſts, for the moſt part, deliver'd their oracles; or, if the idol itſelf was apply'd to, there were ſome pious frauds uſed to impoſe on the bigotted enquirer. The voice, indeed, proceeded from the place where the image ſtood; but it was the voice of a man, artfully placed in or behind the image, and not the voice of a dæmon (as ſome have ſuppoſed) that reſolved their doubts. And, to me, the Idol-prieſt, the Conjurer, and the Phyſician, ſeem to have been the ſame perſon, only acting different parts: They all pretend to charm away diſtempers, and do a multitude of other feats, above the power of nature; which every one is at liberty to believe or reject, as he is diſpoſed, theſe being no articles of faith.

The Chriſtian religion introduced.

The manner of converting the Indians.

As to the Chriſtian religion, which the Spaniards boaſt they introduc'd into this new world, it appears, that the firſt adventurers, Cortez and his companions, ſtudied nothing leſs than the converſion of the Indians, whatever they pretended: They only ſummoned the Indians to ſubmit to the Pope and the Emperor Charles the Vth; and, on their refuſal, to become Chriſtians (before they were at all inſtructed in the Chriſtian rites) they ſeiz'd their country, murder'd many millions of them, and enſlav'd the reſt: And afterwards, when theſe abuſes were in ſome meaſure redreſs'd, and Miſſionaries ſent over, they perfectly dragoon'd the Indians that were left alive into Chriſtianity, driving 'em by hundreds and thouſands into the rivers to be baptized, on pain of having their throats cut. One of theſe Miſſionaries boaſted, to Charles the Vth, that he had baptized above thirty thouſand Indians himſelf: And Gage relates, that it was frequent, in his time, to baptize the Mexican Indians before they were at all inſtructed in the doctrines of Chriſtianity. See Gage's *Survey of the Weſt-Indies*, p. 357, &c.

Dignities in the church conferred on native Spaniards.

The ſame writer relates, that there are Miſſionaries ſent over from Spain to every province in Mexico, from all the religious orders, annually; and that it is very ſeldom that any conſiderable dignity in the church of Mexico is conferred on a native of that country, tho' born of Spaniſh anceſtors; which has created an implacable enmity between the Clergy that are natives of Mexico, and called Crioli, and thoſe that are natives of Old Spain. The ſame policy is uſed in relation to poſts in the Civil Government, as has been obſerved already: Moſt of the ſuperior Governments and Offices are filled with the natives of old Spain, who treat the Crioli, or Mexican Spaniards, with great contempt; from whence, ſome have been inclined to think, the latter would be ready to revolt, and join any foreign Power that ſhould appear in the Weſt-Indies, to free themſelves from the Spaniſh yoke. But as that of France would be ſtill more inſupportable to the Spaniſh Indians, and they are too much bigotted to their ſuperſtition to ſubmit to Hereticks, it is highly probable, notwithſtanding their averſion to the Spaniſh Adminiſtration, they would all unite againſt a foreign invader; and whatever European ſhall attack them, ought to depend on his own force, and not rely much on the diſaffection of the natives.

Differences between the Old Spaniards and the Mexican Spaniards.

Gage's other obſervation, however, in relation to the Miſſionaries ſent from Spain, "That they "are frequently Monks of very little merit, and "of lewd lives," may be true enough; for, ſo we find it in other countries, men of worth and character are ſeldom fond of travelling and undergoing ſuch hazards and fatigues as are to be met with in paſſing the ſeas, and changing the climate; and therefore leave theſe miſſions to thoſe whoſe neceſſities or ſlender reputation at home induces them to go abroad: Not but that there have been men of very great worth found ſometimes among theſe Miſſionaries.

Gage inſinuates, that the principal motives that draw the Spaniſh Clergy over to America, are a view of gaining great riches, to free themſelves from the confinement of their cloiſters, and enjoy an unreſtrained liberty; for it is frequent for a Prieſt to lay up ten or twelve thouſand crowns in ten years time, who has but an ordinary cure in Mexico, and to live plentifully and luxuriouſly all the time, and be in a manner adored by the common people there.

The looſe lives of the Monks and Miſſionaries.

He was amazed, he ſaid, to find the Monks in the Mexican cloiſters and the parochial Clergy rivalling the quality in their dreſs and luxurious way of life: They drank, they gamed, they ſwore, they wench'd, and made a jeſt of their vows of poverty; getting money enough, many of them, to return to Old Spain, and purchaſe biſhopricks.

The Laity proportionably lewd.

And as to the Laity, he ſays there is not a more bigotted or a lewder people upon the face of the earth: A preſent to the church wipes off the odium of the greateſt crimes; and that the way the people are inſtructed in their religion here, as in Old Spain, is by plays and theatrical entertainments in their churches. There is ſcarce any part of the hiſtory of the Goſpel but is the ſubject of a play, which the loweſt of the people are taught to act; one perſonates our SAVIOUR, another Pilate, a third Herod, and ſo on: And as their churches are exquiſitely fine, ſo is their muſick, both vocal and inſtrumental. The Clergy collect the moſt harmonious voices, and have them taught not only to ſing anthems, but merry ſongs; and in their cloiſters they have maſques, dances, and all manner of entertainments the Laity in this part of the world indulge themſelves in: And yet have they their ſeaſons for penance and mortification, particularly in Lent, when the people do not only keep a ſtrict faſt, but laſh and cut themſelves unmercifully in their proceſſions. This is the exerciſe of the Holy-week before Eaſter, and in caſe of an earthquake, famine, or other general calamity, when they endeavour to appeaſe the wrath of Heaven by ſuch auſterities.

Pious plays.

Seaſons of mortification.

CHAP. XV.

Of the marriages of the Mexicans; of the education of their children, and of their funerals.

Marriages.

According to Acosta, the Mexicans were married by their Prieſts in the temple: The bride and bridegroom ſtanding before him, he took each of them by the hand, and demanded, if they were agreed to marry; and, on their anſwering in the affirmative, he tied a corner of the woman's veil to a corner of the man's mantle; and, leading them in this manner from the temple to the bridegroom's houſe, he made the bride ſurround the fire (that was kindled in the middle of the houſe for that purpoſe) ſeven times: After which, the man and woman ſat down by the fire; and thus the marriage was concluded without farther ceremony, and conſummated the ſame night. But if the man did not find his bride a virgin, ſhe was returned the next day to her friends, which was no ſmall reproach to the family. On the contrary, if he had no objections to her virtue, the bridegroom gave a handſome entertainment to the wife's friends the next day, made them conſiderable preſents, and ſacrifices were offered to the gods on the joyful occaſion. A ſchedule was afterwards made of all the jewels, cloaths and goods the wife brought with her, which her father kept; and, in caſe of a divorce, which happen'd frequently where they could not agree, all the effects mention'd in the ſchedule were return'd, with the wife, to her friends: And, it ſeems, people once divorced were prohibited coming together again, by the Mexican laws, on pain of death.

Divorces.

Acosta, in ſpeaking of their marriages, does not inform us, whether poligamy was allowed amongſt them; but, in other parts of his hiſtory, he confirms the relations of other writers, who unanimouſly obſerve, that their Kings and Great men had a great variety of women, both wives and concubines. Adultery (that is, the enjoying another man's wife) was capital; but neither poligamy or concubinage were deemed any offence againſt their law: Even the common people had probably more wives than one, becauſe they were ſo far from being a charge to a man, that they might well be reckon'd part of his ſtock, as well as his ſlaves; for the wives of the common people cultivated the grounds, carried the husband's baggage and proviſion in every expedition, whether in war, in hunting, or upon a journey: They alſo ſpun and wove their cloaths, and did all the buſineſs of the houſe beſides; conſequently, the more wives a man had, the richer he muſt be: Whether they brought fortunes with them or not, they improved and increaſed his eſtate every day.

Polygamy and concubinage allowed.

Wafer, who reſided a great while among the Indians of Darien, adjoining to Mexico, relates, that the fathers of the bride and bridegroom only were concerned in tying the matrimonial knot. He does not mention any Prieſts being concerned in it; adding, that, ſeven days after the contract was made, the bride's father deliver'd her to her husband; when all the Indians for ſeveral miles round were invited to an entertainment, and every one of them brought the married couple a preſent, conſiſting of proviſions and fruits. The men alſo brought their tools, to clear a ſpot of ground for a plantation for the married couple, and aſſiſt in building them a houſe: which being finiſh'd in ſeven or eight days, the men ſat down to drinking, continuing at it night and day 'till all the liquor was ſpent; the women waiting upon them, and taking a great deal of care of their drunken husbands when they found them diſorder'd. And, notwithſtanding the wives are put to all manner of drudgery in their plantations and houſes, and carry the baggage on journeys, Wafer obſerves, they do all this readily and chearfully: That they have no quarrels with their husbands, or with one another, and are extremely good and courteous to ſtrangers: That their husbands alſo are very kind to them: He never knew an Indian beat his wife, or give her a hard word, all the while he was amongſt them; and, indeed it would be very hard, if they ſhould abuſe their wives, when they are contented to be their ſlaves.

Child-bed women.

A woman is no ſooner deliver'd of a child, but ſhe and the infant are immediately waſh'd in ſome river: After which, the child is ſwathed or tied to a board, and the mother ſuckles it with the board at its back: It alſo ſleeps in a hammock thus faſten'd to a board. And, when they grow up, the boys are bred to their father's exerciſes, namely, ſhooting, fiſhing, or hunting; while the girls are taught husbandry as well as houſewifery, and to ſpin and weave. He adds, that the Prince of that country (who was a Pagan, and not at all ſubject to the Spaniards) had ſeven wives; and, whenever he

Education.

went a long journey, ſo contrived matters, that he had always a wife at the end of every ſtage.

Marriages of the Muſqueto Indians.

The Muſqueto Indians, who inhabit the province of Honduras, allow of poligamy alſo, or a plurality of wives, as we are inform'd by one of our own countrymen, who reſided amongſt them about the year 1699: Nor do they marry 'till they have cohabited ſome time together, and try'd whether their humours and every thing elſe are agreeable; and then the man, to make ſure of his wife, gives her father a preſent, enters into a contract with him for his daughter, and the bargain is ratified at a notable drinking-bout, where the friends on both ſides are made as merry as heart can wiſh. And as theſe Muſqueto men frequently make long journeys, or go abroad in the ſervice of the Engliſh and other foreigners, they do not take it amiſs if a friend cohabits with their wives in their abſence, provided they take care of them and their children.

Of Indians ſubject to the Spaniards.

As to the Indians that are ſubject to the Spaniards, and obliged to profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, DAMPIER informs us, their Prieſts oblige them to marry when the lads are fourteen, and the girls twelve: And if they are not then provided with a ſpouſe, the Prieſts find one for them. And in this, it ſeems, the Civil Government concur, looking upon it that married people make the beſt ſubjects: A wife and children are the ſureſt pledges of a man's fidelity. An Indian ſeldom leaves his family, and retires to his untamed countrymen in the mountains, after he is married; but becomes an induſtrious and profitable member of the commonwealth, paying duties both to the Church and his Civil Governors. The marrying them ſo young alſo renders the country the more populous, which was impolitickly deprived of its inhabitants by the firſt Adventurers. Nor do the Spaniards only take care to ſee the young Indians married to each other, but they encourage, or at leaſt ſuffer, the native Spaniards, and the Crioli their deſcendants, to marry with the Indians; whereby the Americans are ſo incorporated and allied to many Spaniſh families, that they are in a manner become the ſame people in ſeveral towns and provinces. The like policy the French obſerve in their American plantations; while the Engliſh ſtupidly prohibit their people marrying with the Indians, and conſequently loſe many advantages in planting and eſtabliſhing themſelves, which other European nations have.

Impolitic in us not to marry with the Indians.

The Spaniards, French and Portugueſe alſo endeavour to make the natives proſelytes to their religion, wherever they come; repreſenting, at the ſame time, all Proteſtants as impious and barbarous monſters of men, and ſo far from being Chriſtians, that they are perfect Infidels, and ſtrangers to all virtue and morality: Which the poor Indians, who are incorporated with them by marriage, and now bigotted to their ſuperſtition, are too apt to believe. They entertain inſuperable prejudices therefore againſt our nation, and have ſcarce any opportunities of being undeceiv'd. Thus the nations above-mention'd daily ſecuring their intereſt in the natives, by the two ſtrongeſt ties of blood and religion, our frontier ſettlements muſt ever remain expoſed to the invaſions of their Indians. It will be very difficult to defend and eſtabliſh them where the French or Spaniards lie in our neighbourhood, and continually incite the Indians in alliance with them to fall upon our colonies; eſpecially as we uſe no arts to countermine our rivals, and ingratiate ourſelves with the Indians, as other nations do. This is the true reaſon we have yet penetrated no farther into the continent; nor ſhall we ever be able to bring over many Indian nations to our intereſt, unleſs we employ more Miſſionaries to inſtruct them in our faith, and encourage our people to intermarry with them. Our colonies, indeed, are yet more powerful in North America than either thoſe of France or Spain, and we can ſupply the natives with what they ſtand in need of on eaſier terms than either of thoſe nations can; but ſtill they are ſhy of us, and do not appear hearty friends. The French and Spaniards frequently diſtreſs our ſettlements, only by ſtirring up the Indians againſt them, tho' they have ſcarce any forces of their own to back them; but were our people ſuffer'd to intermarry and incorporate with the Indians, and ſome pains were taken to bring them over to our religion, Florida, and moſt part of North America, would, in a few years, become entirely Britiſh; and our plantations might enjoy perfect tranquility, without a rival in that part of the world.

Mexican education.

The ancient Mexicans, ACOSTA obſerves, were exceeding careful of the education of their children: They had almoſt publick ſchools and academies belonging to every great temple, where their maſters ſtudied the genius of the children under their care, and qualified them for the church, the ſtate, or the army, according as they were inclined: They ſuffer'd them to take but little ſleep, obliged them to live abſtemiouſly, to carry burdens, and perform the rougheſt exerciſes; and thoſe deſign'd for the army were obliged to attend the camp, and give proofs of their courage, before they were admitted to be enrolled among the ſoldiery, which was eſteemed the moſt honourable employment of all others.

The young ladies alſo were educated in convents, inſtructed in the principles of religion and virtue, taught to paint and match beautiful feathers, and ſuch other works as might render them uſeful and agreeable when they enter'd on the married ſtate. Both ſexes were taught to ſing and dance, and to repeat the heroick actions of their anceſtors, and other remarkable occurrences in their hiſtory; which, in ſome meaſure, ſupplied the want of books and records; for, tho' they had ſome characters and hieroglyphicks amongſt them, theſe were far from enabling them to form a tolerable hiſtory: They could give but a very dark and confuſed account of what had happen'd two or three hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards, whatever ſome writers may have ſuggeſted to the contrary.

Funerals.

The author of the *Conqueſt of Mexico*, written about an hundred and forty years ſince, as well as ANTONIO DE HERERA, informs us, that the Mexicans ſometimes burnt, and at others, buried their dead: That their Princes and Great men were generally burnt, and their aſhes, being afterwards collected, and put into an urn, were then buried: That the funeral ſolemnity was perform'd by their Prieſts, and the places of interment were uſually their gardens or court-yards, tho' ſome were buried within the walls of their temples, and others in the fields or woods; the Mexican Emperors had burying-places appropriated to their family ſome diſtance from Mexico.

Soon after the party died, the corpſe was waſh'd; and, being dreſs'd in the mantles the deceaſed uſually wore in his life-time, and ſet upright, all his friends and relations came and took a ſolemn leave of him. The corpſe was carried to the place of interment, attended by the Prieſts, who ſung mournful funeral ſongs, and play'd upon their wind-muſick. And where a Prince was to be interr'd, the Nobility and Officers of ſtate attended the proceſſion: They were buried with their arms, and in their habits. In ſome places, abundance of treaſure and precious moveables were thrown into the grave with them, and a great number of ſlaves and officers killed to bear their Great men company. But this ſeems to have been practiſed more in Peru than Mexico. I queſtion whether any ſlaves were put to death at the burial of a Great man in Mexico. But the Spaniſh writers have very confuſedly intermixed the rites of ſeveral countries, which makes it difficult to diſtinguiſh what were their reſpective cuſtoms.

The ſtate of departed ſouls.

The ſame writers aſſure us, that the Mexicans believed that the ſoul was immortal, and that there was another ſtate, where every one was to be rewarded according to his works; but they had no notion of the reſurrection of the body. They held alſo, that there were nine different places to which departed ſouls were ſent, according to the time of their reſpective ages, and the different lives they had led; but that the place of the greateſt happineſs was near the Sun: This was to be the portion of the brave who died in battle, and of ſuch as had been ſacrificed to their gods. Some of the latter were canonized, and even deified; which might be ſome excuſe for their ſacrificing men: They imagin'd, they did them no injury, when they depriv'd them of a life of care and anxiety, and ſent them to ſhare the joys of paradiſe, or, rather, to be number'd with the gods.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the province of New-Mexico.

New Mexico. Situation and extent.

NEW MEXICO, or Granada, is bounded by unknown lands on the north; by Florida on the eaſt; by Mexico, or New Spain, on the ſouth; and by the Bay or Gulph of California, which ſeparates it from California, on the weſt; lying between the 28th and 45th degrees of northern latitude, according to the Spaniards; and between 100 and 130 degrees of weſtern longitude, from the meridian of London. But whether we ſhould extend or contract theſe limits on the north and eaſt, I will not pretend to determine. We know no people north of New Mexico. The Spaniards, if they pleaſe, may call the countries theirs as far as the Pole; but there is not a twentieth part of the country, within the bounds already deſcribed, either peopled or cultivated: And how far we ſhould extend the limits of New Mexico to the eaſtward on the ſide of Florida, is equally uncertain; no one having attempted to fix the bounds between theſe two countries, unleſs the French, who have introduced that imaginary country of Louiſiana into their maps in the room of Florida, bounding it with the Britiſh Plantations on the eaſt, and New Mexico on the weſt. But if the Engliſh ſhould (as I ſee nothing can prevent them, but their own ſloth and negligence) extend their ſettlements to the weſtward, as far as the river Miſſiſippi; and the Spaniards theirs to the eaſtward, as far as the ſame river, which may eaſily be done, as their ſettlements already come very near the banks of that river; Louiſiana, probably, will be no more heard of in a few years.

All the countries north of the Gulph of Mexico formerly called Florida.

Certain it is, that all thoſe countries which now go under the name of the Britiſh Plantations on the continent of America on the eaſt, and thoſe to which the Spaniards have given the name of New Mexico on the weſt, with all thoſe countries that lie between them, and to which the French have given the names of Louiſiana and New France, on the firſt diſcovery, went under the name of Florida. As to the Engliſh and the Spaniards, they have been a conſiderable time poſſeſs'd of the eaſt and weſt parts of this country, and have peopled and cultivated it in many places; and the Engliſh traffick with the natives as far eaſtward as the river Miſſiſippi: Whereas the French have only here and there an inconſiderable fort, near the mouth of the river Miſſiſippi, or in Canada; by which they pretend to entitle themſelves to the whole country of Florida, and will never want a pretence for excluding both the Engliſh and the Spaniards from the whole, if ever they are ſtrong enough to do it. Tho' forty years ago they had ſcarce any footing in the country they have denominated Louiſiana, and are not at this day poſſeſs'd of more of it than the county of Middleſex contains; tho' the country they lay claim to is a fine ſquare of fifteen hundred miles of a ſide, the moſt temperate, fruitful and beautiful ſpot of earth upon the face of the globe; from whence it obtained its ancient name of Florida. If we ſuffer the encroaching French to eſtabliſh themſelves there, and drive us from this terreſtrial paradiſe, when nothing is ſo eaſy as to prevent it, by uniting our forces with the Spaniards, both nations richly deſerve to enjoy the fruits of their ſupine negligence. But to return to New Mexico: We know little more of it, than that it abounds in rich ſilver mines, and has ſome of gold: That it is an exceeding fruitful country, well water'd with rivers, and abounding with the ſame plants and animals as our plantations of Virginia and Carolina do; and, according to the Spaniſh accounts, is very thinly inhabited by ſcatter'd clans or tribes of ſavage people, who live chiefly by what they take in hunting, and on the fruits of the earth that grow ſpontaneouſly; neither building towns, or cloathing themſelves, or being acquainted with any art or ſcience.

Gold and ſilver mines in New Mexico.

The natives.

Gemelli's account of New Mexico.

Gemelli Careri, who was at New Mexico in the year 1698, gives us the following account of that country. He ſays, part of it is newly conquer'd, and there remains ſtill much more to conquer. As to the natives, he was inform'd, they were ſuch ſkilful archers, that they would hit a ſixpence thrown up into the air, and ſhake all the grain out of an ear of corn without breaking it off: That they are great lovers of Mule's fleſh; for which reaſon they often robbed travellers, and carried away only the beaſts, leaving behind the cheſts of ſilver, which they do not value: That they paint their bodies, and pricking the ſkin render the colours indelible. The King of Spain maintains ſix hundred horſe in New Mexico, with an allowance of four hundred and fifty pieces of eight per annum to each man; but the ſoldiers have the leaſt part of it, the Governor putting moſt of it into his own pocket; for he ſells them all manner of cloathing and neceſſaries, and, ſetting his price upon them, makes the ſoldiers give twenty pieces of eight for that which is not worth two; and, by ſuch means, makes his poſt worth three hundred thouſand pieces of eight per annum. The Spaniſh ſoldiers in this country are arm'd with a ſhield, musket, and half-pike, or ſpear; not to fight (ſays our author) but to hunt them out like wild beaſts: They are order'd by the Government not to kill this ſavage people, but to bring them in, that they may be inſtructed in their religion, and civilized. Thus an hundred and fifty leagues have been conquer'd to the weſtward, tho' the people endeavour'd to defend themſelves with their bows aad arrows. The worſt is (ſays **Gemelli**) that, being five hundred leagues from the city of Mexico, thoſe barbarians quickly revolt, knowing there cannot be ſupplies of ſoldiers ſent againſt them ſuddenly. The country is plain, and convenient for carriages for ſome months every year; but the King's forces are obliged to paſs ſuch wide deſarts, that they uſually intrench every night, and keep guard, for fear of being ſurpriz'd by the ſavages. The Franciſcans have the charge of the converſion of theſe wild people, called Chichimeca's, who are rather atheiſts than idolaters, and have brought a great number of them to live like men; but their wild nature always inclines them to ſolitude. The country is ſo thinly peopled, that they travel ſeveral days journey without meeting with a village; for which reaſon the Viceroy has ſent ſeveral families thither of late years to people it, the ſoil plentifully producing all things that are ſowed or planted in it, even of the fruits of Europe: And there are, beſides, rich mines of gold and ſilver. The length of the way not allowing travellers to carry their quilts to lie on, the Jeſuits that go to their miſſions in this country have learnt of the Indians to carry before them, on their ſaddles, mattreſſes and pillows made of leather, which at night they blow full of wind, and they are as ſoft as a feather bed.

The enterprizes of the Spaniards in Florida.

The Spaniards formerly over-ran great part of the eaſtern as well as weſtern Florida, but made few ſettlements in it. The gold and ſilver mines of Mexico were ſo attractive, that they in a manner abandon'd this fruitful country again, retaining only the forts of St. Auguſtine, St. Matthew, and ſome other inconſiderable places on the confines of Carolina: None of which I ſhould envy them, if they would unite with Britain againſt France. There is room enough in Florida for the Spaniards, he Engliſh, and the natives; and, indeed, more than they can cultivate: But it is impoſſible they ſhould enjoy any part of it in quiet, if the French are ſuffer'd to eſtabliſh themſelves in what they call Louiſiana. There is no medium: The French muſt either be driven from Florida, or they will drive both the Engliſh and Spaniards out of it; and, indeed, out of all their American plantations: Therefore, as the Earl of SHAFTSBURY ſaid in relation to the Dutch, DELENDA EST CARTHAGO. The French are a much more formidable enemy, both in the old and new world, than any other Power; and, I hope, Great Britain and Spain will diſcover their mutual intereſt before it be too late. The Spaniards can never do Britain any hurt, but by confederating with the French: Nor is it our intereſt to fall out with, or encroach on the Spaniards; their plantations take off our Engliſh manufactures, and, while we maintain a good underſtanding with them, are almoſt as advantageous to Britain as our own: Whereas, if the French are allow'd to fix in Florida, we not only loſe our trade; but our very plantations. To return to New Mexico.

The French muſt be driven from Florida, or the Britiſh and Spaniſh ſettlements will be ruin'd.

Some writers have ſubdivided it into twenty or five and twenty provinces, and furniſh'd us with the names of as many towns, the capitals of the reſpective provinces: But, as they have not given us the ſituation, boundaries, or deſcription of any of theſe provinces, and moſt authors agree, that not one twentieth part of the country is yet inhabited or cultivated; I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that Santa Fé, the capital town of New Mexico, is ſituated in 36 degrees odd minutes north latitude, a little to the weſtward of the North River; and that it is a Biſhop's ſee, and the reſidence of the Governor; and ſaid to be regularly built of ſtone.

California deſcribed.

I ſhall conclude this chapter, and the deſcription of the Spaniſh dominions in North America, with the beſt account I could get of California, which may well be look'd upon as a part of New Mexico, ſince it is joined to it by a narrow iſthmus, or only ſeparated from it by the Bay or Gulph of California; and, if not under the ſame Governor, is ſubject in a great meaſure to Spaniſh influence, as will appear hereafter.

Situation and extent.

California, formerly deemed an iſland, is laid down in our lateſt charts and maps as a peninſula adjoining to the continent of New Mexico. It is bounded by unknown lands on the north; by the Bay or Gulph of California and a narrow iſthmus, which ſeparate it from Old and New Mexico, towards the weſt; and by the South-ſea on the ſouth and weſt; ſtretching in length from the Tropic of Cancer to the 45th degree of north-latitude; and lies between the 115th and 136th degrees of weſtern longitude, reckoning from the Meridian of London. It is of an unequal breadth, narrow in the ſouth, and growing broader towards the north; indented by many conſiderable bays and gulphs of the ſea; ſaid to be about fifteen hundred miles in length, and three hundred in breadth in the broadeſt part.

This country was firſt diſcovered by CORTEZ, (who had the honour of ſubduing Mexico) in the year 1535; but the Spaniards did not, 'till very lately, penetrate far into it, contenting themſelves with the rich Pearl-fiſhery on the coaſt.

The celebrated Sir FRANCIS DRAKE touched upon this coaſt in the year 1578, and took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the then Queen of England, giving it the name of New Albion; but the Britiſh Government has never thought fit to attempt any farther diſcoveries in California; and it is at this day, or will be in a very ſhort time, in the power of Spain, and annex'd to their Mexican dominions, as we may conjecture from the following deſcription of that country.

The Jeſuits deſcription of California.

In the letters of the Miſſionary Jeſuits, we meet with one written by FR. MARIA PICOLO, who relates, "That in October 1697 (being then in " New Mexico) he embark'd, with Father SALVIETERRA and a guard of ſoldiers, for California, in order to attempt the converſion of the " natives of that country; and that having paſs'd " the Bay of California, and landed their people, " the natives, imagining they came to diſpoſſeſs " them of their pearl-fiſhery, as others had endeavour'd to do before, attack'd them with great " fury, throwing at the Spaniards abundance of " darts and ſtones: But, being repulſed by their " guard, the people became more tractable, and " enter'd into a parley with them; and, when " they underſtood the Miſſionaries came with no " other intention than to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian religion, they expreſs'd a great deal of joy, " and ſuffer'd them to ſettle four miſſions in their " country, ſome of which extend to the coaſts of " the South-ſea. Here they ſpent five years in " learning the languages of the ſeveral tribes, and " in preaching to the people; and had an opportunity of making the following remarks on that " country.

" California, this Father obſerves, is pretty well " laid down in our common maps: That the heats " in ſummer are very great along the ſea-coaſts, " and it ſeldom rains; but the air of the inland " country is more temperate, and the heats not ſo " exceſſive: It is the ſame in winter in proportion. " In the rainy ſeaſon there are floods; but, when " that is over, inſtead of rain, the dews fall in ſuch " plenty every morning, that one would think it had rained; which renders the earth very fruitful. In the months of April, May, and June, there falls with the dew a ſort of Manna, which congeals and hardens upon the leaves of reeds, from whence they gather it: It is as ſweet as ſugar, but not altogether ſo white.

"The climate muſt needs be healthful, if we may judge of it by ourſelves, and thoſe that were with us; for, during the five years we were in this kingdom, we continued very well in health, notwithſtanding the great fatigues we underwent; and of the other Spaniards there died but two, one of which was a woman, who occaſioned her own death, by imprudently bathing herſelf when ſhe was near lying-in.

"There are in California large plains, pleaſant valleys, excellent paſtures at all times for great and ſmall cattle, fine ſprings of running water, brooks, and rivers, with their banks cover'd with Willows, Reeds and wild Vines. In their rivers they have plenty of fiſh, eſpecially Cray-fiſh, which they keep in reſervoirs 'till they have occaſion for them. There is alſo plenty of Xicames, of a better taſte than thoſe of Mexico. So that we may conclude California to be a very fruitful country. On the mountains there are, all the year long, Meſcales, a fruit peculiar to this country; and, in moſt ſeaſons, large Piſtachio's of ſeveral ſorts, and Figs of different colours. The trees are very beautiful; and, amongſt others, that which the Chinos (who are natives of the country) call Palo Santo, bears a great deal of fruit: From this they draw excellent Frankincenſe.

"As this country abounds in fruits, it does no leſs in grain, of which there are fourteen ſorts, that the people feed on. They uſe the fruits of trees and plants, and among others thoſe of the Yuca (or Caſſavi) to make bread of. There are excellent Skirrets, a ſort of red Strawberries, of which they eat plentifully: Citrons and Water-melons of an extraordinary ſize. The land is ſo good, that moſt plants bear fruit three times a year; ſo that, with ſome labour in cultivating it, and ſkill in managing the water, they render the country extremely fertile. Nor is there any ſort of fruit or grain, but what they gather in great abundance, which we experienced ourſelves; for bringing with us from New Spain, Indian-wheat, Peas, Lentils, &c. we ſowed them, and had a very plentiful increaſe, tho' we had not any cattle or proper inſtruments to till the ground.

"Beſides ſeveral ſorts of animals that we knew, which are here in plenty, and are good to eat, as Deer, Hares, Rabbets, we found two ſorts of Deer that we knew nothing of; we call them Sheep, becauſe they ſomewhat reſembled ours in make. The firſt ſort is as large as a Calf of one or two years old: Its head is much like that of a Stag, and its horns, which are very large, like thoſe of a Ram: Its tail and hair are ſpeckled, and ſhorter than a Stag's; but its hoof is large, round, and cleft like that of an Ox. I have eaten of theſe beaſts; their fleſh is very tender and delicious. The other ſort of Sheep, ſome of which are white, and others black, differ leſs from ours: They are larger, and have a great deal more wool, which is very good, and eaſy to be ſpun and wrought. Beſide theſe animals, that ſerve for food, there are Lions, wild Cats, and many others, like thoſe in New Spain. We brought to California ſome Cows, and ſtore of ſmall cattle, as Sheep and Goats, which would have encreaſed very much, had not the neceſſity we were once in obliged us to kill the greateſt part of them. We alſo brought with us Horſes and Colts, to ſtock the country, and began to breed up Hogs; but, as theſe do a great deal of damage to the villages, and the women are afraid of them, we have reſolved to extirpate them.

"As for fowls, there are in California all that are in Mexico and New Spain, as Pigeons, Turtle-doves, Larks, Partridges, of an exquiſite taſte, and in great quantities; Geeſe, Ducks, and many other ſorts, both of river and ſea fowls.

"The ſea affords plenty of very good fiſh: They take Pilchards, Anchovies, and Tunnies; which laſt they catch with their hands on the ſhore. We often ſee Whales, and all ſorts of Tortoiſes. The ſhores are filled with heaps of ſhells, larger than thoſe of Mother of Pearl. The Salt they have is not from the ſea, but out of pits: It is as bright as Cryſtal, and ſo hard, that they are often forced to break it with hammers: It is a very good commodity in New Spain, where Salt is ſcarce.

"California has been known near theſe two centuries, and its coaſts are famous for the Pearl-fiſhery, which has made the Europeans ſo deſirous of eſtabliſhing a trade here. It is certain, if the King would erect a fiſhery here, at his own charge, he might draw great advantage from it. Nor do I doubt, but that there are mines to be found in ſeveral places, if they were ſought for; ſince the country is under the ſame degree as the provinces of Cinulao and Sonora (in Mexico) where there are rich ones.

"Tho' heaven as been ſo bountiful to the Californians, and the earth brings forth of itſelf what it does not produce elſewhere without a great deal of labour and pains; yet they make no eſteem of the plenty and riches of their country, contenting themſelves with what is only neceſſary for life; they take little care for the reſt. The inland parts of the country are very populous, eſpecially towards the north: And tho' there is ſcarce a town, but what has twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty families in it; yet they have no houſes, but defend themſelves from the heat of the ſun in the day-time under the ſhade of the trees; and of their leaves and branches make a ſort of roof againſt the inclemency of the night. In the winter they ſhut themſelves up in caves in the earth, and live there together little better than ſo many beaſts.

"The men go naked, at leaſt all were ſo that we ſaw: They wear about their head a fine linnen fillet, or ſort of net-work; and about their neck, and ſometimes about their arms, for ornament, Mother of Pearl, in divers figures, very finely wrought, and prettily intermix'd with little round fruits, ſomewhat like the beads of a chaplet. They have no other arms than bows and arrows, and a ſort of ſpear or lance, which they always carry in their hands, either to kill game, or defend themſelves; for their towns are frequently at war with each other.

"The women wear, from their waiſt down to their knees, a kind of apron made of reeds, very neatly wrought, and platted together: They cover their ſhoulders with the ſkins of beaſts, and wear about their heads, like the men, a very curious kind of net-work; which our ſoldiers find

" ſo convenient, that they make uſe of them to tie " up their hair with. They, as well as the men, " have necklaces of Mother of Pearl, mixed with " the ſtones of ſome ſorts of fruit and ſea-ſhells, " hanging down to their waiſt; and bracelets of " the ſame.

" The common employment both of men and " women is ſpinning: They make their thread of " long plants, which ſerve them inſtead of Hemp " and Flax, or elſe of a cotton-like ſubſtance found " in the ſhell of ſome ſorts of fruit. Of the finer " thread they make the ornaments above-mentioned, " and of the coarſer, fiſhing-nets and ſacks, or " bags for ſeveral uſes. The men moreover, of " certain plants, whoſe fibres are very cloſe and " thick ſet, and which they are well ſkilled in working, " employ themſelves in making diſhes and other " kitchen neceſſaries, of all faſhions and ſizes. " The ſmaller pieces ſerve for drinking-cups; thoſe " that are larger for plates and diſhes, and ſometimes " for umbrello's for the women; and the " largeſt ſort for baskets to gather fruit in, and " ſometimes for pans and baſons to dreſs their meat " in: But they take care to keep them perpetually " moving while they are over the fire, for if the " flame catch them they are ſoon burnt.

" The Californians have a great deal of vivacity, " and are naturally addicted to raillery, as we found " when we began firſt to inſtruct them; for if we " committed any error in their language, they jeſted " and made ſport with us: But after we were grown " better acquainted with them, if we committed any " faults, they civilly adviſed us of them. And if " at any time we explained any myſtery or point " of morality, not conformable to their prejudices " and errors, they waited for the Preacher after " ſermon, and diſputed againſt him with a great " deal of force and wit. If we could give them " good reaſons for it, they liſten'd very attentively, " and, when convinced, ſubmitted, and did accordingly. " We have not found amongſt them any " form of religion or regular worſhip, only they " adore the Moon, and cut their hair (as I remember) " in her decreaſe, in honour of their deity, " which they give to their Prieſts, who employ it " to ſeveral ſuperſtitious uſes. Every family is a " diſtinct State, and hath different laws and cuſtoms, " which is plainly the reaſon that they are ſo " often at war with one another."

Captain Rogers, our countryman, late Governor of the Bahama iſlands, touch'd at California in the year 1709, in his voyage round the globe, and confirms many of the particulars mention'd by this Jeſuit: Neither do I perceive he contradicts him in any material circumſtance, which inclines me to give the more credit to that Father's deſcription of California.

THE PRESENT STATE OF TERRA-FIRMA.

CHAP. I.

Of the province of TERRA-FIRMA.

CHAP. I.

Spaniſh dominions in South America.

HAVING finiſhed the deſcription of the Spaniſh dominions on the continent of North America, I enter on the ſtate of their territories in South America, which are divided into ſix large provinces, viz. 1. That of the Terra Firma; 2. Peru; 3. Chili; 4. Patagonia, or Terra-Magellenica; 5. Paragua, or La-plata; and 6. the country of the Amazons.

Terra-Firma, the countries included under that name.

1. And firſt I ſhall treat of Terra-Firma; under which name I comprehend, 1. Terra-Firma Proper; 2. Carthagena; 3. St. Martha; 4. Rio de la Hacha; 5. Venezuela; 6. Comana; 7. New Andaluſia; 8. Caribiana; 9. Guiana; 10. Paria; 11. New Granada; and 12. Popayan.

Its ſituation and extent.

Theſe countries, comprehended under the general name of Terra-Firma; are bounded by the North-ſea or Atlantic-ocean, on the north and eaſt; by Peru and the country of the Amazons, on the ſouth; and by the South-ſea, and the province of Veragua in Mexico, on the weſt; being upwards of two thouſand miles in length from eaſt to weſt, and generally about five hundred miles in breadth from north to ſouth.

Terra-Firma Proper deſcribed.

The province of Terra-Firma Proper, which frequently goes under the name of Darien, is bounded by the North-ſea on the north; by the gulph or river of Darien, which ſeparates it from Carthagena on the eaſt; by Popayan and the South-ſea on the ſouth; and by the ſame ſea and the province of Veragua on the weſt; lying between 8 and 10 degrees of north latitude, and between 78 and 83 degrees of weſtern longitude. The moſt exact boundary of this province on the weſt, is a line drawn from the fort at the mouth of the river Chagre on the North-ſea, to the town of Nata on the South-ſea; and the trueſt ſouthern boundary, a line drawn from Point Garrachina, on the ſouth part of the gulph of St. Michael, in the bay of Panama, directly eaſtward to the river of Darien. It lies in the form of a bow or creſcent, about that noble bay of Panama, being about 300 miles in length, and 60 in breadth, from ſea to ſea. I am the more particular in deſcribing the ſituation of this province, becauſe it is, in proportion, the richeſt, and of moſt importance to the Spaniard, (as it would be to any European nation that ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of it) and has been the ſcene of more action than any province in America. Its ſituation, both on the North and South-ſeas, and on the confines of North and South America, and the gold mines, gold ſands and pearls with which this province and the adjacent ſeas are repleniſhed, render it invaluable, and make it the darling object of all enterprizing people.

CHAP. I.

The face of Terra-Firma Proper.

The face of this province is thus deſcribed by the Engliſh Buccaneers, who have often traverſed it: They tell us, the ſurface is very unequal, conſiſting of exceeding high hills, and long deep valleys: That the valleys are water'd with rivers, brooks, and perennial ſprings, with which the country abounds; ſome of them falling into the North, and others into the South-ſea, moſt of them having their ſources in a ridge or chain of mountains that ſurmount and over-top the other hills, running the whole length of the iſthmus parallel to the coaſts, ſpreading along, and bending as the iſthmus bends. This vaſt ridge of hills is neareſt the coaſt of the North-ſea, ſeldom more than ten or fifteen miles diſtant from it. WAFER obſerves, when he paſſed over them, that the hills between theſe mountains and the South-ſea were nothing, in compariſon of them: That thoſe hills did not only appear much beneath this high ridge, but the clouds were conſiderably below them, and intercepted their ſight of the country, and all their people grew giddy with the height, when they had climb'd to the top; but this giddineſs went off again as they deſcended lower. The hills between this and the South-ſea are covered with fine tall woods, with little or no underwood to interrupt the paſſage: But thoſe on the north ſide, are full of buſhes, bamboes and mangroves, near the ſhore, that render them almoſt impenetrable.

The rivers.

The rivers on the iſthmus, are ſome of them pretty large, but few of them navigable, having bars of ſand at their mouths. Thoſe on the north ſide, riſing in the high ridge of mountains, have generally a very ſhort courſe, running precipitately into the ſea, tho' there are exceptions to this rule, ſome of them having a winding courſe through the valleys, almoſt from the South to the North-ſea.

The chief rivers are, 1. the river, or rather gulph of Darien; 2. the river of Conception; and 3. the river Chagre on the North-ſea; 4. the river of St. Mary's; 5. the river Congo; 6. the river Cheapo; which laſt three fall into the bay of Panama.

Darien river.

1. The river or gulph of Darien, the eaſtern boundary of this province, riſes in the ſouth; and running directly north, upwards of an hundred miles, falls into the North-ſea, near Golden iſland. It is ſix or ſeven leagues wide at the mouth, but hath not above ſix foot water in a ſpring-tide. It is deep enough within the bar for great ſhips, and navigable fourſcore or an hundred miles; but, as no veſſels of burthen can get over the bar, there is very little traffick carried on upon it.

Conception river.

2. The river of Conception riſes about the middle of the great ridge of mountains, and running precipitately to the north-weſt, falls into the North-ſea over-againſt an iſland called La Sounds-Key, being one of the Sanbalas iſlands. This river is pretty broad, and makes a good appearance at the mouth, but has a bar alſo, that prevents any ſhips of burthen getting in; however, it is fine riding in the channel at the mouth of this river, between the iſlands and the main-land, which form a pretty good harbour.

Chagre river.

3. The river Chagre, the moſt navigated of any river of this province. It riſes not far from Panama on the South-ſea, and taking its courſe to the north-weſt, finds a way through very deep winding valleys, falling into the North-ſea ten leagues to the weſtward of Porto Bello: Upon this river therefore is embarked all the merchandize that is ſent from Panama to Porto Bello for the galleons, except the gold and ſilver, which are carried directly over land upon the backs of mules to Porto Bello.

Santa Maria river.

4. The river Santa Maria, or St. Mary's, which riſing on the mountains on the North-eaſt part of this province, runs to the weſtward, and falls into the gulph of St. Michael's on the ſouth ſide of the bay of Panama. This is a pretty large navigable river, and conſiderable, on account of its lying in the neighbourhood of the gold mines, and for the rivulets which fall into it; in whoſe ſands are found abundance of gold. One of theſe is called the Golden River: Hither the Spaniards come with their ſlaves from Panama, and other towns, in the dry ſeaſon, which laſts three months, to gather gold. Theſe brooks at that time not being more than a foot deep, the ſlaves take up the ſand in little wooden diſhes, in which they find ſuch a quantity of gold, that in ſome ſeaſons, 'tis ſaid, they carry off eighteen or twenty thouſand pound weight of pure gold, out of that brook alone, which goes by the name of the Golden River.

Golden river.

Congo river.

5. The river Congo riſes in the mountains on the eaſt part of this province, and running to the ſouth-weſt, almoſt parallel to the river of Santa Maria, falls into the ſame Gulph of St. Michael's to the northwards of it. It is a large river, navigable for great veſſels within the bar, but ſo ſhallow at the mouth, that it is very difficult entring. There are a great many ſmall ſtreams fall into this river, both on the eaſt and weſt.

Cheapo river.

6. The river of Cheapo, which riſing in the mountains near the North-ſea, firſt bends its courſe to the weſtward, and then turning to the ſouth, falls into the bay of Panama, ſeven leagues to the weſtward of that city. It is a conſiderable navigable river, and runs a long courſe; but has the ſame misfortune as the reſt, to have a bar at the mouth, that large ſhips cannot enter it.

Air and ſeaſons.

This province being very narrow, and lying between two great oceans, viz. the North and South-ſeas, is obſerved to have more wet weather, than any other place within the Torrid Zone. The rains uſually begin here in April or May: In June, July and Auguſt they are very heavy; and it is extreme hot at this time, whenever the ſun ſhines out: There are then no breezes to cool the air; but it is, in my author's phraſe, glowing hot. In September, the rains begin to abate; but it is November or December, and ſometimes January before the fair ſeaſon returns: So that the country is very wet for two thirds, if not three quarters of the year. But in the wetteſt ſeaſon, there are ſome fair days, with only a tornado or thunder-ſhower now and then. The floods and torrents cauſed by theſe rains, often bear down trees, which dam up the rivers, overflowing all the neighbouring plains. The low countries appear at this time like one great lake. The cooleſt time of the year, is after the rains, about Chriſtmas, when the fair weather approaches.

Chief towns.

The chief towns in Terra-Firma Proper, are, 1. Panama; 2. Porto Bello; 3. Venta de Cruzes; 4. Cheapo; 5. Nata; 6. Conception; 7. Santa Maria; 8. Scuchadero; and, 9. (lately) New Edinburgh.

Panama city.

1. The city of Panama is ſituated in 9 degrees of north latitude, and 82 degrees of weſtern longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. It ſtands upon the fineſt and moſt capacious bay in the South-ſea, and is built with brick and ſtone, being ſurrounded by a ſtone wall, fortified with baſtions and other works, planted with great guns both towards the ſea and land. It lies in the form of a half-moon upon the bay, affording a moſt beautiful proſpect, all the beſt houſes and publick buildings appearing above the walls: And what adds to the proſpect, are the beautiful orchards and gardens, and the pleaſant country about it, diverſified with hills, valleys, and delightful groves. There are no large woods or marſhes near Panama, but a fine dry champaign land (according to DAMPIER) not ſubject to fogs. The iſland of Perica, three miles diſtant, is the port to Panama: For the water is ſo ſhallow near the town, that great ſhips cannot come up to it, tho' ſmall veſſels lie cloſe to the walls.

This town, according to FUNNEL, contains upwards of ſix thouſand houſes, eight pariſh-churches, beſides the cathedral, thirty chapels, and ſeveral monaſteries and nunneries. It is a Biſhop's ſee, Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of Lima in Peru; the ſeat of the Governor and of the Courts of juſtice of this province. But what renders it moſt conſiderable, are the treaſures of gold and ſilver, and the rich merchandizes of Peru, which are lodged in the magazines of this town 'till they are ſent to Europe, as well as the merchandize ſent over by the galleons from Spain, to be tranſported to the ſeveral cities and provinces of Peru and Chili.

Old Panama deſtroyed by Sir Harry Morgan.

Old Panama ſtood about four miles to the eaſtward of this city, and was deſtroyed by the Buccaneers commanded by Captain HARRY MORGAN (afterwards Sir HARRY MORGAN, an Engliſhman) in the year 1670; which is too remarkable an occurrence to be omitted in this place; eſpecially, as it ſhews how eaſily the Spaniards might be diſpoſſeſs'd of this important town and province, if we ſhould be compelled to fall out with them; which I am confident we never ſhall, if Spain underſtands her true intereſt, and does not too much interrupt our commerce with the Britiſh plantations.

His hiſtory.

Captain MORGAN was the ſon of a rich yeoman, of a good family in Wales, who having a mind to ſee the world (about the year 1652, during CROMWEL's uſurpation) agreed with the

Maſter of a ſhip of Briſtol (or ſome other port in the neighbourhood of Wales) to carry him to Barbadoes, whither the ſhip was bound; which the treacherous ſeaman performed; but ſold his paſſenger for ſeven years to a planter of that iſland, as ſoon as he arrived. This practice of kidnapping young fellows, whom they enticed on board, with falſe repreſentations of the country, and an aſſurance of making their fortunes in the plantations, being very common in thoſe days.

Having ſerved his ſeven years, and obtained his liberty, he tranſported himſelf to Jamaica; where, finding two ſhips of Buccaneers ready to put to ſea, he reſolved to go on board one of them; and, having met with ſucceſs, in three or four voyages, he and ſome of his comrades determined to purchaſe a ſhip and ſet up for themſelves: Accordingly, they bought a veſſel for their purpoſe; and, chuſing MORGAN their Captain, they cruiſed upon the coaſt of Campeachy, where they took ſeveral Spaniſh prizes, and returned with their booty to Jamaica.

Vice-Admiral to Manſvelt the Buccaneer.

MANSVELT, a celebrated Buccaneer, was at this time at Jamaica, fitting out ſhips for an expedition againſt the continent; and, being informed of the bravery and conduct of MORGAN, offered to make him his Vice-Admiral, which our Adventurer accepted of; and they ſet ſail from Jamaica, with fifteen veſſels, great and ſmall, mann'd with five hundred men, of which the greateſt part were French and Dutch. Their firſt attempt was againſt the iſland of St. Catharine's, or Providence, which lies fifty leagues north-weſt of Porto Bello, and then in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards; and altho' the iſland was of it ſelf naturally ſtrong, and fortified with ſeveral forts and caſtles, they ſoon made themſelves maſters of it, and left a garriſon in the principal caſtle, deſigning to make this iſland a place of arms, from whence they propoſed to plunder and harraſs the neighbouring continent, and then retreat thither with the booty they ſhould acquire from time to time.

In purſuance of this project, they landed at ſeveral places in the province of Coſta Rica, and plundered the open towns; but receiving advice that the Governor of Panama was marching againſt them with a great body of troops, they reimbarked their men, and returned to the iſland of St. Catharine's: Afterwards MANSVELT came with his fleet to Jamaica, and applied himſelf to the Governor for a reinforcement of troops, to enable him to attack the Spaniſh ſettlements; which the Governor not complying with, MANSVELT ſailed to the iſland of Tortuga, to invite the Buccaneers of that iſland to join him; but, while he was negotiating this affair at Tortuga, he fell ſick and died.

In the mean time the Spaniſh General of the Terra-Firma, aſſembled a fleet and attacked the iſland of St. Catharine's, which ſurrendered to him on the ſame terms the Buccaneers had granted the Spaniards when they took it.

After the death of MANSVELT, Captain MORGAN commanded the Buccaneers of Jamaica; and, aſſembling a fleet of twelve ſail, conſiſting of ſhips and great boats, with ſeven hundred bold ſeamen, Engliſh and French, he attacked the town of Puerto del Principe, on the north coaſt of the iſland of Cuba, and took it: In the plunder of which place, they found about the value of fifty thouſand pieces of eight. But there happening a miſunderſtanding between the Engliſh and French, they parted company, and MORGAN returned to Jamaica with the Engliſh.

Morgan's expedition againſt Porto Bello.

The Buccaneers having ſoon ſpent the money they got by plundering Puerto del Principe, Captain MORGAN propoſed their entering upon another expedition: and, tho' he did not acquaint them whither he deſigned to lead them, four hundred and ſixty briſk young fellows offer'd to follow his fortunes, whom he embarked on a fleet of nine ſail of ſhips and ſloops; and being arrived upon the coaſt of Terra-Firma, let his people know, that his deſign was upon Porto Bello, one of the ſtrongeſt, as well as the richeſt towns the Spaniards had on the North-ſea: And his men (confiding in the conduct and bravery of their Commander) readily conſented to engage in it. Some indeed did obſerve, that their number was but ſmall to attack ſo conſiderable a place: But the Captain replying, "If our number "is ſmall, our hearts are great, and the fewer we "are, the greater will be our ſhare of the ſpoil," they appeared impatient to begin the attack, and deſired he would lead them on: But, as the Captain was well aware of the hazard of the undertaking, and ſenſible the ſucceſs muſt be very doubtful, if he did not uſe ſome ſtratagem to ſurprize the place before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence; he landed in the duſk of the evening, at a diſtance from the town, and taking a Spaniſh ſoldier priſoner, that ſtood centinel without the works, from whom he learned the condition the garriſon was in, he ſurrounded one of the caſtles that defended the entrance of the harbour, before the people of the town knew he was landed, and ordered the ſoldier he had taken, to call to his comrades in the caſtle, and let them know, that if they did not immediately ſurrender, he would give them no quarter; and the garriſon thereupon firing upon the Buccaneers, with great and ſmall ſhot, the Captain ordered his men immediately to ſcale the walls; which they did in an inſtant, with their piſtols in their hands (no men being ſo dextrous at clambering walls as ſeamen; and, tho' a ſtout reſiſtance was made, the Buccaneers entered the caſtle at ſo many different places in the dark, that the garriſon were confounded, and ſurrendered at diſcretion: Whereupon MORGAN, to ſtrike a terror into the town and the reſt of the caſtles, reſolved to put his threats in execution; and, having ſhut up all the officers and ſoldiers in one room, ſet fire to a great quantity of powder he had placed underneath it, and blew up the caſtle into the air, with all the priſoners in it: After which, he ſtormed the city, and took it with very little reſiſtance, ordering a party of his men to ſearch the cloyſters, and bring him all the Monks and Nuns they could find.

In the mean time, the Governor and principal townſmen retired into another of the caſtles, with their treaſure and valuable goods, and the plate belonging to the churches, and play'd upon the Buccaneers from their artillery with that fury, that MORGAN was about to abandon the place, when ſome of his men poſſeſſing themſelves of another fort, and crying out Victoria, gave him freſh hopes of ſucceſs. Having cauſed ladders therefore to be made ſo broad, that three or four men might mount them a-breaſt, he forced the Monks and Nuns to fix them to the walls of the principal caſtle; and the Governor ſtill continuing to fire both great and ſmall ſhot, many of the Religious, men and women, were killed and wounded, crying out for mercy both to friends and enemies, each ſide ſeeming equally deaf to their cries: If they advanced, they were killed by the Spaniards; and if they retired, they were ſlaughtered by the Buccaneers. At length the Pirates mounted the walls, with their piſtols and earthen pots full of gun-powder and combuſtible matter in their hands, and drove the Spaniards from the walls, who thereupon threw down their arms, and cried quarter: Only the Governor refuſed to accept quarter, and compelled the Buccaneers to kill him, having firſt killed ſeveral of the enemy that endeavoured to make him priſoner, tho' his wife and daughter begg'd of him with tears to accept of quarter; to whom, 'tis ſaid, he anſwer'd, "No; he had rather die like a ſoldier, than be "hang'd for a coward."

The Buccaneers having made an entire conqueſt of the place, and ſecur'd their priſoners, fell to drinking and revelling, after their uſual manner, compelling the women to ſubmit to their embraces; and every thing was in ſuch diſorder the firſt night, that fifty men, 'tis ſaid, might eaſily have retaken the place, and cut off every man of them: However, the next day, being recovered from their debauch, they fell to plundering the city, and torturing the inhabitants, to make them confeſs where they had concealed their wealth; ſome of them having thrown their jewels, money and plate into wells, and others buried them in the earth.

Fifteen days theſe Free-booters ſpent in ſearch of treaſure, and carrying it on board their ſhips; and, tho' they received advice that the Governor of Panama was aſſembling all the forces of Terra-Firma, to march againſt them, they made no great haſte to quit the place, but remained here 'till they had victualled their fleet, and provided for another expedition: Captain MORGAN alſo demanded an hundred thouſand pieces of eight, to redeem their city from the flames, aſſuring them, that if they did not ſend to Panama, and provide that ſum, he would lay it in aſhes, and blow up all the fortifications: But the Governor of Panama, inſtead of ſending the ſum demanded, immediately began his march, to reſcue Porto Bello and the priſoners out of MORGAN's hands: Whereupon he poſſeſſed himſelf of a narrow paſs, through which he knew the Spaniards muſt march; and, after a ſharp engagement, obliged the Governor to retire with ſome precipitation; and, the people of Porto Bello were in the end compelled to pay the hundred thouſand pieces of eight that were demanded to ranſom the town and themſelves.

The Governor of Panama, aſtoniſhed that Porto Bello, and all its caſtles, ſhould be taken by four hundred men, without great guns, or any breach made in the walls, 'tis ſaid, ſent to MORGAN, deſiring to know what arms he made uſe of, to reduce ſo ſtrong a place: Whereupon the Captain ſent him a piſtol, and ſome ſmall leaden bullets, deſiring he would accept of that pattern of the arms with which he had taken Porto Bello, and keep them a twelve-month, when he aſſured the Governor, he would come to Panama and fetch them away; which promiſe it ſeems, he kept faithfully, that city undergoing the like fate within a year or two.

Captain MORGAN having taken the beſt guns out of the caſtle, with ſuch ſtores, arms and ammunition as he wanted, and nailed up and ſpoiled the reſt of the cannon, ſet ſail from Porto Bello for the iſland of Cuba, where he divided the ſpoil with his people, and found they had in ready money two hundred and fifty thouſand pieces of eight, beſides ſilks and other rich merchandize; with which returning to Jamaica, the private ſeamen ſoon conſumed every ſhilling they had gotten with ſuch infinite hazard, in wenching and drinking, which made money more plentiful in that iſland than ever it had been known before.

Morgan plunders Maricaibo and Gibraltar.

The next year Captain MORGAN aſſembled another fleet, and upwards of five hundred men, with which he took and plundered the towns of Maricaibo, and Gibraltar, ſituate on the lake of Maricaibo, in the province of Venizuela, and brought off the value of two hundred and fifty thouſand pieces of eight: But of this enterprize I ſhall give an account when I come to treat of that province, and only obſerve, that his men having ſpent the money they got there, in the ſame manner they uſed to do their prize-money, were eaſily prevailed on by the Captain, to undertake another adventure. And indeed he had by this time gained ſuch a reputation, by his bravery and conduct, and the many ſucceſsful actions he had engaged in againſt the Spaniards, that every enterprizing ſeaman appeared ready to ſerve under him; of which the Captain being well appriſed, invited all ſeafaring men to come to the rendezvous he appointed at the iſland of Tortuga, near the north ſhore of Hiſpaniola, where he was ſure to find a great many men fit for his purpoſe, and might victual his fleet with the cattle that run wild in the woods of Hiſpaniola.

The Captain arrived at Tortuga the latter end of October, 1670, and finding himſelf at the head of upwards of two thouſand brave fellows. and between thirty and forty ſhips, employed part of his people in hunting and ſalting up beef for his fleet in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, and at the ſame time ſent four ſhips and four hundred men to Rio de la Hacha on the continent, where he knew there was great plenty of Indian-corn to be met with, to procure a ſufficient quantity of it to victual his ſhips for his intended expedition; in both which attempts he was very ſucceſsful, getting both beef and corn enough for his purpoſe, within the ſpace of five or ſix weeks.

Articles between Morgan and his men.

And now, being ready to ſail, he divided his fleet, conſiſting of thirty-ſeven ſhips, into two ſquadrons, conſtituting Vice-admirals, Rear-admirals, and other officers, to whom he gave formal commiſſions, to commit hoſtilities againſt the Spaniſh nation, and take their ſhips, declaring them enemies to his maſter the King of England. After which, he cauſed articles to be drawn and ſigned by his Officers; wherein it was agreed, that MORGAN the Admiral ſhould have a hundredth part of all the prizes and plunder that ſhould be taken; every Captain the ſhares of eight men for the expences of his ſhip, beſides his own; every Surgeon two hundred pieces of eight for his cheſt of medicines, beſides his pay and ſhare; each Carpenter a hundred pieces of eight, beſides his uſual ſalary; and that the following rewards ſhould be allowed for ſmart-money, viz. one thouſand five hundred pieces of eight, or fifteen ſlaves, to every one who ſhould loſe both his legs; and one thouſand eight hundred pieces of eight, or eighteen ſlaves, to him that ſhould loſe both his hands, at the option of the wounded men; ſix hundred pieces of eight, or ſix ſlaves, for the loſs of one hand, and as much for the loſs of one leg; and one hundred pieces of eight for the loſs of an eye; and to him that ſhould ſignalize himſelf in battle, by taking a colour, entring a breach firſt, or the like, a reward of fifty pieces of eight was to be allowed; which recompences and rewards were agreed to be paid out of the firſt prizes or plunder that ſhould be obtained, after the reſpective events or accidents.

A council of war being afterwards held on board the Admiral, it was debated, whether they ſhould attempt Carthagena, Vera Cruz or Panama; and it was reſolved to attack Panama; which town they imagined to be the richeſt of the three, tho' it was much the moſt difficult to reduce, being ſituated on the South-ſea, where their ſhips and great guns could be of no uſe to them, and they muſt, of neceſſity leave a conſiderable part of their forces behind them to guard their fleet, nor were any of their people acquainted with the avenues to that city.

To obviate the laſt of theſe difficulties, it was determined in the firſt place to attack the iſland of St. Catharine's, or Providence again, which lies between forty and fifty leagues to the northward of the river Chagre; for here they were ſure to find Outlaws and Banditti baniſhed thither from the city of Panama, who were acquainted with all the by-ways to the town, and would probably enter into the ſervice of the Buccaneers: Nor were they diſappointed in their expectations; for the Spaniſh Governor of the iſland of Providence ſurrendering on the firſt ſummons, three Banditti, who were acquainted with all the avenues to Panama, offered to be their guides, on being promiſed to ſhare in the expected plunder.

The caſtle of Chagre taken.

While MORGAN lay with his fleet at the iſland of Providence; in order to facilitate the grand enterprize, he diſpatched his Vice-admiral BRODLEY, with four ſhips and four hundred men, to make themſelves maſters of the caſtle of Chagre, which ſtood at the mouth of the river of the ſame name: For by this river he propoſed to tranſport his people in boats and canoes to the ſouth ſide of the iſthmus. But the taking this caſtle proved a more difficult and hazardous enterprize than had been expected: For the caſtle ſtood on a mountain at the entrance of the river; the top of the hill divided, in a manner, in two parts, by a trench or ditch thirty foot deep; nor was there any entrance to the caſtle, but by a draw-bridge over this ditch; there were four baſtions, with batteries of great guns towards the land ſide, and two more that looked towards the ſea; to the ſouth ſide of the caſtle there was no poſſible acceſs, the rock on which it ſtood was ſo very ſteep; the north ſide was encompaſſed by the river, which was very broad; and at the foot of the caſtle, or rather of the mountain, was a ſtrong fort mounted with eight guns, which commanded the entrance of the river; from whence the way to the caſtle was by a pair of ſtairs hew'd out of the rock; and at the entrance of the harbour there were rocks under water, which made the coming in very hazardous: And, laſtly, this terrible caſtle was garriſon'd by upwards of three hundred regular European forces, as brave men as any the Spaniards had in their ſervice. And yet, in theſe circumſtances, did four hundred deſperate Buccaneers venture to attack this almoſt impregnable fortreſs. They landed at ſome diſtance from the place, and marched through thick woods and moraſſes, from day-light 'till late in the afternoon, that they might come to that ſide of the caſtle on which alone it was poſſible to approach it; and here they found themſelves ſo expoſed to the fire of the enemy, that they were once reſolved to have turn'd their backs, and fled out of the reach of the guns, and were actually retiring, when one of their company that was wounded by an arrow ſhot from the caſtle by an Indian, drew the ſame arrow out of his body, and having wound ſome cotton about the head of it, fired it out of his muſket at a thatch'd building within the caſtle, which was immediately in flames, and burnt with that fierceneſs, that it ſet fire to the magazine of powder, that blew up part of the wall, and threw it into the ditch; and while the Spaniards were put in the utmoſt confuſion by this accident, the Engliſh entered the breach; which being defended by the Governor in perſon, they met with a very obſtinate reſiſtance; the Spaniards with their fire-arms, pikes, ſtones and ſwords, did all that could be expected from brave men: However, the Buccaneers forced their way through, and, after a very terrible ſlaughter, made themſelves maſter of the caſtle. The Governor retir'd to the Corps du Garde, before which he planted two pieces of cannon, determining to aſk no quarter, but to ſell his life as dear as he could, but he was in a little time ſhot through the head; whereupon the guard ſurrendered. Out of three hundred and fourteen the garriſon conſiſted of at the beginning of the attack, there were but thirty left alive, and of theſe twenty were wounded: Nor did the Engliſh take the caſtle without great loſs; for of the four hundred Buccaneers, one hundred were killed outright, and ſeventy more wounded.

The priſoners related, that the Governor of Panama had notice three weeks before from Carthagena, that the Buccaneers were equipping a fleet, with a deſign to attack the city of Panama, and that upon this advice, he ſent a hundred and ſixty four ſoldiers to reinforce the garriſon of the caſtle of Chagre, which did not uſually conſiſt of more than a hundred and fifty men: That the Governor had placed ſeveral ambuſcades on the river, between fort Chagre and Panama, to interrupt their march; which, if they ſhould eſcape, he had a body of near four thouſand men, with which he propoſed to engage them before they could approach that city; which intelligence did not at all diſhearten Captain MORGAN: But as ſoon as he received advice of the taking of the caſtle of Chagre, he came with his whole fleet into the mouth of that river, but with ſo little caution, that his own ſhip and two more were ſplit upon the rocks that lay under water, tho' he had the good fortune to ſave the men with their arms and ammunition. MORGAN was no ſooner come on ſhore, but he entered the caſtle of Chagre in triumph, and immediately made preparations for his march to Panama, but neglected, it ſeems, to lay in ſuch a ſtock of food as was neceſſary for ſo long a march through a barren country, where the enemy alſo had deſtroyed every thing that might be of ſervice to his people.

Morgan marches to Panama with 1200 men.

Having ſelected twelve hundred men for this bold and hazardous enterprize, he left five hundred in the caſtle, and an hundred and fifty more to take care of the fleet, and embarked his troops and artillery on board ſuch boats and canoes as he found in the river. Having ſailed ſix leagues up the ſtream, he went on ſhore, and ſent out parties in ſearch of proviſions; but they found all the villages and plantations deſerted, and every thing carried off that could afford them any ſubſiſtence; and continuing his voyage the next day, he found the river impaſſable for large veſſels any higher, and therefore was obliged to leave his great boats and artillery behind him, under a guard, and advance only with the canoes and ſmall boats, ſome of his people going by land, and others by water, and ſuffering intolerable hardſhips for want of proviſions; inſomuch, that they were obliged to live on roots, and glad to eat leather and vermin, to preſerve themſelves from ſtarving. At length, after ſix days laborious march, they arrived at Venta de Cruz, where the Spaniards of Panama embark their goods on the river Chagre for Porto Bello: And here they met with fifteen or ſixteen jars of Peruvian wine, which the Buccaneers drinking plentifully of, and having eat nothing but traſh for a week before, they every man fell ſick, which made them conjecture the wine was poiſoned: However, they found themſelves pretty well the next day, and the river being navigable no higher, they continued their march by land to Panama; being attacked by ſeveral parties of Spaniſh Indians, who killed and wounded ſeveral of their men with their arrows in the woods and defiles, through which they were obliged to paſs, the way being frequently ſo narrow that ten men could not march a-breaſt: Nor did the heavy rains that fall at this ſeaſon, and the moraſſes through which they were forced to wade up to the middle, incommode the Buccaneers leſs than the arrows of the Indians.

On the ninth day ſome parties of Spaniſh horſe appeared, and threatened to oppoſe their march; but having aſcended a mountain, and obtained a view of the South-ſea and the Bay of Panama, they were ſo overjoyed, that they deſpiſed all danger, threw up their caps, ſounded their drums and trumpets, and ſhouted as if they had already been maſters of the city; and ſeeing a herd of cattle in the plain, they ſhot as many as they wanted, cut them to pieces, and roaſted and broiled the fleſh, without fleaing off the ſkin, in ſuch haſte were they to devour the meat, after they had been forced to faſt ſo many days; and that night encamped, or rather lodged in the open air (for I don't find they had any tents with them) in view of the town, deſigning the next morning to begin the attack, but were prevented by the Governor's marching out againſt them with four regiments of foot and two ſquadrons of horſe, a force much ſuperior to that of the Buccaneers. However, MORGAN advanced, and joined battle with the Spaniards, who maintained their ground very reſolutely for two hours, when victory declaring for our Welſh hero, the enemy turned their backs and fled, leaving ſix hundred of their friends dead upon the field of battle. The loſs on the ſide of the Buccaneers alſo, was conſiderable: However, they preſs'd towards the city, and within three hours more ſcaled the walls, and became maſters of the place, without making the leaſt breach; for they had not indeed any artillery with them: MORGAN finding himſelf in poſſeſſion of the city, gave out that all the wine was poiſoned, apprehending that his men would get drunk as uſual, and the Spaniards might rally and cut them in pieces, his numbers being yet ſo much inferior to the enemy: He placed his guards alſo in the moſt proper places to ſecure his conqueſt, and gave as great inſtances of his military ſkill and conduct, in preſerving what he had ſo bravely won, as the moſt conſummate General could have done; when, on a ſudden, the whole city appeared in flames, having been ſet on fire in ſeveral places at the ſame inſtant; which ſome charge upon MORGAN, tho' 'tis admitted he gave orders for extinguiſhing it; others ſay, that it was ſet on fire by the inhabitants, to deprive the Buccaneers of the rich treaſures and plunder they expected, which ſeems much the moſt probable; for why MORGAN ſhould burn the town, before he had plunder'd it, and deſtroy the prize he had in his hands, is not eaſy to conceive.

Morgan routs the Spaniards.

Storms and takes Panama.

The city burnt and entirely demoliſh'd.

But however it happened, all agree the fire continued ſeveral days, inſomuch that ſcarce a houſe was left ſtanding in the place, which a little before contained two thouſand houſes magnificently built, all the beams whereof were cedar, and the furniture anſwerably rich; beſides which, were five thouſand houſes more of the inferior tradeſmen, and ſeveral beautiful churches and monaſteries; for this, as has been obſerved, was the repoſitory of all the treaſures of Peru annually brought hither to be ſent to Europe.

While the fire continued, the Buccaneers encamped without the walls; but after it ceaſed, they returned, and quartered in the ruins, making a very ſtrict ſearch for the plate and money that was not conſumed, of which they found great quantities melted down: They alſo diſcovered abundance of treaſure hid in wells, and reſervoirs of water, and out of a ſhip in the harbour they took two hundred thouſand pieces of eight; and not content with this, 'tis ſaid they tortur'd the miſerable inhabitants various ways, to make them diſcover more, or offer large ranſoms for their liberty; and, according to my author, they were more ſevere upon the Prieſts and Monks than any other people, knowing them to be poſſeſſed of very great treaſures, either of their own, or belonging to their ſeveral churches and convents.

My Dutch author exclaims loudly alſo againſt the Buccaneers, for the innumerable rapes they committed, charging MORGAN their Commander, with being as guilty of theſe outrages, as his men: Particularly, he relates, that a beautiful young lady, wife to a rich Spaniſh merchant of Panama, refuſing to ſubmit to his embraces, he ſhut her up in a dungeon, and uſed her very hardly; but he acknowledges, the Captain afterwards, pleaſed to have found a woman that was not to be tempted to be falſe to her huſband's bed, generouſly gave her her liberty. But to return from this digreſſion; MORGAN having remained near a month in Panama, and collected the ranſoms he required for his priſoners, loaded near two hundred beaſts with the treaſure he had got, and returned to Venta de Cruz, where he put it into boats, and conveyed it down the river to the caſtle of Chagre; but the Buccaneers finding there did not come more than two hundred pieces of eight to the ſhare of every private man, began to threaten the Captain for concealing the moſt valuable part of the plunder; at leaſt the French, and ſome other foreigners, among whom was our author, pretended to be highly diſguſted: Whereupon MORGAN, having blown up the fortifications of the caſtle of Chagre, went on board his ſhip, and with only four ſail of Engliſh, whom the foreigners ſuſpected were in the ſecret, and ſhared with him the beſt of the plunder, returned to Jamaica: After which, the French joined their countrymen in the iſlands of Tortuga and Hiſpaniola, and the reſt of the Buccaneers went in ſearch of new adventures.

Morgan brings 400,000 pieces of eight to Jamaica. Knighted for his bravery in taking Panama.

Captain MORGAN, and the Buccaneers that returned to Jamaica, brought with them four hundred thouſand pieces of eight, and the Captain was not only knighted by King CHARLES II. for his bravery and conduct in taking Panama, but he was made one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty in that iſland; and the Earl of CARLISLE, Governor of Jamaica, returning to England for the recovery of his health, in the year 1680, left Sir HARRY MORGAN Deputy-governor there. However, upon the repeated complaints of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, of the depredations of the Buccaneers in the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, Sir HARRY was ſent for over to England, and committed to the Tower, where he lay three years; and then his health being pretty much impaired, he obtained his liberty, but did not long ſurvive his impriſonment, according to the beſt information I can get.

Some account of the reaſon of theſe attempts of the Buccaneers.

It may be thought ſtrange, that the Government of England ſhould encourage, or even connive at the depredations of the Buccaneers in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, at a time when the two nations were at peace in Europe. But nothing appears more frequent, than for the nations of Europe to commit acts of hoſtility on each other, in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, without any regard to treaties or alliances concluded in Europe.

The Spaniards, by virtue of the Pope's grant to them of that new world, did for a great while make no ſcruple to fall upon the Engliſh, French and Dutch, and every other nation that attempted to make ſettlements in America: As they had diſcovered the country, they held that no other nation had a right to plant or inhabit it, tho' it was impoſſible they could uſe or cultivate a third part of the country, and had not obtained the leave of the natives to poſſeſs any part of it. This was a claim and pretenſion that the reſt of the nations of Europe would by no means ſubmit to, but in time planted great part of the iſlands and continent, which the Spaniards called their property; and as the Spaniards endeavoured to diſturb theſe new ſettlements, took their ſhipping, and ſometimes maſſacred their men. Tho' the Engliſh, for political reaſons, did not think fit to declare open war againſt them in Europe, yet they ſuffered private Adventurers (who afterwards obtained the name of Buccaneers) to retaliate the injury, in order to bring the Spaniards to reaſon, and that they might be induced to ſuffer our ſhipping to trade with our own plantations and ſettlements without diſturbance: Thoſe therefore, that have given Sir Harry Morgan and his men the denomination of Pirates, have done them a great deal of injury; if it be conſidered, in the firſt place, that the Spaniards had no other title to America, than what was founded in force and uſurpation; and that they at this very time oppreſſed and tyrannized over the Indian Princes, who alone had a right to this country; and would not ſuffer any other European nation to have any commerce with them, but fell in a hoſtile manner on all European ſhipping that appeared in thoſe ſeas, whether they were at peace with Spain in Europe or not: which ſufficiently juſtifies the Buccaneers in attacking their ſettlements, tho' the cruelties they are ſaid to have exerciſed upon the People of Panama, and ſome other towns, are not to be excuſed: But theſe have poſſibly been greatly exaggerated by their enemies; for the perſon who wrote the hiſtory of the Buccaneers, acknowledges himſelf an enemy to Morgan, and to have been highly diſobliged by him, and therefore cannot be looked upon as very impartial in his relation. But admitting thoſe ſtories of their barbarities are true; with what face can the Spaniards complain of cruelty, who tortured and maſſacred ſo many millions of Indians, but threeſcore years before, and diſpoſſeſſed them of this very country, without the leaſt ſhadow of title to it? unleſs the Pope's grant, which all mankind (Papiſts as well as Proteſtants) laugh at at this day, being ſenſible, that neither they, nor any other European nation, can have a juſt right to any part of America that was inhabited, but what they gained by treaty with the inhabitants. And if the Spaniards fall upon the Engliſh, or any other nation, for trafficking with the Indians, and entring into alliances with them, we may juſtly repel force with force, and retaliate the injuries they do us. Sir Harry Morgan was indeed impriſoned at the inſtance of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, after he had performed the greateſt actions, perhaps, that ever man did, with ſuch a handful of men, and in ſuch circumſtances, and had been in ſome meaſure rewarded for them by the Government, tho' they quarrelled with him afterwards. But he is not the only brave man that has been ſacrificed to Spain for reaſons of ſtate, when he ought to have had a ſtatue erected to his memory: For he it is, has ſhewn us the way, if ever we ſhould be compelled to fall out with Spain, to make our ſelves maſters of the gold and ſilver mines. He has ſhewn us, that if we poſſeſs the Iſthmus with a good force, and erect fortreſſes on the North and South-ſeas, we may with eaſe render ourſelves maſters of the treaſures of North and South America: If a thouſand men could effect ſuch great things againſt their principal ſettlements there, what might not a royal fleet and army do? Tho' I am ſtill of opinion this ought never to be attempted, unleſs the Spaniards compel us to fall out with them. The nation will get more by trafficking with Spain and the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and improving our own plantations in Florida, than by poſſeſſing their mines. Gold and ſilver poſſibly may have the ſame effect upon us it has had upon them, render us indolent, and enervate our people, and Britain might become as deſpicable a nation in time, as Spain has been almoſt ever ſince they poſſeſſed Potoſi.

Porto Bello deſcribed.

2. Porto Bello is ſituated on a bay of the North-ſea, in 10 degrees of north latitude, and 82 degrees of weſtern longitude, about 70 miles north of Panama, and had this name given it by Columbus, on account of the ſecurity of its harbour.

Wafer gives the following deſcription of the harbour and town: Portobel, ſays this writer, is a very fair large and commodious harbour, affording good anchorage and ſhelter for ſhips, having a narrow entrance, and ſpreading wider within: The galleons from Spain find good riding here, while they take in the treaſures of Peru, that are brought thither from Panama. The entrance is ſecured by a fort on the left hand going in, and by a blockhouſe on the other ſide, oppoſite to it. At the bottom of the harbour lies the town, bending with the ſhore like a half-moon: In the middle of which, upon the ſea, is another ſmall low fort; and at the weſt-end of the town, upon an eminence, lies another ſtrong fort, yet commanded by a neighbouring hill; and in all theſe forts, there are uſually about two or three hundred men in garriſon. The town lies open towards the country without wall or works; and at the eaſt end is a long ſtable for the King's Mules. The Governor's houſe ſtands upon the eminence near the great fort at the weſt end of the town. It is an unhealthful place, the eaſt end being ſituated in a low ſwampy ground, and the ſea at low-water leaving the ſhore within the harbour bare, a great way from the houſes, which having a black filthy mud or ouze, occaſions very noiſome vapours in this hot climate. From the ſouth and eaſt part of it, the country riſes gradually in hills, which are partly wood-lands, and partly ſavannah or paſture; but there are few fruit-trees or plantations near the town.

Much the greateſt part of the inhabitants are Indians, Mulattoes and Negroes, no Spaniard of any ſubſtance caring to reſide in ſo unhealthful a place, tho' at the time of the Fair, it is ſo crowded with rich Merchants, that above an hundred crowns are given for a poor lodging, and a thouſand crowns for a ſhop, during the ſhort time that the galleons ſtay there, and all proviſions are proportionably dear, tho' they are cheap enough at other times; and ſo ſubject is the place to peſtilential Fevers, that five hundred people have died there during the time of the Fair only. No people ever experienced the unhealthfulneſs of this climate more than the Engliſh, when the ſquadron under the command of Admiral

The Engliſh loſe their ſhips and men here without fighting.

Hosier lay before it, without being ſuffered to enter upon action, in the year 1727; For here we did not only loſe Admiral Hosier, but the ſeamen twice over; and what added to the misfortune was, that all the ſhips were ſo damaged by the worms, that it was with difficulty they were brought back to England again. We might have fixed our ſelves on the iſthmus, with leſs expence of men, ſhips and treaſure, than it coſt us to lie here, and render the Spaniards our irreconcileable enemies, without acquiring the leaſt advantage to our ſelves.

Venta de Cruz.

3. Venta de Cruz is ſituated on the banks of the river Chagre, where it begins to be navigable, about thirty miles to the northward of Panama: And here the merchandize brought is embark'd for Porto Bello, in order to be ſent to Europe; but I don't find this place to be conſiderable upon any other account.

Cheapo.

4. The town of Cheapo is ſituated on a river of the ſame name, about twenty-five miles north-eaſt of Panama, and eighteen or twenty from the ſea, and is but a ſmall place.

Nata.

5. Nata is a port-town on the weſt ſide of the bay of Panama, about ſeventy miles ſouth-weſt of the city of Panama. Their chief dependance is on cattle, hogs and poultry, with which they ſerve the markets of Panama; for the country about that city is ſo very barren, that they would frequently be in danger of famiſhing, if they were not ſupplied by ſhipping with proviſions from the towns that lie at a diſtance from it.

Conception.

6. The town of Conception is ſituated near the mouth of the river Conception, which falls into the North-ſea, over-againſt La Sounds Key, one of the Sambalas iſlands; but I meet with no particular deſcription of this place.

Santa Maria.

7. Santa Maria is ſituated 6 leagues from the ſea, on the ſouth bank of the river to which it communicates its name, in 7 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, about 30 leagues ſouth-eaſt of Panama, and is conſiderable on account of the gold mines in the neighbourhood of it, but does not ſeem to be of any great ſtrength, the Buccaneers and Privateers having plunder'd it ſeveral times. The country about it is low and woody, and the ouze and mud on the banks of the river, occaſions a noiſome ſtinking ſmell, which makes the air very unwholeſome.

Scuchadero.

1. Scuchadero, a ſmall town ſituated on the north ſide of the ſame river nearer its mouth, but ſtanding on a good dry ſoil, and open to the Gulph of St. Michael, from whence it is refreſh'd by the ſea-breezes. This is eſteemed a healthful place; and what contributes to render it more ſo, is a fine rivulet of freſh water that runs by it, for the waters of this province are frequently brackiſh: The Spaniards therefore, who reſort with their ſlaves to the gold mines and rivulets at the proper ſeaſons, frequently come hither for their health and refreſhments.

New Edinburgh.

The laſt place I ſhall mention in this province, is New Edinburgh, or the place which the Scots gave this name to, when they attempted to make a ſettlement on the coaſt of Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper, and denominated the country about it New Calidonia. This fortreſs was ſituated on the continent, near the north-weſt point of the Gulph of Darien, in 9 degrees odd minutes north latitude, on a moſt excellent harbour (according to Dr. Wallare) being about a league in length from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, half a mile broad at the entrance, and upwards of a mile broad within, and large enough to contain five hundred ſail of ſhips untouch'd from any wind that can blow: The forts ſtood upon a peninſula, almoſt ſurrounded by the harbour and the North-ſea, and the acceſs to the peninſula ſo defended by rocks and precipices, that a very little art would have render'd it impregnable; and there was as much land contained in it, as would have produced ten thouſand hogſheads of ſugar annually, if it had been cultivated (according to Wallare) the ſoil being rich, the air temperate, and the water ſweet; every thing contributed to render it healthful and convenient: The land abounded in veniſon and poultry, and the ſeas with the beſt fiſh; and what were ſtill greater advantages, it ſtood in the neighbourhood of the richeſt gold mines in America, and a communication with the South-ſea might eaſily have been open'd from thence by the way of the river Darien, and the Gulph of St. Michael's. The Scots thought themſelves extremely fortunate in happening upon this important agreeable ſituation, which they tell us the Engliſh, Dutch and French, tho' they had been all over this coaſt, from Porto Bello to Carthagena, never once diſcover'd, and the Spaniards themſelves were ſtrangers to it. Here it was the Scots arrived in the month of November 1699, in order to fix a colony of their countrymen on the continent; the occaſion whereof it may be proper to mention in this place.

Its ſituation.

The ſtrength of it.

The healthfulneſs and fertility of the country about it, according to Wallare.

Near the gold mines.

The Parliament of Scotland paſs'd an Act in the year 1695, for erecting a Company to trade to Africa and the Indies: By which they were authorized to plant colonies and ſettlements in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies under his Majeſty's Letters Patent, which they alſo obtained; and both the Engliſh and Hamburgh Merchants contributing very largely to this enterprize, they equipped ſeveral ſhips, which ſailed with forces, and every thing requiſite to plant a colony on or near the iſthmus of Darien in the year 1698. They landed firſt on Golden Iſland, at the mouth of the river Darien; but not liking the ſituation, they went over to the continent, and built the fort of Edinburgh on the ſpot of ground already deſcribed, with the permiſſion of the natives, calling the country which the Indians aſſigned them to plant and cultivate, New Calidonia. That part of the iſthmus, which the Indians their friends then poſſeſs'd, the Scots inform us, extended along the North-ſea, from the Gulph of Darien to Port Scrivan on the North-ſea, being about an hundred and forty miles; and from Caret Bay, in the ſouth-weſt part of the Gulph of Darien, to the head of the river Cheapo on the ſouth, about an hundred and fifty miles; the breadth in ſome places ſixty, and in others an hundred miles, and upwards.

The occaſion of ſettling a Scots colony here.

The extent of the country under the dominion of the Indians.

The Indian Princes within theſe limits were eight at leaſt, all of them then at war with the Spaniards, and received the Scots into their country with a great deal of joy, in hopes of their aſſiſtance againſt their ancient enemies the Spaniards. The ſettlement went on proſperouſly at firſt; but the Spaniards complaining to the Court of England, and declaring that they ſhould look upon this as an act of hoſtility, Darien having long been ſubject to that Crown, as they alledg'd: The Engliſh Eaſt-India Company alſo complaining of this ſettlement at the ſame time, as an infringement of their charter, the Engliſh Parliament thought fit to interpoſe and addreſs King William to recal his Patent to the Scots Company.

They are well received by the Indian Princes.

The Spaniards and the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company oppoſe them.

The Scots, on the other hand, ſent up their Agents to the Court of England, to repreſent that this was no invaſion of the Spaniſh dominions, be-

cauſe

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cauſe they were either never poſſeſs'd of that part of the iſthmus; or, if they were, they had been driven from it by the natives, who were at that time in the actual poſſeſſion of the country, and at war with the Spaniards, as they had been many years before the arrival of the Scots: But how much ſoever the Scots might be in the right, ſuch was the influence of the Court of Spain and the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, that all meaſures were taken to ruin the Scots ſettlement. The Engliſh Miniſtry prevailed on the Hamburghers to draw their money out of the ſtock; and the Parliament of England threatened the Merchants of London, who had any ſhares in it, with their diſpleaſure, if they did not diſengage themſelves: And orders being ſent at the ſame time to Jamaica, and the Engliſh plantations in the Weſt-Indies, not to ſuffer the Scots to furniſh themſelves with proviſions there, or give them any aſſiſtance, our northern neighbours were unfortunately compelled to quit the enterprize, which we ourſelves found reaſon to regret a few years afterwards, when France, in a manner, poſſeſſed herſelf of all the Spaniſh dominions, and among the reſt, of this important place, which, had Britain remained poſſeſs'd of, ſhe might eaſily have ſtopp'd thoſe treaſures coming to Europe, which ſo long enabled the French to carry on the ſecond war againſt the Confederates. Another ill conſequence this piece of injuſtice was attended with, was the making the Scots our enemies, and obliging us to purchaſe their friendſhip again, at the expence of almoſt four hundred thouſand pounds; and whether any thing will perfectly ſatisfy them, but the ſubverſion of the Engliſh Conſtitution, is ſtill a queſtion. On the other hand, the Scots offer'd to ſhare the ſettlement with the Engliſh, and would have been infinitely obliged to them, if they had encouraged and ſupported it: Nor is there a ſpot of ground, it is agreed, on the continent of America, that could be of greater ſervice to Britain, than that of New Edinburgh, if ever we are doom'd to have a war with Spain and France again.

The Scots obliged to quit New Edinburgh.

Iſlands on the coaſt of Terra Firma Proper.

Having taken a view of the principal places upon the continent of Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper, I proceed to give ſome deſcription of the iſlands near the coaſts of this province, both in the North and South-ſeas, which are very numerous, and of great uſe to ſea-faring men, who traffick in thoſe ſeas, tho' ſcarce any of them are inhabited.

Golden Iſland.

On the North-ſea, at the entrance of the Gulph of Darien, lie three iſlands almoſt in a triangle, which form a very good harbour. The eaſtermoſt of the three, and the ſmalleſt, is called Golden Iſland: There is a fair deep channel between this and the main; it is naturally ſtrongly fortified, being defended by a ſteep rock almoſt all round, except the landing-place, which is a ſmall ſandy bay on the ſouth ſide. The iſland is moderately high, and cover'd with ſmall trees and ſhrubs, and was recommended to the Scots India Company, as a proper place to fix their firſt colony on; but finding it barren, and deſtitute of proviſions, the Scots pitch'd upon a place on the oppoſite ſhore (as has been obſerved already) which was excellent fruitful land, and no leſs ſcarce than the iſland. The largeſt of the three iſlands lies to the weſt of Golden Iſland, being ſwampy or marſhy ground, and ſo beſet with Mangroves, that it is difficult getting on ſhore. It lies near a point of the iſthmus, which is the ſame ſort of ground for a mile or two, and is ſcarce parted from the main-land, but at high-water, and even then ſhips cannot paſs between.

Iſle of Pines.

The third, called the Iſle of Pines, is a ſmall iſland, north of the other two; and, riſing into hills, is a good ſea-mark: It is covered with tall trees fit for building, or any other uſe, and has a fine rivulet of freſh water in it.

The Samballas Iſlands.

Three leagues north-weſt of theſe, lie a multitude of ſmall iſlands, extending as far as Point Samballas, generally denominated, the Samballas Iſlands; ſome of them lie one mile from the oppoſite ſhore of the continent; ſome two miles, and others two miles and a half from the ſhore, and about as far from each other, and there are navigable channels between them: The ſea between this long range of iſlands and the continent, is navigable alſo from one end to the other, and affords every-where good anchoring in hard ſandy ground: It is good landing either on the iſlands, or the main; and let the wind ſit how it will, ſhips never want a good road to ride in on the inſide of one or other of theſe iſlands, on which account this channel was the general rendezvous of the Buccaneers and Privateers on this coaſt, eſpecially La Sounds Key and Springers Key (or Iſland) which do not only afford good ſhelter for careening, but good wells of freſh water not far from the ſurface, if they dig for them. But tho' it be ſuch good riding on the inſide of theſe keys or iſlands, there lies a ridge of dangerous rocks on the outſide, at about half a mile diſtance; and there are others lie under water, between theſe iſlands and the Gulph of Darien.

The Samballas are generally low, flat, ſandy iſlands, but have variety of fruit-trees and foreſt-trees upon them; particularly the Mammees, Sapadillo's and Manchinel trees: Their ſhores alſo afford good ſhell-fiſh; but no people have thought fit to plant or inhabit any of them. From the Samballas iſlands paſſing to the weſtward by Port Scrivan, and the bay where the town of Nombre de Dios once ſtood, we arrive at the iſlands of Baſtimento, being four or five in number, and lying about a mile from the continent: They are, for the moſt part, high land covered with wood; and one of them has a ſpring of freſh water in it. Theſe, with the main-land oppoſite to them, form a good harbour, into which there is an eaſy paſſage, with the ſea-breeze between the eaſtermoſt iſland and the next to it, and as good going out with the land-breeze the ſame way. A little farther weſtward, over-againſt Porto Bello, are two ſmall flat iſlands without wood or water: They lie ſo near the continent, that there is but a very narrow channel between. Beyond the Baſtimentos, to Porto Bello, the coaſt is generally rocky; and within the land the country is full of high ſteep hills, covered with wood, unleſs where they are cleared for plantations by the Spaniſh Indians tributary to Porto Bello; and theſe, in WAFER's time, ann. 1681, were the firſt ſettlements on the north coaſt of Darien under the Spaniſh Government: The Spaniards had then neither command over the Indians, or commerce with them to the eaſtward of Port Scrivan. The ſame writer indeed ſays, he was inform'd, the Spaniards had courted the natives ſince, and won them over to their party; but 'tis certain this was not effected in the year 1698, when the Scots landed on the iſthmus; for they found all the Indians between the Gulph of Darien and Port Scrivan at open war with the Spaniards. I proceed, in the next place, to this deſcription of the iſlands belonging to this province of Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper, that lie in the Bay of Panama in the South-ſea.

Nombre de Dios. Baſtimento iſlands.

The Indians on the iſthmus at war with the Spaniards.

The Bay of Panama. The iſlands in it. The Kings or Pearl iſlands.

The Bay of Panama is of a ſemicircular form, and made by Point Garrachina on the ſouth-eaſt, and Panta Mala on the north-weſt, being about an hundred miles over, and three hundred in circumference, including the Gulph of St. Michael's at the mouth of the river of St. Mary's.

The Kings or Pearl iſlands, being low, woody iſlands, and very numerous, lie almoſt in the middle of this bay, ſtretching from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt, in length about 14 leagues. The northermoſt of them, call'd Pacheque, lies 12 leagues ſouth-eaſt of Panama; and the ſouthermoſt of them, call'd St. Paul, 12 leagues north-weſt of Point Garrachina; and they are generally about ſeven leagues diſtant from the main-land of Darien.

Theſe iſlands belong to the citizens of Panama, who keep Negroes here to plant and cultivate them: They afford ſome fruits, particularly Plantains and Bonana's, and in ſome of them Rice is ſown; but many of them, eſpecially the largeſt, are wholly uncultivated, and almoſt over-run with weeds, tho' it ſeems to be a fruitful ſoil that would produce any thing. Theſe unplanted iſlands ſhelter their fugitive Negroes, who lie concealed in the woods in the day-time, and in the night rob the Spaniſh plantations.

There are narrow channels between moſt of theſe iſlands, only fit for boats to paſs; but betwixt the iſlands and the main-land, is a channel 7 leagues over, where there is a ſufficient depth of water, and good anchoring all the way: The proſpects on each ſide extremely pleaſant; for, on the continent, are little riſing hills, always green; and the King's iſlands on the other ſide the channel are no leſs beautiful.

Chepelio iſland.

The iſland of Chepelio, ſituated 7 leagues eaſt of Panama, and a league from the continent, is the pleaſanteſt iſland in the Bay of Panama. It is about two miles over either way, partly high land, and partly valleys. The low-lands are planted with the beſt Indian fruits; ſuch as Sapadillo's, Avagato Pears, Mammees, Mammee Sapota's, Star-apples, &c. and the middle of the iſland with Plantains. The iſlands of Perico are three ſmall iſlands, which lie before the city of Panama, about three miles from it, and may be called the port to that city, the great ſhips lying here, becauſe there is not depth of water to approach nearer.

Tabago iſland.

The iſland of Tabago lies about ſix leagues ſouth of Panama, being about three miles long, and two broad: A mountainous iſland, the north ſide whereof affords a pleaſant proſpect, appearing like a garden of fruit, ſurrounded with high trees. Cloſe by the ſea ſtand abundance of Cocao-nut-trees; and on this ſide a fine rivulet of freſh water falls from the top of the mountain. There is a ſmall iſland on the north-weſt ſide of this, called Tabogilla; and another about a mile from it on the north-eaſt, with a good channel between them.

Otoque iſland. Chuche iſland. Gallera iſland.

Otoque is an iſland ſouth-weſt of Tabago; in which there are good Plantain-walks with Negroes upon them, belonging to the citizens of Panama, who look after them, and breed fowls and hogs for their maſters, as they do at the Pearl iſlands. The iſland of Chuche is a ſmall low woody iſland, that lies weſt of the Pearl iſlands, and does not appear to be either inhabited or planted; but could not be omitted, becauſe it has a place in our maps: As has alſo that of Gallera, another ſmall, flat, barren iſland, which lies between Point Garrachina and the Pearl iſlands, only remarkable for an engagement between the Spaniards and Captain HARRIS, who was attacked by them here, as he was ſharing the gold with his men that he took in Santa Maria; but the Privateers made ſuch a brave defence, that the Spaniards thought fit to retire, and leave them in poſſeſſion of their plunder.

The ſoil and produce of Terra-Firma Proper.

The ſoil of the iſthmus of Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper, is good in the middle of the province, according to WAFER; but both the ſhores of the North and South-ſeas are generally either a dry barren ſand, or drowned mangrove land, that will ſcarce produce any kind of grain. Mr. WALLACE indeed informs us, that his countrymen, the Scots, were ſo fortunate to meet with a ſpot of ground, where they built the fort of New Edinburgh, almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea; the ſoil whereof was rich; the air temperate, the water ſweet, and every thing about it contributing to make it healthful and convenient: That the land afforded Deer, Rabbets, wild Hogs, Guanoes, Turkeys, Pheaſants, Partridges and Parrots; and the ſea, Manatee, Turtle, and a vaſt variety of ſmaller fiſh, from the bigneſs of a Salmon, to that of a Perch.

The air.

It is very poſſible, in the moſt barren and unhealthful countries, to meet with ſome ſmall portions of it, that differ from the reſt; and ſuch was that, it ſeems, the Scots propoſed to fix their colony upon: But ſtill it is very certain, that the ſea-coaſts of this province are generally unhealthful, being exceſſive hot, and very wet two thirds of the year; and all travellers agree, that the mountains, which have mines in them, produce ſcarce any thing, but ſhrubs. The country about Panama, the capital city, is ſo exceeding poor, that their corn, fleſh, and other proviſions, are brought them by ſea, from countries at a very great diſtance; and that city would be ſtarved, if their communication with their neighbours by ſea was cut off half a year; for tho' the heart of the country is ſaid to be fruitful, yet very little of it is cleared of wood, or cultivated. As to the Indians, they are not very numerous; and they clear no more ground than juſt ſerves their reſpective families, ſowing a little Indian-corn; and having ſmall gardens in the woods, that produce Plantains and Potatoes, and ſome other fruits and roots, which, with what they take in hunting and fiſhing, furniſhes them with a poor ſubſiſtance; and as to the Spaniards, they ſeem to be above working and cultivating the ground, both in the old and new world: The little that is cleared and planted in America, is done by the Negroes or the Indians; and though the country might yield good crops of grain and graſs, if it were inhabited by an induſtrious people, yet, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, it affords but little proviſion, inſomuch that our Buccaneers, the hardieſt race of men upon earth, who have marched through it, and plundered the Spaniſh towns, have been more in danger of famine, than any other enemy: And ſhould the Engliſh ever attempt to diſlodge the Spaniards from the iſthmus, they muſt carry a double ſtock of proviſions with them; for I queſtion whether the country would be able to ſubſiſt a thouſand men in their march.

The Indians of Darien reſemble thoſe in the eaſtern provinces of Mexico; only it is obſerved, as they approach nearer the Equator, their complexions are darker. When they are engaged in hunting, fiſhing, planting, or any laborious exerciſe, they uſually go naked, having their ſkins painted with various colours and figures; but they have their robes of ceremony (as WAFER informs us) both white and black, that are made of cotton linnen, and reach down to their heels; and the men wear coronets of cane on their heads, adorned with feathers:

thers: Nor do they ever ſtir abroad without their arms, their bows, arrows, lances, and daggers, or great knives; and many of them of late uſe fire-arms, which they purchaſe of the Europeans.

Wafer obſerves, that both men and women are of a round viſage; have ſhort bottle noſes; their eyes large, generally grey, yet lively and ſparkling: They have high fore-heads, white even teeth, thin lips, and mouths moderately large, their cheeks and chins well proportion'd; and that they are in general finely featur'd, but the men more ſo than the women. Both ſexes have long black hair, coarſe and ſtrong, which they uſually wear down to the middle of their backs, or lower, at full length; only the women tie it together with a ſtring juſt behind the head, from whence it flows looſe like the mens. They ſuffer no other hair to grow, but that on their heads, their eye-brows and eye-lids. Their beards, and all below, are pulled up by the roots, as ſoon as any appears; and they have the ſame cuſtom as the Eaſt-Indians and Africans have of anointing their heads and bodies with oil or fat.

A race of white Indians.

There are, it ſeems, among theſe dark complexion'd Indians, ſome that are perfectly white in the province of Terra-Firma Proper. Their ſkins, ſays my author, are not of ſuch a white, as our fair people in Europe, who have ſome tincture of red in their complexion: Nor is it like that of our paler people, but a pure milk-white; and there grows upon their bodies a fine ſhort milk-white down, through which however the ſkin appears. The hair of their heads and eye-brows alſo is white, growing to the length of ſix or eight inches, and inclining to curl. Theſe people are leſs in ſtature than the other Indians. Their eye-lids are alſo differently form'd, bending like the horns of the moon; from whence, and their ſeeing ſo well by moon-light, the Buccaneers call them moon-ey'd. They cannot ſee at all in the ſun-ſhine; and therefore ſcarce ever go abroad in the day-time, unleſs in dark cloudy weather. In moon-ſhiny nights they are all life and activity, ſays my author, ſkipping about like wild bucks, and hunting in the woods; for they are as nimble as the other Indians, tho' not ſo ſtrong and big-boned.

They are contemn'd by the copper-coloured Indians, who look upon this white complexion as monſtrous, and to proceed from ſome infirmity or defect: They are not a diſtinct race by themſelves, but proceed from tawny parents on both ſides: And though ſome have ſuſpected theſe white children to be the iſſue of ſome Europeans upon Indian women, my author ſays, that it is not at all probable: Firſt, becauſe few Europeans come into this country: Secondly, becauſe the Iſſue of an European and an Indian is not white, but only a brighter tawny than the Indians: And, thirdly, this complexion is a different white, as has been obſerved already, from any thing ſeen amongſt us; but it is very unaccountable, that the iſſue of theſe white Indians are not white like their parents, but copper-colour'd: And Wafer relates it as the conjecture of one of the Indian Princes, that this whiteneſs proceeds from the force of the mother's imagination, looking at the moon at the time of conception; but perhaps the reaſon of this very white complexion of the Darien Indians, and the very dark complexion of the Negroes, will be found out together: I ſhall only obſerve here, that though a great deal is aſcribed to the ſtrength of the woman's imagination in both caſes; yet other cauſes probably concur to make ſuch remarkable differences in the complexions of mankind.

The men in this province, like thoſe in Mexico, wear ſilver and gold plates in their noſes, which hang down over their lips; and the women rings of the ſame metal. They have alſo pendants in their ears, chains of beads and ſhells about their necks, and other ornaments, as the Mexican Indians wear. Their houſes alſo are built in the ſame manner, and their lodging is generally in hammocks: Nor is their food or exerciſe different from what has been related already of the other Indians, who have preſerved their liberties, and are not yet under the dominion of the Spaniards; and therefore I ſhall not weary my readers with the repetition of theſe articles.

Their government.

Wafer informs us, that the country was governed by the heads of their reſpective tribes or families, at the time of his being there in the year 1681; but that there was a Prince, named Lacinta, ſuperior to the reſt, in the ſouth part of the iſtmus; and thoſe on the north ſide paid him great reſpect. Wallare, on the other hand, who was in Darien in the year 1699, ſays, the people, where the Scots were about eſtabliſhing a colony, were under no formal government; but every Captain commanded his own river, bay, or iſland, where he reſided; and that the Commander, who lived near the Samballas Point, could bring into the field all the people for 20 leagues round. What Wallare therefore means by no formal government, I do not fully apprehend, unleſs he would intimate, that the General, who commanded them in war, had no authority over them at other times; or that they were not governed by laws, but by their Prince's will: However, Wafer aſſures us, they were governed by laws; and that murder, adultery and theft were puniſhed by death, and rapes very ſeverely.

The Darien Indians ſtill preſerve their liberty.

The reaſon the Indians of Darien have ſo long maintained their independency, notwithſtanding it was the firſt province on the Terra-Firma the Spaniards diſcovered, and is of ſuch importance to them, to be maſters of, as it lies upon both ſeas, is, that the country, in many places, is inacceſſible. The torrents that fall for two-thirds of the year from the mountains into the North and South-ſeas, are ſcarce paſſable by any but the natives. Theſe and the thick woods cut off all manner of communication between Panama and Peru by land: There is therefore no road through the country; but whoever goes from Panama to Peru, is forced to go by ſea. Our Buccaneers have ever found it extremely difficult to croſs the country, from the North to the South-ſea; but it would have been much more difficult to travel the length of the country, from eaſt to weſt, as they muſt have croſſed ten times more rivers than they did the other way: However, the country people, men, women and children, if we may credit Wafer, ſwim over theſe torrents frequently, and are in no danger of being overtaken, or ſurprized by the Spaniards; their horſe finding it impracticable to march over their numerous rivers and mountains. And ſince the Spaniards have found it impoſſible to ſubdue this province entirely, and that other nations have treated with the natives, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh colonies amongſt them, they have at length ſeen their error in treating theſe Indians as enemies; and therefore, of late years, have endeavour'd to cultivate a friendſhip with them. However, as the natives are ſtill in poſſeſſion of the beſt part of their country, I cannot ſee why we might not treat with them, and endeavour to plant Engliſh colonies in the iſthmus, if Spain perſiſts in her depredations on our people in that part of the world, and cannot by fair means be prevailed on to accommodate the differences between the two nations.

The importance of the iſthmus to any European power.

I have taken a great deal of pains, and been more inquiſitive than ordinary, in ſearching out the ſtate of this ſmall province, becauſe of the vaſt importance it would be to us to make ſettlements, and erect forts here, if we ſhould ever be at war with Spain; and we may alſo conjecture, from this account, what a diſadvantage it would be to us, if the French, or any powerful and enterprizing people, ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of it: Since therefore we have it not ourſelves, it is much better it ſhould remain in the hands of the Spaniard, than any other nation; for they are a lazy indolent generation, who take off the manufactures of the reſt of the countries of Europe, and give us the gold and ſilver of the Indies in return for them: Whereas, were any other people poſſeſs'd of thoſe prodigious treaſures, probably they would take but little of the manufactures of Britain, and become dangerous neighbours to us.

Carthagena province.

Chief towns.

Carthagena, the ſecond province of Terra-Firma I am to deſcribe, received its name from the capital city, and is bounded by the North-ſea on the north; by the province of St. Martha on the eaſt; by Popagan and New Granada on the ſouth; and by the Gulph of Darien, which ſeparates it from Terra-Firma Proper, on the weſt; and is ſaid to be about three hundred miles in length, from north to ſouth; and about two hundred in breadth, from eaſt to weſt. The chief towns are, 1. Carthagena, the capital; 2. Madre de Popa; 3. Cenu; and 4. Tolu.

Carthagena city.

Carthagena is ſituated in a peninſula, on a bay of the North-ſea, in 11 degrees north latitude, and 76 degrees of weſtern longitude, lying about 100 leagues to the eaſtward of Porto Bello; and is ſaid to have been ſo named by the Spaniards that founded it in the year 1532, either becauſe they were natives of Carthagena in Old Spain, or becauſe it reſembled that harbour in the Mediterranean. But however that be, it is generally eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt and ſecureſt ports in the Weſt-Indies; which is the reaſon great part of the treaſures of the reſt of the provinces of the Terra-Firma are lodged here, to be put on board the galleons on their return to Europe. The galleons alſo diſpoſe of great part of the cargoes they bring from Europe in this city, from whence they are diſtributed to the neighbouring provinces.

Taken by Sir Francis Drake.

Taken by the French.

The town is built of free-ſtone, and has ſeveral fine churches and monaſteries in it; but the Jeſuits cloiſter and church excels all the reſt. As to the form of the town, it is like others of Spaniſh foundation, with a ſquare in the middle; from whence moſt of the ſtreets run in parallel lines: It is walled round, and defended by forts, block-houſes, and other works; which render it one of the ſtrongeſt places in the Weſt-Indies. However, Sir Francis Drake took it by ſtorm in the year 1585, and was much cenſured that he did not keep poſſeſſion of it; for it would have enabled us to have commanded the navigation of thoſe ſeas, and to have made what ſettlements we pleaſed upon the iſthmus and the adjacent continent, from whence the Spaniards bring ſuch prodigious treaſures. The French Admiral Pointi alſo had this city betray'd to him, in the year 1697, by a diſcontented Spaniard of the garriſon; and, 'tis ſaid, the plunder the French brought off amounted to eight or ten millions of pieces of eight. This city is a Biſhop's ſee, Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of Santa Fé in Granada, and the ſeat of the Governor and of the Courts of juſtice of this province.

Madre de Popa.

2. Madre de Popa, ſituated on a high mountain, about fifty miles ſouth-eaſt of Carthagena, chiefly famous for a convent and chappel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, ſo vaſtly rich, that it is only exceeded by that of Loretto. Innumerable miracles are ſaid to be wrought at this ſhrine; and pious Pilgrims from all parts of Spaniſh-America continually reſort hither with their richeſt offerings: All their bleſſings, and all the misfortunes of their enemies, the Spaniards aſcribe to the image of the Bleſſed Virgin, which is worſhipped here, according to Dampier. When the Oxford man of war was blown up near Hiſpaniola, the Spaniards reported, that the Bleſſed Virgin, or rather her image, was abroad all night, and came home very wet; and often returns with her cloaths rent and dirty, when ſhe has been out upon any expedition againſt the Buccaneers or Privateers that infeſt their coaſts; thus being deem'd the grand patroneſs and protector of the maritime places, Merchants and ſea-faring people. Her devotees, that inhabit the coaſts of this and the adjacent provinces, are exceeding bountiful when they come in pilgrimage to this celebrated ſhrine; and particularly take care to furniſh her with new cloaths and ornaments, inſtead of thoſe they are taught to believe ſhe has worn out or ſpoil'd in their ſervice.

Cenu.

3. Zenu, or Cenu, ſituated upon a river of the ſame name, 10 leagues from the North-ſea, and about 25 leagues ſouth of Carthagena, moſt remarkable for the Salt that is made here, and its fiſheries.

Tolu.

4. Tolu, ſituated on the North-ſea, about 25 leagues ſouth-weſt of Carthagena, celebrated for the excellent Balm or Balſam found in the neighbourhood of this town, from whence it derives its name.

The face of this province, and produce.

The province of Carthagena is a mountainous woody country, the valleys tolerably fruitful; but I don't find there are any mines of gold or ſilver in it: Some emeralds, 'tis ſaid, are found here; and the balm, gums and drugs it produces are in great eſteem.

River Magdalena.

The principal river of this province is that of Rio Grande de Magdalena, which, riſing to the ſouthward of Granada, runs directly north, and afterwards divides the province of Carthagena from that of St. Martha; falling into the North-ſea, in 12 degrees north latitude, about 24 leagues north-eaſt of the city of Carthagena. This river is 2 leagues broad at the mouth, but large ſhips cannot enter it, on account of the rocks and ſands that lie before; and the ſtream is ſo rapid, that they are forced to drag their boats up the river with men or horſes. There is an iſland at the entrance of the river, which divides it into two channels.

St. Martha province, ſituation and extent.

Face of the country mountainous.

3. The province of St. Martha is bounded by the North-ſea on the north; by the province of Rio de la Hacha on the eaſt; by New Granada on the ſouth, and by Carthagena on the weſt; being about three hundred miles in length, from eaſt to weſt; and two hundred in breadth, from north to ſouth. This is a very mountainous country, and, according to Dampier, higher land than the Pike of Teneriff, or any other land in the known world, being ſeen at ſea near two hundred miles. From theſe mountains run a chain of hills, almoſt directly ſouth, quite through South-America, to the Straits of Magellan. Thoſe which bound Peru on the eaſt, and are uſually call'd The Andes, are a part of them.

Soil and produce. Air.

The ſoil produces Indian-corn and fruits; and almoſt all manner of fruits and plants come to great perfection, which are carried thither from Old Spain: They have alſo mines of Gold and Copper in their mountains, Emeralds, Sapphires, and many other precious-ſtones. The ſea-coaſts are exceſſive hot, but their mountains cool, being cover'd with ſnow, even in this warm climate.

Chief towns.

The chief towns of this province are, 1. St. Martha; 2. Ramada; 3. Baranca; 4. Cividad de los Reyes; and 5. Tamalameque.

St. Martha.

1. St. Martha, the capital, which gives name to the province, is ſituated on a bay of the North-ſea, in 11 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and 74 degrees of weſtern longitude: It has a large harbour form'd by the continent, and two iſlands that lie before it. This town is a Biſhop's ſee, and the ſeat of the Governor and Courts of juſtice.

Ramada.

2. Ramada, ſituated alſo on the North-ſea, to the eaſtward of St. Martha; it ſtands at the foot of a mountain, and is remarkable for its copper mines.

Baranca.

3. Baranca, ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the river Grande, ſouth-weſt of St. Martha; a place of great traffick, the merchandize of New Granda being brought down thither by the river.

Los Reyes.

4. Cividad de los Reyes, ſituated at the conflux of two ſmall rivers, about a hundred miles to the ſouthward of St. Martha; of which I meet with no farther deſcription.

Tamalameque.

5. Tamalameque, ſituated on the eaſt bank of the river Grande, two hundred miles to the ſouthward of St. Martha, ſometimes called the City of Palms, from the Palm-trees in the neighbourhood.

Rio de la Hacha province, ſituation and extent. Produce.

4. The province of Rio de la Hacha, bounded by the North-ſea on the north; by the province of Venezuela, on the eaſt; by Granada, on the ſouth; and by that of St. Martha, on the weſt: It is a ſmall province, and frequently reckon'd a part of that of St. Martha: It abounds in corn and cattle, and has a pearl-fiſhery upon the coaſt, and ſome ſalt works.

Chief towns.

The chief towns are, 1. Rio de la Hacha; and 2. Rancheria.

Rio de la Hacha town.

1. The town of Rio de la Hacha, ſituated near the North-ſea, on a river of the ſame name, in 11 degrees odd minutes, northern latitude, to the eaſtward of the town of St. Martha. This place has been ſo often plunder'd by enemies and Buccaneers, that the Spaniards abandoned it for a time; but have taken poſſeſſion of it again.

Rancheria.

2. Rancheria, ſituated on the ſame coaſt, about 20 leagues north-eaſt of Rio de la Hacha, and inhabited chiefly by the Pearl-fiſhermen, that fiſhery lying about 4 or 5 leagues from the town.

Venezuela province. Situation and extent. Face of the country.

5. The province of Venezuela, in which I include the diſtrict of Caracos, is bounded by the North-ſea on the north; by New Andaluzia on the eaſt; by Granada on the ſouth, and Rio de la Hacha on the weſt; being about four hundred miles in length, from eaſt to weſt; and three hundred in breadth, from north to ſouth. This is the moſt northerly province of South-America, the Capes of La Vela and Conquibacoa lying in 12 degrees odd minutes north latitude. In this province we find abundance of exceeding high mountains and deep valleys, eſpecially in the diſtrict of Caracos, which ſtretches along the North-ſea for twenty leagues. This part of the country, Dampier obſerves, is a continued tract of high ridges of hills, intermixed with ſmall valleys, pointing upon the ſhore from ſouth to north; the valleys not half a mile wide: And farther within land, the mountains are ſtill higher, and the valleys ſo narrow, that the land appears like one great mountain at a diſtance. The tops of theſe hills are barren; but the lower part of them, and the valleys between, have a rich mould; ſo that here is plenty of ſugar, tobacco, corn, cattle, and rich paſtures, and good ſtore of veniſon, fiſh, fowl, and fruits. Their plantations of Cacao-nuts are eſteem'd the beſt in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, of which they export great quantities, as they do of corn and ſalted fleſh. There are alſo ſeveral gold mines in this province. Theſe advantages have drawn great numbers of Spaniards and Indians hither; and it has as many populous towns as any part of South-America; the chief whereof are, 1. Venezuela; 2. Caracos; 3. Maracaibo; 4. Gibraltar; 5. St. Jago de Leon; 6. New Segovia; 7. Tucuyo; 8. Trugillo; 9. Laguna; and, 10. Maricapano.

Produce. Chief towns.

Venezuela.

1. Venezuela, or Little Venice, ſo called from its ſituation in the waters, ſtands upon a peninſula near a gulph, to which it communicates its name, in 11 degrees of north latitude, and 69 degrees of weſtern longitude, and has frequently the name of Coro in our maps: It is the capital of the province, the reſidence of the Governor, and the Courts of juſtice, and a Biſhop's ſee, Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of St. Domingo in Hiſpaniola.

Caracos.

2. Caracos, the capital of a diſtrict on the coaſt of the North-ſea, to which it gives its name, is ſituated in 10 degrees north latitude, and 68 degrees of weſtern longitude: The country about it is remarkable for the beſt Cocoa-nuts to make Chocolate.

Maracaibo.

3. Maracaibo, pleaſantly ſituated on the weſt ſide of a great lake, to which it gives its name, in 10 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and 70 degrees of weſtern longitude. The neighbouring lake is freſh water, 60 leagues in length, and 30 in breadth, and diſcharges itſelf into the North-ſea. Upon the coaſts of this lake the towns and villages ſtand very thick; among which is,

New Gibraltar.

4. New Gibraltar, a large town, ſituated 40 leagues within the lake, in a pleaſant country, abounding in Cocoa, Sugar, and Tobacco, and affording abundance of Cedar-trees, and other valuable timber, fit for building ſhips or houſes.

Both the laſt towns taken by Sir Harry Morgan.

Both theſe towns of Maracaibo and Gibraltar were taken and plunder'd by Lolonois, Captain of the French Buccaneers, in the year ——; and afterwards by Captain Morgan, in the year 1669; an enterprize that deſerves to be recorded, being one of the boldeſt attempts that ever was made on the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; of which we have the following relation from a perſon engaged in it; viz.

Captain Morgan, having aſſembled a fleet of fifteen veſſels, of all ſorts, mann'd with nine hundred and ſixty men, appointed them to rendezvous at the port of Occa, a little to the weſtward of St. Domingo in Hiſpaniola; where he propoſed to take in cattle, and victual his fleet. The Governor of Jamaica alſo order'd an Engliſh ſhip of thirty-ſix guns to join him, which Morgan deſign'd for his Admiral: But as he was feaſting his Officers, drinking of healths, and firing guns, on board this ſhip, it blew up, and three hundred and fifty of the men periſh'd in her; but Morgan and his Officers, who were drinking in the great cabbin, with about thirty more, which happen'd to be at ſome diſtance from the powder-room, eſcaped with their lives. The loſs of this great ſhip, with ſo many men, one would have thought ſhould have diſcouraged Morgan from proſecuting his intended enterprize, eſpecially when ſeven more of his fleet were, by ſome accident, ſeparated from the reſt, and never join'd him afterwards. But the Captain, with eight ſmall veſſels only, of which the largeſt carried fourteen guns, and five hundred men, reſolved ſtill to ſtand over to the continent, and attempt the town of Maracaibo. Setting ſail therefore from Hiſpaniola, he arrived at the iſland of Araba, ſituated about 12 leagues to the weſtward of the Dutch iſland of Curaſſow; and here having furniſh'd himſelf with wood and freſh proviſions, he ſet ſail again, and arrived the next day at the mouth of the gulph of Maracaibo, the entrance whereof he found defended by two forts, which he attack'd with great vigour, and the Spaniards defended them with no leſs bravery the whole day, but in the night abandon'd them; and MORGAN took poſſeſſion of the forts, in which he had another very narrow eſcape; for the Spaniards left behind them a kindled match near a train of gun-powder, which would have blown up all the Buccaneers in a few minutes, if it had not been diſcovered by Captain MORGAN himſelf, who, ſnatching up the match haſtily, ſaved his own and the lives of all his people.

In theſe forts they found great quantities of ſmall arms, ammunition and proviſion, and ſixteen pieces of cannon, between twelve and twenty-four pounders: The next day, the Captain, having diſtributed the ſmall arms and powder among his men, nailed up the cannon, and demoliſhed part of the walls; order'd his fleet to get over the bar at the entrance of the lake, and advanced to the town of Maracaibo, which he found abandon'd by the inhabitants: Whereupon he poſted his main-guard in the principal church, and ſent out parties every way in ſearch of the Spaniards; and, having taken about an hundred of them, he put ſeveral to the torture (as my author ſays) to make them diſcover their wealth: And having continued theſe practices for three weeks, he marched to Gibraltar, ſituated about 40 leagues further on the ſame lake; where being arrived, he was very warmly ſaluted, both by great and ſmall ſhot, from the walls; but, after ſome reſiſtance, this town alſo was abandon'd to the Buccaneers. MORGAN thereupon order'd out ſome parties in purſuit of the Spaniards, and two or three hundred were taken, and tortur'd by various ways (if we may credit our author) to make them diſcover their treaſure and effects; and the Governor of Gibraltar, who had retired to an iſland in a river that falls into the lake, very narrowly eſcaped their hands, being removed further to an inacceſſible rock but a little before the Buccaneers came to ſearch for him.

MORGAN, having ſpent twelve days in purſuit of the Governor, through woods and bogs, and continual rains, returned to Gibraltar, with his men, ſo harraſſed and fatigued, that fifty Spaniards, 'tis ſaid, might have defeated and cut them to pieces in their march, if they durſt have attack'd them; but ſo much were theſe Adventurers dreaded by the Spaniards, that they fled if they heard a leaf ſtir.

The Buccaneers, having remained full five weeks in poſſeſſion of Gibraltar, and extorted five thouſand pieces of eight from the inhabitants for ranſoming the town from fire, began their march towards the mouth of the lake, taking along with them ſome of the principal Spaniards, as a ſecurity for the money the people had promiſed for their liberty: Being arrived at Maracaibo, they underſtood, that three large Spaniſh men of war waited at the entrance of the lake to cut off their retreat, which occaſioned ſome conſternation amongſt the Buccaneers: However, Captain MORGAN put a good face upon the matter, and ſent one of his priſoners to the Commander of that Squadron, demanding of him a conſiderable ſum of money to redeem Maracaibo from the flames: To which the grave Spaniard ſent the following anſwer, viz.

DON ALONZO DEL CAMPO ET ESPINOSA, Admiral of the Spaniſh fleet, to Captain MORGAN, Commander of the Pirates.

"Underſtanding that you have dared to attempt and commit hoſtilities in the countries, cities and towns belonging to the dominions of his Catholick Majeſty, my ſovereign Lord; I let you know, by theſe lines, that I am come, according to my duty, to that caſtle which you took out of the hands of a parcel of cowards, and have repaired the fortifications, and remounted the artillery you nail'd up. My intent is to diſpute your paſſage out of the lake, and purſue you wherever you go: However, if you will ſubmit to ſurrender the plunder you have taken, together with the ſlaves and priſoners, I will let you paſs to ſea without moleſtation; but if you refuſe this offer, I will ſend for forces to Caracos, and put every man of you to the ſword. Be prudent therefore, and do not abuſe my bounty: My ſoldiers deſire nothing more ardently than to revenge on you the cruelties and outrages you have committed on the Spaniſh nation in America. Dated on board the Royal Magdalen, lying at anchor at the entrance of the lake of Maracaibo, April 24, 1669."

Upon the receipt of this letter, Captain MORGAN aſſembled his men in the market-place of Maracaibo; and, having acquainted them with the contents of it, he demanded if they choſe to ſurrender their plunder, or fight their way through the enemy? And they anſwer'd unanimouſly, they would ſpend the laſt drop of blood in defence of their booty; and one of them propoſed the fitting up a great veſſel they had taken in the gulph for a fire-ſhip, with which he engaged to ſet fire to the Admiral: However, the difficulties of getting out of the lake by force appeared ſo inſuperable, that it was thought proper to make ſome further overtures to the Spaniards, in order to obtain a paſſage without fighting: And, 1. They offered to quit Maracaibo, without requiring any ranſom for the town; 2. They offered to releaſe their priſoners and one half of the ſlaves; 3. To releaſe the hoſtages they had taken for the contributions required. But Don ALONZO rejected theſe propoſals with ſcorn, and would grant no other terms than thoſe he firſt offer'd them: Whereupon the Buccaneers prepared to force their way through; and having fitted up their fire-ſhip with combuſtible matter, and diſguiſed her like a man of war, they ſailed to the entrance of the lake, and came to an anchor in ſight of the enemy, on the 30th of April, in the evening. The next morning early, being May-day, Captain MORGAN, weigh'd anchor again, and ſailed directly towards the enemy, with the fire-ſhip at the head of his little fleet; which the Spaniſh Admiral looking upon as the ſhip of the beſt force, was preparing to engage her, when he was ſuddenly clapped aboard, and grappled by the fire-ſhip; and tho' the Admiral made great efforts to diſengage himſelf, he had the mortification to ſee his ſhip conſumed in the flames with moſt part of his men. At which another of the Spaniſh ſhips was ſo terrified, that the Captain run her aground near the caſtle, and ſet fire to her himſelf; and the third was taken by the Buccaneers.

After this victory, Captain Morgan made a deſcent, and attack'd the caſtle; for, without being maſter of this fortreſs, he found it would ſtill be very difficult to get out to ſea, the channel for ſhips to paſs lying juſt under it: But Don Alonzo, the Spaniſh Admiral, having thrown himſelf into the caſtle, with a numerous garriſon, repaired the works, and mounted abundance of artillery on the walls; fir'd on the Buccaneers ſo briſkly, that they were forced to retire to their ſhips, having had thirty of their men kill'd, and as many wounded.

Morgan, after this repulſe, enquired of his priſoners what forces the Spaniards had ſent againſt him, and whether any more ſhips were expected to oppoſe his paſſage out of the lake. To which a Pilot, that belonged to one of the Spaniſh men of war that was burnt, anſwer'd, That their fleet at firſt conſiſted of ſix men of war; whereof the largeſt carried eight and forty guns, and another forty-four, which were equipped out in Old Spain, to cruize on the Engliſh Pirates, who infeſted their American plantations; but, being arrived at Carthagena, the two largeſt ſhips received orders to return to Spain, being judg'd too big to cruiſe upon theſe coaſts; and Don Alonzo, the Vice-admiral, ſailed with the other four to Campeachy, in queſt of the Engliſh, and loſt one of the four in a violent ſtorm that blew from the north in that bay. From Campeachy, Don Alonzo ſail'd with the three remaining men of war to Hiſpaniola, and from thence to Caracos on the continent; where he underſtood, Captain Morgan had plunder'd Maracaibo and Gibraltar; and therefore determined to lie with his ſquadron at the mouth of the lake, to prevent the Buccaneers returning home with their plunder: And, tho' the Admiral received advice they were preparing a fire-ſhip, he ſlighted the intelligence, believing they had neither ſkill nor materials to fit out a fire-ſhip; and ſuffering himſelf to be ſurprized, Captain Morgan had obtained that eaſy and unexpected victory.

The Pilot alſo informed the Captain, that one of the ſhips that was burnt had forty thouſand pieces of eight on board: Whereupon he ordered one of his ſhips to fiſh up as much of the treaſure as they could, and returned with the man of war he had taken, and the reſt of his fleet, to Maracaibo; and ſent a meſſage to the Admiral, that he would entirely deſtroy that town, unleſs he gave him thirty thouſand pieces of eight to redeem it from the flames, and five hundred oxen to victual his fleet; which the Governor refuſing to comply with, the inhabitants, however, agreed among themſelves to raiſe twenty thouſand pieces of eight, and furniſh him with the oxen he requir'd; which the Captain accepted, and received advice, about the ſame time, that the ſhip he left to fiſh up the treaſure, had got fifteen thouſand pieces of eight more. But ſtill the great difficulty remain'd, how they ſhould paſs the caſtle, and get out of the lake: Whereupon Captain Morgan ſent another meſſage to Don Alonzo, the Admiral, to let him know, he would hang up all his priſoners if he attempted to interrupt his paſſage. The Admiral, however, was not moved with this threat; but prepared to oppoſe the paſſage of the Buccaneers with all his force. Whereupon Captain Morgan had recourſe to another ſtratagem: He landed great part of his men, as if he intended to attack the caſtle a ſecond time, which induced the Governor to remove moſt of his great guns to the land ſide, and place the beſt part of his forces there: But it was no ſooner dark, than Morgan reimbark'd his men again; and, ſuffering his ſhips to fall down with the tide, without one ſail ſtanding, paſſed the caſtle with his fleet before he was well perceived; and then ſpreading his ſails, in an inſtant got out of the reach of their guns before they could do him any conſiderable damage; and the Buccaneers, not long after, arrived ſafely at Jamaica, with their plunder, which amounted to two hundred and fifty thouſand pieces of eight, beſides a vaſt quantity of rich merchandize.

New Andaluſia, with Comana and Paria ſituation.

6. The ſixth province of Terra-Firma I ſhall deſcribe, is New Andaluſia; in which I ſhall comprehend the diſtricts of Comana and Paria, and bound it by the North ſea on the north; by the river Oronoque, which divides it from Caribiana, or Guiana, on the eaſt; by the country of the Amazons on the ſouth; and by the provinces of Granada and Venezuela on the weſt; extending in length, from north to ſouth, five hundred miles and upwards; and in breadth, from eaſt to weſt, between two and three hundred miles.

The river Oronoque.

The principal river which waters this country, and into which fall many other conſiderable ſtreams, is that of Oronoque, or Paria, which riſes in the mountains of Andes, in the kingdom of Peru, not far from the South-ſea, and running directly eaſt for near two thouſand miles; then turns to the north, and, continuing that courſe above a thouſand miles more, falls into the North-ſea by ſeveral channels, between 8 and 9 degrees of north latitude.

The face of the country and produce.

The inland part of this country is mountainous, and covered with woods, intermixed with valleys and meadows that yield corn and paſturage; but it is not near ſo fruitful as that of Venezuela, or ſo full of towns and inhabitants: It is the moſt eaſterly province the Spaniards have in South-America; for tho' Caribiana, or Guiana, is uſually included in their Terra-Firma, the Spaniards have very few ſettlements there. The produce of New Andaluſia is chiefly Sugar and Tobacco, Brazil-wood, and ſome other valuable timber and woods for dying, with ſome gums and drugs. The Spaniards alſo have introduced moſt of the fruits of Europe here; and there was formerly a valuable Pearl-fiſhery on this coaſt.

Chief towns.

The chief towns are, 1. Comana, or New Cordaba; 2. Verina; and 3. St. Thomas.

Comana.

1. Comana is ſituated on a bay of the North-ſea, in 10 degrees north latitude, and 65 degrees of weſtern longitude; ſaid to have a good harbour, and ſurrounded with hills and woods; ſo that the town cannot be diſcerned 'till a ſhip enters the harbour: And it is a place of that ſtrength, that we find they repulſed the Buccaneers who attack'd it in the year 1670.

Verina.

2. Verina is ſituated on the ſame coaſt, a little to the eaſtward of Comana; being a ſmall town, but remarkable for the excellent Tobacco that grows in the neighbouring fields.

St. Thomas.

3. St. Thomas is ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the river Paria, or Oronoque, near its mouth in 8 degrees north latitude, and is the only conſiderable ſettlement the Spaniards have to the eaſtward of that river, as far as I can learn: The forces Sir Walter Raleigh carried over to plant a colony in this country, attack'd and took this town, which proved fatal to him; for he loſt his ſon in the enterprize, and afterwards his own head, on the complaint of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador to the Court of England; the Spaniards being more apprehenſive than ordinary of our fixing a ſettlement here, as it lay in the neighbourhood of ſome of their gold mines, which they were then beginning to work: But I don't find theſe mines have anſwered their expectations,

pectations, or that any others have been diſcovered of any conſequence in this prvince.

The province of Guiana, or Caribiana.

7. The province of Guiana, or Caribiana, bounded by the Northern or Atlantic ocean on the north and eaſt; by the country of the Amazons on the ſouth; and by the provinces of Granada and New Andaluſia on the weſt: It extends from the Equator to the 8th degree of north latitude, and lies between 50 and 63 degrees of weſtern longitude, extending twelve hundred miles and upwards along the Atlantic ocean, viz. from the mouth of the river Oronoque, to the mouth of the river of Amazons. Some divide it into two parts, calling that on the ſea-coaſt Caribiana, and the inland country Guiana.

European ſettlements in this province.

Rivers.

Several European Powers have ſettlements on or near the ſea-coaſts of this country, particularly the Spaniards, the French and Dutch; but the natives are yet poſſeſſed of much the greateſt part of it, and are not in ſubjection to any of them, unleſs upon the ſea-coaſt. There are abundance of conſiderable rivers (beſides thoſe of Oronoque, and the river Amazon, already mention'd); and theſe, having their ſources in the mountains on the ſouth-weſt, generally run towards the north-eaſt, and fall into the Atlantic ocean: The principal whereof are, 1. Eſqueba; 2. Brebue; 3. Coratine; 4. Surinam; 5. Marwyen, or Maroni; 6. Cayenne; 7. Wia; 8. Cauwo, or Courwo; 9. Aperwacca, or Aprouaque; 10. Wiapoco; 11. Aracawo; and 12. Arabony.

The face of the country and air.

The ſea-coaſt of this country is generally low, and ſubject to inundations, ſuch a multitude of rivers running precipitately from the mountains in the inland country during the rainy ſeaſon. The air is exceſſive hot and unhealthful, eſpecially in ſuch parts of the country as are not cleared of the woods; but there are even here ſome elevated ſituations tolerably cool and healthful, where the air hath a free paſſage. Indeed the Europeans generally chooſe to fix their colonies near the mouths of rivers, among the ſalt-marſhes and ſtinking ouze, for the conveniency of importation and exportation; and ſuch ſituations are unhealthful in all countries; but if they advance never ſo little up into the country, make choice of an elevated ſituation, and a hard firm ſoil, they find a very ſenſible difference, even in countries moſt dreaded by foreigners; of which we made a very happy experiment at Bencouli in Sumatra, which rotted all the Soldiers and Factors we ſent thither for many years: But, upon removing the town to an eminence three miles diſtant from the former fort, we found the country as healthful as any other. From whence it is evident, that if we chuſe a ſituation for health, we can ſcarce miſs of it in any country; but if our view is ſolely to trade, and the convenience of navigation, we muſt be content to want that health we never ſought after.

Indian towns.

As for towns in this country, I find no other among the natives, who poſſeſs all the inland part of it, but ſtraggling villages, conſiſting of poor huts, of the form of ordinary barns, which they frequently remove alſo, living a kind of vagrant life. Their furniture conſiſts of little more than the hammocks they ſleep in (which are ſometimes faſtened to the ridge-poles of their houſes, and as often to the trees without doors) baskets, earthen pots and pans, gourds and calabaſhes, that ſerve them for bowls, bottles, pails, and all manner of uſes: Theſe make up the reſt of their houſhold equipage.

The Engliſh ſettlements yielded to the Dutch.

The Engliſh had formerly ſeveral ſettlements on this coaſt, which were yielded to the Dutch, by the treaty of Breda, in the year 1667; and the Dutch and French have ſtill a great many forts and ſettlements here, with a good extent of country near the mouths of the rivers, which furniſh them with ſugar, tobacco, cotton, flax, ſkins or paltry drugs, dying-woods, and ſeveral other conſiderable articles: But I don't find they have met with any mines of gold or ſilver, which our firſt Adventurers expected.

Surinam the chief Dutch ſettlement.

The chief Dutch ſettlement is that of Surinam, ſituated 5 leagues within the river of the ſame name, in 6 degrees odd minutes north latitude. They have given the name of Surinam to all the country about this fortreſs for ſeveral hundred miles; and look upon themſelves as Sovereigns of it; and, indeed, theſe are the only conſiderable acquiſitions the Dutch have had in America ſince the Portugueze drove them from Brazil, and the Engliſh from New York.

Cayenne the chief French ſettlement.

The chief French ſettlement is that of Cayenne, ſituated on an iſland at the mouth of a river of the ſame name, in 5 degrees of north latitude, above 100 leagues to the northward of the river of Amazons. The iſland is about 7 leagues long, and 3 broad; well wooded and watered with rivulets; and has ſeveral good French towns upon it, beſides villages of Indians, producing ſugar, tobacco, Indian-corn, and other grain and plants, like the neighbouring continent; and is held to be more healthful, as it lies open to the ſea-breezes. The Dutch Admiral BINKS took it from the French in the year 1676; and the Count D'ESTREES, the French Admiral, recovered it the ſame year; and it was long contended for by France and Holland, but the French are now in poſſeſſion of this iſland; and, as their ſettlements extend to the ſouthward, as far as the Equinoctial, 'tis ſaid, they have given the name of Equinoctial France to all the ſea-coaſts between the river of Cayenne and the river of Amazons.

The perſons of the Caribbees.

Cloathing and ornaments.

Reputed Canibals by the firſt Diſcoverers; the truth whereof is enquired into.

As to the perſons of the Indians of Guiana and Caribiana, their complexion is a dark copper-colour, as all thoſe are that lie ſo near the Equator; but they reſemble their more northern neighbours of Terra-Firma in ſize and features. Here are no nations or tribes of a gigantic or diminutive ſtature, as the firſt Diſcoverers pretended. Thoſe who live in the neighbourhood of the Europeans wear ſome little cloathing, for decency ſake; but the reſt ſcarce any, either men or women: Tho' in ornaments moſt of the Americans ſeem to agree, as in plates and rings for their lips and noſes; heavy ſtrings of beads and ſhells about their necks, that reach almoſt down to their bellies; and in anointing and painting their faces and bodies: And, inſtead of beds, they uſe hammocks in moſt places, both of North and South-America. And as Giants, Dwarfs and Monſters ſeem at preſent to be expelled from this continent, tho' our firſt Diſcoverers met with ſcarce any thing elſe, the caſe ſeems much the ſame as to Canibals. There was not a province in America, where we were not aſſured there were tribes of theſe; but in Caribiana, the country I am now deſcribing, we were told there was nothing elſe but devourers of their own ſpecies: That it was dangerous for a man to ſleep near his beſt friend, leſt he ſhould take that opportunity of murdering him, in order to feaſt upon his carcaſe; and yet, for theſe laſt hundred years, we meet with no Canibals here, or any where elſe. That people have eaten one another, driven to it by famine, I make no manner of doubt; and an inſtance or two of this nature has been thought ſufficient to denominate the whole country Canibals. Men may ſometimes alſo have ſacrificed their own ſpecies to their gods; of which others have had ſuch an abhorrence, that they made no difficulty to believe they eat the ſacrifice, eſpecially when it was uſual to feaſt upon other animals ſacrificed to idols by almoſt all people. But further, every nation, in countries where ignorance prevails, looks upon other nations, eſpecially their enemies, as barbarous; and are perpetually making or telling ſtories to create in their acquaintance an abhorrence of them: And, as nothing is more deteſtable than the killing and eating our own ſpecies, all people almoſt ſeem to have agreed in charging this piece of barbarity upon their enemies, and thoſe they have little acquaintance with. I make no doubt, but many of the American nations, as others had done in Aſia and Europe, charged their enemies with this inſtance of barbariſm; and, when the Europeans came amongſt them, were full of theſe ſtories, which our credulous ſeamen took upon truſt; and ſome of them, poſſibly, went ſo far, as to ſay they had ſeen the Americans kill, dreſs, and make a meal of their enemies: After which, no man was thought to have made any diſcoveries in that part of the world, who could not ſay he was converſant with thoſe ſuppoſed devourers of human fleſh. And this was the reaſon every traveller almoſt brought home ſome account of the Canibals he had ſeen in every other part of America, as well as this. But can we ſuppoſe that the Popiſh Miſſionaries, and others, would ſo often have ventured themſelves in the inland and unſubdued parts of America, and eſpecially in Caribiana, without a guard, as we are aſſured they have done, if they had not been ſatiſfied theſe relations were fabulous? A very credible traveller informs us, indeed, that being about to paſs through Caribiana, the many relations he had met with of their devouring their enemies and ſtrangers, had made ſuch an impreſſion on him, that he communicated his fears to one of their Caciques, who could not help expreſſing his indignation, that he ſhould entertain ſuch thoughts of their people; declaring, that a foreigner might paſs through their country with as much ſecurity as he could propoſe in travelling through any other. To this give me leave to add what I have obſerved before in treating of Aſia: That it appears ſeveral nations, who have been charged with eating human fleſh, have been ſo far from it, that they have eat no fleſh at all; but lived upon roots, herbs, fruits, or pulſe; ſcarce eating any thing that had life, ſome of them making conſcience of eating any animal.

Our Buccaneers, who have traverſed the moſt barbarous and uncultivated parts of America, and ſeem to be very ready to give into theſe ſtories of Canibals, have not, as I remember, been able to give us one inſtance of their having ſeen any one man eaten; only they tell us, that one of their comrades being taken by the Indians, they ſuppoſed he was roaſted and eaten; becauſe, the next day, they came to a place where a great fire had been made, and diſcovered human bones in the aſhes: Which they might have done, if the Indians had only burnt their friend *in terrorem*, as well as if they had broiled and eaten him: Nor is it at all improbable, the man was burnt; for the Buccaneers have frequently committed ſuch outrages, both upon the Spaniards and Indians, as to induce them to retaliate the injuries they have received, by putting them to the crueleſt deaths. I ſhall conclude this topic with Mr. DAMPIER's opinion of the matter, who had viſited as many parts of the world as any Engliſhman ever did, and eſpecially ſeveral places of America, ſaid to be inhabited by Canibals, having been himſelf a Buccaneer.

Dampier's opinion of Canibals.

“ As for the common opinion of Man-eaters, (ſays that gentleman) I did never meet with any ſuch people; all nations and families in the world, that I have ſeen or heard of, having ſome ſort of food to live on; either fruit, grain, pulſe, or roots, which grow naturally, or elſe are planted by them; if not fiſh and land-animals beſides: Yea, even the people of New Holland had fiſh amidſt all their penury, and would ſcarce kill a man purpoſely to eat him. I know not what barbarous cuſtoms may have formerly been in the world: To ſacrifice their enemies to their gods, is a thing that is much talked of, with relation to the Savages of America. I am a ſtranger to that alſo, if it be, or have been, cuſtomary in any nation there: And yet, if they ſacrifice their enemies, it is not neceſſary they ſhould eat them too. After all, I will not be peremptory in the negative; but I ſpeak as to the compaſs of my own knowledge, and know ſome of theſe Canibal ſtories to be falſe; and many of them have been diſproved ſince I went to the Weſt-Indies. At that time how barbarous were the poor Florida Indians accounted, whom now we find to be civil enough! What ſtrange ſtories have we heard of the Indians! Whole iſlands were called The Iſles of Canibals (Caribbees); yet we find they trade very civilly with the French and Spaniards, and have done ſo with us. I do own, that they have formerly endeavoured to deſtroy our plantations at Barbadoes, and have hindred us from ſettling in the iſland of St. Lucia, by deſtroying two or three colonies ſucceſſively; and even the iſland of Tabago has been often annoyed and ravaged by them, when ſettled by the Dutch, and ſtill lies waſte (tho' a delicate fruitful iſland) as being too near the Caribbee's on the continent, who viſit it every year. But this was to preſerve their own right, by endeavouring to keep out any that ſhould ſettle themſelves on thoſe iſlands where they had planted themſelves; yet, even theſe would not hurt a ſingle perſon, as I have been told by ſome that have been priſoners amongſt them. I could inſtance alſo in the Indians of Boca Toro and Boca Drago, and many other places where they do live, as the Spaniards call it, wild and ſavage; yet there they have been familiar with Privateers, but by abuſes have withdrawn their friendſhip again. And as for the Nicobar people (an iſland in the Gulph of Bengal, reported to be inhabited by Canibals) I found them affable enough; and therefore did not fear them.”

Enquiries into the ſtories of Giants and Dwarfs.

The relations of there being nations of Giants and Dwarfs in South-America, ſeems to have no better authority than their ſtories of Canibals. There may have been men ſeen above the common ſize there, as we find ſome tall people in Ireland and Germany; but theſe are not common any where any more than a race of Dwarfs; tho' ſome travellers relate, they have ſeen nations, where a perſon 3 foot high was looked upon as a tall man amongſt them.

Of witchcraft and magic.

But there is nothing the common people in every country ſeem to have been more univerſally agreed in, than in their notions of magic, witchcraft, and a viſible and familiar converſation that ſome pretenders to the black-art have with the Spirit of darkneſs; by whoſe aſſiſtance they gratify their revenge upon their enemies, foretel future events, and know things tranſacted at the greateſt diſtance the very moment they are done.

CHAP. I.

Every nation of the Americans, and eſpecially the Caribbees, pretend to have ſome ſuch adepts amongſt them; and this office of Conjurer or Diviner is generally aſſign'd to their Prieſts, poſſibly for no other reaſon, but becauſe they are ſomething ſuperior to the common people in their experience and knowledge of nature; which has made many a man looked upon as a Conjurer in this part of the world, particularly the celebrated Friar Bacon; and it is not unlikely, that the Prieſt or Conjurer endeavours ſometimes to contribute to the cheat, to keep up or advance his reputation among ignorant people.

Wafer's account of the Indian Pawawers or Conjurers.

Mr. Wafer (Surgeon to a company of Buccaneers) who reſided a conſiderable time among the Darien Indians in the year 1681, gives the following account of theſe Pawawers, or pretended Conjurers, of Terra-Firma: He ſays, enquiring of the Indians when they expected any ſhips, they ſent for ſome of their Conjurers, who immediately went to work to raiſe the Devil, and enquire at what time a ſhip would arrive; and firſt, they made a partition in the houſe with hammocks, that the Pawawers might be by themſelves; they continued ſome time at their exerciſe, and Wafer and his comrades heard them making moſt hideous yellings and ſhrieks, imitating the voices of all manner of animals; they beat alſo on their wooden-drums, ſounded their court-ſhells, and had ſome ſtring-inſtruments they play'd upon; making altogether a horrible noiſe: Then they broke out into loud exclamations, which were followed with a profound ſilence; and receiving no anſwer, after they had waited a conſiderable time, they came and turned all the Chriſtians out of the houſe, and then went to work again, but ſtill receiving no anſwer, after an hour or more, they made a new ſearch, and finding ſome of the Chriſtians cloaths hanging up in a basket, they threw them out of doors, and then fell to pawawing again: After a little time, they came out in a muck-ſweat, and going down the river and waſhing themſelves, they returned and delivered their oracle to this effect: "That the tenth day, "from that time, there would arrive two ſhips; and "in the morning of that day they ſhould hear the "firſt gun, and ſome time after another: That one "of the Chriſtians ſhould die ſoon after; and that "going on board they ſhould loſe one of their "muskets." They were ſo particular alſo to tell them, that the Demon informed them, one of them would be an Engliſh ſhip; of the other they were doubtful, but ſaid they were afraid it would prove a Spaniſh ſhip; which prediction, Wafer aſſures us, was exactly fulfilled, even as to that circumſtance that one of the ſhips was Spaniſh, and under the command of a Spaniard at the time of the pawawing; but was afterwards taken by the Engliſh Privateer, which arrived with her upon the coaſt; and Wafer and his comrades were no ſooner on board the Engliſh Privateer, but Gopsoy one of their number died, having been overſet and half drowned in going on board, and loſt his muſket, as the Pawawers had foretold.

As theſe things are no part of our creed, people are at liberty to give what credit to them they pleaſe; but Wafer's taking notice, that theſe Pawawers could do nothing as long as the Chriſtians, or any thing that belong'd to them, was in the houſe, puts me in mind of the pretenſions of the Eaſt-Indians to the like commerce with Satan, to whom (if we may believe them) he appears perſonally, and entertains frequent converſation with them in the night; but when any of our ſoldiers have offered to go with them, and be witneſſes of their conferences with the Spirit of darkneſs, they always refuſed them this favour, alledging, he would not appear if any Chriſtian was preſent, which ſmells ſtrongly of a cheat; for many of our people, who reſort to theſe countries, have not more Chriſtianity than the Indians themſelves, if we may judge by their morals: Satan need not be afraid to appear before them on account of their ſanctity; and even Wafer tells us, in another place, that he gave very little credit to theſe appearances of the Devil; for, when one of theſe Pawawers told the company he appeared, and pretended to entertain a converſation with him, they ſaw nothing, nor heard any voice but their own.

Religion of the Caribbees.

As to religion, we are told, that theſe people have a great veneration for the Sun and Moon, as the Mexicans have; but pay them no divine honours, or apply to them in their diſtreſſes, but to inferior demons, to which our travellers have given the appellation of devils; though 'tis very poſſible, that the Indians, as well as the Pagans of old, look upon them as a kind of mediators to the ſupreme Deity, and worſhip them as ſuch. They may alſo be apprehenſive of miſchief from an evil ſpirit, as the Eaſt-Indians are, and endeavour to appeaſe him, by paying him divine honours; but moſt of the accounts we have yet received of theſe things, have very much the air of a fable.

New Granada. The ſituation and extent.

8. New Granada, the next province I am to deſcribe, is bounded by the provinces of St. Martha, Venezuela, and New Andaluſia, on the north; by Guiana, or Caribiana, on the eaſt; by the country of the Amazons on the ſouth; and by Popayan on the weſt; being about ſix hundred miles in length, from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt; and five hundred in breadth. This large inland country affords vaſt variety of hills and fruitful valleys; is well watered with navigable rivers, and eſteem'd as healthful as any part of Terra-Firma. The chief rivers are, 1. The river Grande, or Magdalena, which, riſing in the ſouth, runs directly croſs it; falling into the North-ſea, to the northward of Carthagena. 2. The river Oronoque, which riſing in Popayan, runs directly eaſt the whole length of this province; and then turning to the northward, falls into the North-ſea againſt the iſland of Trinidad.

Face of the country. Rivers. Magdalena. Oronoque.

Their mountains have mines of gold and ſilver in them: They have Cedar-trees, and a great deal of other good timber; and no want of Horſes, Oxen, Hogs, Goats, Veniſon, Fiſh and Fowl; but the country is not proper for Sheep. Here is alſo great plenty of corn and fruits, both Spaniſh and American, Guiacum, Balm, and ſeveral other valuable gums and drugs.

Gold mines. Timber. Cattle. Corn. Fruits.

Chief towns.

The chief towns are, 1. Santa-Fé de Bagota; 2. Tocama; 3. Pampeluna; 4. Velez; 5. Trinidad; 6. Palma; 7. Tunia; and 8. St. John de Lanos.

Santa-Fé.

Santa-Fé de Bagota, is ſituated in the Lake Guatavita, a little to the eaſtward of the river Magdalena, in 4 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and 74 degrees of weſtern longitude, in a plentiful country, that abounds in corn and cattle: This is the moſt conſiderable town in all the Terra-Firma; the ſeat of the Governor and the Courts of juſtice, and an Archbiſhop's ſee, to whom the Biſhops of St. Martha, Carthagena, and Popayan are Suffragans.

Tocama.

2. Tocama, ſituated at the conflux of the rivers Magdalena and Pati, a little to the northward of Santa-Fé; remarkable for the ſalt-ſprings in the neighbourhood of it.

Pampeluna.

3. Pampeluna, ſituated at the foot of the mountains, 60 leagues north of Santa-Fé, has ſome gold mines near it.

Velez.

4. Velez, ſituated almoſt in the midway between Pampeluna and Santa-Fé, near a remarkable vulcano, by whoſe eruptions this and the adjacent towns are ſometimes damaged and endangered.

Trinidad.

5. Trinidad, ſituated on the river Magdalena, 20 leagues to the northward of Santa-Fé, near which, 'tis ſaid, are found quarries of fine Marble, rocks of Cryſtal, Emeralds, and other precious ſtones.

Palma.

6. Palma, ſituated thirty miles ſouth-eaſt of Trinidad.

Tunia.

7. Tunia, a fortreſs ſituated on a mountain fourſcore miles ſouth-eaſt of Trinidad, erected by the Spaniards to keep the Indians in awe, and received its name from the Indian nation that inhabits this part of the country.

St. John of the Plains.

8. St. Juan de los Lanos, or St. John of the Plains, ſituated on the river Baraguan, an hundred and thirty miles ſouth-eaſt of Santa-Fé, near which, 'tis ſaid, there are gold mines; but as this is an inland country, ſeldom viſited by foreigners, and the Spaniards induſtriouſly conceal the produce of it from the reſt of the world, leſt they ſhould be tempted to diſturb them in the enjoyment of theſe valuable acquiſitions; it muſt be confeſſed, the accounts we have received of theſe places are very imperfect.

Popayan province.

The laſt province I am to deſcribe in Terra-Firma, is that of Popayan, bounded by the province of Terra-Firma Proper on the north; by New Granada on the eaſt; by the Audience of Quitto in Peru on the ſouth; and by the Pacific ocean on the weſt; extending in length from north to ſouth four hundred miles, and in breadth three hundred. A chain of barren mountains, almoſt impaſſable, runs through the country from north to ſouth; ſome of which are vulcano's, and in one of them the loadſtone is found. Towards the ſhores of the South-ſea the land is low and flat; and, as it rains near three quarters of the year, innumerable rivers and torrents fall from the mountains into the South-ſea, in the ſands whereof is found a great deal of gold-duſt; and there are mines of the ſame metal in the mountains, which induces the Spaniards to build towns and reſide in ſome parts of it, how uncomfortable ſoever it may be to live juſt under or near the Equator, where the heat and rains are extremely troubleſome, as well as unwholeſome.

Face of the country.

Gold in their mountains and rivers.

Rivers. Bonaventura river and bay.

The chief rivers are, 1. Bonaventura, which riſing in the mountains, runs to the weſtward, and falls into a bay of the ſea of the ſame name, in 4 degrees, odd minutes north latitude. 2. The river Tomaco, which riſes in the ſame mountains, and running parallel to the former, falls into the South-ſea, to the ſouthward of it, in 2 degrees, odd minutes north latitude. 3. The river of St. Jago, which takes its courſe in like manner to the weſtward, and falls into the ſame ſea, near the point or promontory of Manglares, about 20 leagues to the ſouthward of Tomaco.

Tomaco river.

St. Jago river.

Manglares point.

Chief towns.

The chief towns of the province of Popayan are, 1. Popayan; 2. Agreda, or St. John de Paſto; and 3. Madrigal.

Popayan.

The city of Popayan is ſituated at the foot of the mountains, on a fruitful plain, in 3 degrees of north-latitude, and 76 degrees of weſtern longitude. It is a Biſhop's ſee, Suffragan of Santa-Fé; the ſeat of the Governor and of the Courts of juſtice; and is ſaid to be a large town, and a place of good trade.

St. John de Paſto.

St. John de Paſto is ſituated upwards of an hundred miles ſouth-weſt of Popayan, in a pleaſant plain, well watered with rivers; in the neighbourhood whereof are many ſugar-farms; and they feed great herds of cattle in their ſavannahs, or meadows.

Madrigal.

Madrigal lies an hundred and forty miles to the ſouthward of the city of Popayan, in a barren country, but rich in gold mines.

I ſhall, in the next place, give ſome deſcription of the remaining iſlands that lie on the coaſt of Terra-Firma (thoſe near Terra-Firma Proper, both in the North and South-ſeas, having been already deſcribed.)

Iſlands on this coaſt. Gorgona.

Thoſe that lie in the South-ſea, on the coaſt of Popayan, are, 1. Gorgona, a pretty high woody iſland, producing large tall trees, and ſeveral ſprings of good water, lies in 3 degrees north latitude, and 4 leagues weſt of the continent: The anchoring-place in a deep ſandy bay at the weſt end of the iſland. It is about ſix miles in length, and four in breadth, but uninhabited; and at the eaſt end is a ſmall iſland that looks white with the dung of fowls; and another like it at the weſt end. The coaſt on the continent over againſt it is low land; but there are exceeding high mountains beyond in the inland country. Between the iſland Gorgona and the river Bonaventura, 25 leagues north-eaſt of it, are ſeveral ſmall rivers, in the ſands whereof the Spaniſh Indians find gold-duſt, that it waſhed down from the neighbouring mountains.

Gallo.

The iſland of Gallo lies 25 leagues to the ſouthward of Gorgona, in a deep bay, on the north-eaſt part whereof is good riding for ſhips. This alſo is pretty high land, well furniſhed with good timber, and has ſeveral ſprings of freſh water in it: There are alſo ſeveral fine ſandy bays in the iſland, where a ſhip may be cleaned. The water is ſhallow all round the iſland; and both at the north and ſouth points are ſeveral rocks, ſome whereof look like barns, and others like ſhips under ſail. To the north-eaſt, on the main land, 3 leagues diſtance, is the large river Tomaco; and a league and half within the river an Indian village of the ſame name, where ſhipping frequently touches to take in refreſhments. From this river, a wood of fine timber-trees extends 10 or 12 leagues to the ſouthwards, whither the Buccaneers and Privateers reſort, when they want maſts and other ſhip-timber; for neither the iſlands nor the neighbouring coaſt on the continent are inhabited by Spaniards, only they come hither in the dry ſeaſon to ſearch the ſands of the numerous rivulets on this coaſt for gold.

Theſe iſlands reſorted to by Adventurers.

The iſlands of Gorgona and Gallo have been frequently viſited by the Buccaneers and other Adventurers, who take in wood and water, careen their ſhips, and wait for Spaniſh prizes here; theſe iſlands lying in the road from Peru to Panama. Near Cape Franciſco, about 25 leagues to the ſouthward of Gallo, Sir FRANCIS DRAKE took that rich prize from the Spaniards, called the Cacafogo, in which he found eighty pounds weight of refined gold, twenty-ſix tons of ſilver, and a conſiderable quantity of precious-ſtones and pearls: And, near the ſame cape, our countryman DAMPIER took two prizes from the Spaniards in the year 1704; but theſe were laden only with proviſions, viz. Wine, Brandy, Sugar, Marmalet, Flour, Bacon, Chocolate, &c. that the Spaniards were carrying from Peru to ſupply the city of Panama. This Cape Franciſco lies in 1 degree north latitude, and in 81 degrees, odd minutes weſtern longitude.

Cape Franciſco.

Drake took a galleon here.

Cape Paſſeo.

To the ſouthward of Cape Franciſco lies Cape Paſſeo, juſt under the Equator, or rather 8 minutes ſouth of it; which is another nation where our Privateers uſe to wait for the Spaniſh plate-fleets going from Peru to Panama. The land near this cape is mountainous and woody.

I proceed in the next place, to deſcribe the reſt of the iſlands on the coaſt of Terra-Firma in the North-ſea, which lie between the mouth of the river Oronoque on the eaſt, and the entrance of the gulph of Venezuela or Maracaibo on the weſt.

Trinity iſland.

The principal of theſe iſlands, and the moſt eaſterly, is that of the Trinity, ſubject to the Spaniards; ſo named by COLUMBUS, who diſcovered it in his third voyage, ann. 1498. It is ſituated near the mouth of the river Oronoque, three miles from the continent of Paria, or New Andaluſia; between 9 and 10 degrees of north latitude, and 60 and 64 degrees of weſtern longitude; and is about 30 leagues in length, and 20 in breadth. The air is deemed unhealthful, but the ſoil tolerable fertile, producing Sugar, Cotton, Indian-corn and fruits, and the beſt Tobacco the Spaniards are maſters of. The chief town is named St. Joſeph, ſituated on a bay of the ſea, over-againſt the continent. It was taken by Sir WALTER RALEIGH in the year 1595, and by the French in 1676, who, beſides their plunder, extorted eighty thouſand pieces of eight from the Spaniards, to ranſom it from the flames.

Tabago iſland.

Tabago lies a little to the north-eaſt of Trinity; but this belonging to Great Britain, will be deſcribed among the reſt of the Britiſh iſlands in America.

Margaretta.

The moſt conſiderable Spaniſh iſland on this coaſt, next to Trinity, is that of Margaretta, ſituate in 12 degrees north-latitude, about 49 leagues to the weſtward of Trinity, and 7 or 8 leagues from the continent. It is about 16 leagues in length, and eight in breadth, high land; and had the name given it by the Spaniards, on account of the fine pearl-fiſhery they found there, which ſeems to be exhauſted at preſent. The ſoil affords Indian-corn and fruits, and the Spaniards have introduced many of the plants and fruits of Spain; but they are forced to import all the water they drink from the continent; and there is very little wood or paſture to be met with on the iſland. The chief town is that of Monpater, at the eaſt end of the iſland, defended by a good fort, where the Governor reſides.

Salt Tortuga.

Salt Tortuga, 14 leagues to the weſtward of Margaretta, ſo named from its ſalt-pits, and to diſtinguiſh it from French Tortuga, on the north coaſt of Hiſpaniola and Tortuga, near the ſouth cape of Florida; every one of which received their names from the numbers of Tortoiſes that reſort thither at the ſeaſon to lay their eggs. This Tortuga is a barren deſart iſland, yielding neither corn or graſs, and is not more than ten or twelve miles in circumference; only valuable to the Spaniards, on account of the ſalt they ſell to foreigners, particularly to the inhabitants of the Caribbee iſlands.

Orchilla, Roca, Aves.

The iſlands of Orchilla, Roca and Aves, are ſmall inconſiderable iſlands, ſituated to the weſtward of Tortuga, and ſcarce deſerves mentioning, except for a good harbour in the middle of that of Aves, on the north ſide, whither the Buccaneers frequently reſort to careen their ſhips, and take in freſh water. A French ſquadron of men of war, commanded by Count D'ESTREES, was caſt away on the rocks that lie before this iſland, in the year 1678, and not two of their ſhips ſaved.

Bonayre.

A little to the weſtward of Aves, lies the iſland of Bonayre, in form of a creſcent, about 16 leagues in compaſs, and ſituated about 20 leagues north of the coaſt of Caracos: The middle of the iſland in 12 degrees, 16 minutes north latitude. This belongs to the Dutch, who have ſeven or eight ſoldiers here, and five or ſix families of Indians, who plant Maize, Guinea-corn, Yams and Potatoes for their maſters; but their chief employment is the looking after their Goats, of which the Dutch ſalt up great numbers every year: They have alſo ſome Horſes, Cows and Oxen upon the iſland, and the Dutch make Salt at the eaſt end of the iſland.

Curaſſow.

Nine or ten leagues farther to the weſtward, and about as many from the continent, lies the iſland of Curaſſow, or Queriſao; the moſt northerly point of it in 12 degrees, 40 minutes north latitude. There is a good harbour on the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland, where the Dutch have a conſiderable town, defended by a ſtrong fort. The country is level, and feeds abundance of cattle; they have alſo ſome ſugar-farms, and ſmall plantations of fruits and roots; but DAMPIER obſerves, it is not ſo much eſteemed for its produce, as its ſituation for trade with the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies: Formerly the harbour was never without ſhips from Carthagena and Porto-Bello; the Spaniards purchaſing a thouſand or fifteen hundred Negroes at a time of them, beſides great quantities of European commodities; but part of this trade has of late fallen into the hands of the Engliſh: However, the Dutch have ſtill a very extenſive trade in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, ſending ſhips of good force from Holland, freighted with European goods to this coaſt, from whence they make very profitable returns. Let the Spaniſh Governors prohibit this ſmuggling trade never ſo ſeverely, the Spaniards ſtand ſo much in need of European commodities, that they will run any hazards to deal with the Dutch; and as it is their common intereſt to connive at this kind of traffick, the people cannot be very hearty in their endeavours to prevent it.

Araba.

The iſland of Araba, or Oraba, lies 7 or 8 leagues to the weſtward of Curaſſow, at the entrance of the gulph of Venezuela, or Maracaibo, being about 5 or 6 leagues in compaſs. It is a level country, except only one hill, that riſes like a ſugar-loaf in the middle of it: This iſland alſo belongs to the Dutch, and furniſhes Curaſſow with goats and ſheep; and there are ſome few ſugar-plantations in it. Theſe are all the iſlands the Dutch are maſters of in America; nor have they any thing upon the continent, unleſs Surinam in Guiana, or Caribiana.

Before I diſmiſs the deſcription of Terra-Firma, it may be proper to take notice of the diſcovery and conqueſt of it by the Spaniards; of which we have not ſo large and particular an account as we have of the conqueſt of Mexico and Peru, this being reduced under the Spaniſh yoke by abundance of inferior Adventurers, who bought or begg'd the reſpective provinces, comprehended under the general name of TERRA-FIRMA, of the King of Spain; or uſurped upon thoſe that had obtained patents or grants from that Prince. Theſe, after a miſerable ſlaughter of the naked and defenceleſs Indians, fell out among themſelves, and cut one anothers throats, ſcarce any of the Adventurers dying natural deaths, or by the ſwords of the Indians, but generally by each others hands.

The Diſcoverers of Terra-Firma.

COLUMBUS barely diſcovered this north-coaſt of South-America, from the mouth of the river Oronoque in the eaſt, to Porto-Bello in the weſt; and tho' he went on ſhore in ſeveral parts of it, with an intent to erect forts, and plant colonies, in proper places, he was diverted from it, and did not fix one ſettlement upon that coaſt.

The firſt colony planted in Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper.

VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA, who attended General ENCISO in an expedition from Cuba to Darien, or Terra-Firma Proper, firſt ſettled a colony, and built a fort on the weſt ſide of the Gulph of Darien, about the year 1510, to which he gave the name of Santa Maria el Antigua, or Old St. Mary's.

Enciso, it ſeems, was very unfortunate in this enterprize, loſt a great many men in ſeveral engagements with the Indians, and more by the hardſhips his people underwent for want of proviſions; whereupon thoſe that eſcaped, having a great opinion of the bravery and conduct of Vasco, to whoſe prudence they ow'd their preſervation in a great meaſure, refuſed to obey Enciso any longer, and elected Vasco Nunez their Commander, a man every-way qualified for great undertakings: And Enciso thereupon returned to Spain, to complain of the deſertion of his people, and get his commiſſion confirmed and enlarged.

In the mean time, Vasco applied himſelf to make farther diſcoveries; and, in order to it, endeavoured to cultivate a friendſhip with Careta the Cacique, who commanded that part of the country, which lies to the weſtward of the Gulph of Darien; and when he found he was not diſpoſed to enter into a treaty with the Spaniards, he ſurpriſed the Cacique in the night-time, making him priſoner, and killing ſome of his people: But Vasco offering to give the Cacique his liberty, on condition he would furniſh him with proviſions, they made an alliance; and, to cement it the cloſer, the Cacique gave Vasco one of his daughters, a beautiful young Indian, for his wife; or, as the Spaniard underſtood it, for a concubine; and he uſed her with great tenderneſs, tho' he afterwards married a Spaniſh lady. Vasco alſo found two Spaniards in the territories of Careta, that eſcaped thither out of a ſhip, and lived almoſt two years among the Indians, who were very ſerviceable to him, as interpreters, in his ſucceeding enterprizes.

Careta being engaged in war with Ponca, a neighbouring Cacique, at the arrival of the Spaniards, put them upon invading his territories; and Ponca finding himſelf unable to reſiſt his old enemy, ſupported by theſe ſtrangers, abandoned his country, where the Spaniards found conſiderable quantities of gold. Comagre, another Cacique, a friend of Careta, voluntarily ſubmitted to Vasco, and furniſhed him with gold to a conſiderable value; and the ſon of this Cacique, obſerving the Spaniards ready to fight about dividing their treaſure, having handſomely reproved their covetous ſordid temper, told them, he would direct them to a country where they would find as much gold and ſilver as their hearts could wiſh, if they thought it worth the while to undergo the fatigues, and run the hazards, that were neceſſary to obtain it; for the country lay beyond high mountains of difficult acceſs, and they muſt afterwards traverſe another ocean beyond thoſe hills, before they came at it; and as they were to paſs through the territories of ſeveral powerful Princes before they arrived at that ſea, the Indian Prince adviſed, they ſhould increaſe their forces to a thouſand men, before they entered upon ſo great an undertaking.

Intimations given the Spaniards of the South-ſea, and the treaſures of Peru.

Vasco Nunez de Balboa was overjoy'd to hear of countries thus abounding with treaſure, and of another ocean; and upon this intelligence returned to Darien again, in order to make ſuitable preparations for the diſcovery of them. He alſo diſpatched expreſſes to Hiſpaniola, and to Spain, with the joyful news; deſiring ſuch a reinforcement, as might enable him to reduce thoſe countries under the obedience of his Catholick Majeſty. He alſo ſent over to Spain the value of fifteen thouſand pieces of eight in gold, as a ſpecimen of what thoſe countries produced; and every man ſent ſome preſent to his friends of the ſame metal: Upon ſeeing whereof, and hearing the repreſentations that were made of the country, by thoſe that were ſent over, it was named Caſtilla del Oro, or Golden Caſtile; tho' it afterwards recovered the name, firſt given it by Columbus, of Terra-Firma.

But theſe fortunate beginnings met with a conſiderable check from the diviſions among the Adventurers; for Vasco, having no other authority than what the troops had conferred upon him, every one expected to have his advice attended to, and if he was not conſidered as he expected, became a malecontent: So ſtrong was the party form'd againſt him, that he was once compelled to quit the town of Darien to the mutineers; but a ſupply of an hundred and fifty men being ſent him from Hiſpaniola, with a commiſſion to be Captain-General of Terra-Firma, his enemies all ſubmitted to him, and he continued his preparations for the diſcovery of the South-ſea; tho' he received intelligence from Spain, that Enciso had ſo far prevailed in his complaints againſt him, that he would be ſoon ſent for over, and another Governor appointed for that ſervice. He conſidered, 'tis ſaid, that if he prov'd ſucceſsful in this expedition, it would probably obliterate all his faults; and if he did not, death would put an end to his cares.

He made choice therefore of two hundred Spaniards and a thouſand Indians, whom he embarked on board a brigantine, and ſome canoes, the beginning of September 1713; and went by water to the territories of the Cacique Careta, who had given him his daughter; and being joined by the forces of that Cacique, advanced towards the mountains, through the dominions of the Cacique Ponca, who fled at firſt at the approach of the Spaniards; but upon an aſſurance that Vasco intended no hurt to him, or his people, Ponca returned, and furniſh'd the Spaniards with ſuch proviſions as the country afforded; for which the Indians were paid in axes, knives, and ſuch other tools and implements as they valued moſt. This Cacique alſo furniſhed them with guides to paſs the mountains, and with porters to carry their baggage.

Vasco continued his march up the mountains 'till he came to the territories of another Cacique, nam'd Quarequa, who aſſembled his forces, and made ſome ſhew of oppoſing their paſſage: This Prince, the hiſtorian relates, was cloath'd in a quilted cotton coat, which he wore as armour, and was ſufficient to break the force of their country weapons (but his ſubjects were moſt of them naked) their arms being bows and arrows, ſlings, ſpears and darts, pointed and hardned in the fire, and clubs; but, upon the firing two or three muſkets, theſe warriors all turned their backs and fled, imagining, ſays my author, that their enemies had the command of thunder and lightning, as they ſaw their men drop down dead at the time the guns were fired, and they heard the report: While the Spaniards, to increaſe their terror, and that the Indians might no more dare to oppoſe them, killed upwards of ſix hundred of theſe poor defenceleſs people as they fled, among whom was the Cacique Quarequa himſelf. The Spaniards had no horſe with them at this time, and as the Indians were naked, and much ſwifter of foot, they would probably have eſcaped this ſlaughter, had not the Spaniards carried packs of great dogs with them, which overtook and worried theſe miſerable people, 'till their cruel maſters came up, and ſlaughtered them at pleaſure. This was the way the Spaniards made war upon the Indians in almoſt every part of America; neither woods or mountains could

Several hundred Indians cut in pieces by the Spaniards.

ſave the natives from their rage; they hunted them out, and tore in pieces men, women and children; which made the Americans, who at firſt took the Spaniards to be gods, change their minds, and look upon them as devils.

After this victory, as the Spaniards call it, they plunder'd the houſes of the Indians, where they found great quantities of gold; and, what was ſtill more barbarous, caus'd many of the people they found in them to be torn to pieces by dogs, under pretence they were Sodomites, tho' they had no manner of proof of it, as their own hiſtorian ANTONIO DE HERERA acknowledges.

The South Sea diſcovered.

From the place where the Spaniards landed, to the tops of the mountains, was reckoned about ſix days journey; but the want of proviſions, and other interruptions, occaſioned their ſpending five and twenty days in their march, before they arrived at the hills where the South-ſea might be diſcerned: And now VASCO NUNEZ having notice, that they ſhould have a view of that ſea, on advancing a little farther, order'd all his forces to halt; and going up to the top of the hill alone, ſaw that vaſt ocean; whereupon he fell upon his knees, and with hands lifted up, gave thanks to heaven, that he was the firſt European who had ſeen it: Then calling up his men after him, great rejoicings were made upon the occaſion; and an inſtrument was drawn up, importing, That here VASCO NUNEZ took poſſeſſion of the South-ſea, and all the countries bordering upon it, for the Crown of Caſtile. Croſſes were erected, and great heaps of ſtones raiſed, and the King of Spain's name engraved on ſeveral trees: This was performed on the 25th of September 1513. The Indians ſtood amazed at all this formality, not being yet acquainted with the ambition and avarice of the Spaniards, who came to take their country from them, and had already ſwallowed this new world, and all its treaſures, in their imaginations.

From this mountain, the Spaniards deſcending into the country of the Cacique CHIAPA, found that Prince and his forces aſſembled to oppoſe their march; but theſe alſo fled, on the firing two or three muskets; and many of them were ſlaughtered by the Spaniards, or torn in pieces by their dogs; which execution ſo terrified CHIAPA and his ſubjects, that they immediately ſubmitted, and made the General a preſent of all the gold they had, in order to appeaſe him; and the Spaniards took up their quarters in CHIAPA's chief town; from whence VASCO afterwards marched to the South-ſea, and going into it up to his knees, again took poſſeſſion of this ſea, and all that belonged to it, for the King of Caſtile and Leon, and then returned to his quarters. He afterwards croſs'd a great river, and made an incurſion into the territories of the Cacique COCARA; and having deſtroyed ſome of his people, this Prince alſo ſubmitted, and deſired the Spaniards friendſhip, making them a preſent of his gold, for which he received European tools and toys in exchange.

VASCO NUNEZ arriving at a fine bay of the ſea, on the 29th of September, gave it the name of St. Michael's, which it ſtill retains: And the Caciques informing him, that there were ſome iſlands not far off, where great quantities of pearls were to be had, he deſired them to bear him company thither; but they repreſented it was dangerous going thither in canoes at that time of the year: However, ſince he would not be diſſuaded from the enterprize, they went off with him in their canoes, but were ſoon driven back again, and the Spaniards very narrowly eſcaped being drowned.

He afterwards invaded the territories of a Cacique, named TUMACO, which lay upon this bay, who being terrified into a ſubmiſſion, as his neighbours had been, preſented the General with gold to a very great value, but much more in large pearls, which had received ſome damage by the fire the Indians 'till then uſed in opening the pearl-oyſters: TUMACO alſo informed VASCO, that the coaſt extended without end to the ſouthward, pointing towards Peru, where he ſaid there were prodigious treaſures of gold and ſilver to be found.

VASCO NUNEZ, having made theſe diſcoveries, reſolved to return to Darien not directly, but took a circuit through the territories of ſeveral other Caciques, ſome of whom he ſubdued by force, and others voluntarily entered into alliances with him: But the conditions on which the Spaniards generally afforded them their friendſhip, were, that the Indians ſhould deliver up the gold they were poſſeſſed of, and afterwards procure what they could more of the ſame precious metal, and ſend after them. Upon theſe terms the Spaniards engaged to remain for ever their good allies and protectors.

The General, being arrived at Darien, the 19th of January, 1514, was received by his people with tranſports of joy, when they underſtood the diſcoveries he had made, and the vaſt quantities of gold and pearls he had acquired; for he divided the treaſure equally, as well among thoſe that remained behind in the fortreſs of Darien, as among the troops he took with him; firſt deducting the King's fifth, which he immediately ſent over to Spain; together with a full account of the ſituation of his affairs, deſiring a reinforcement of a thouſand men, to proſecute and improve the diſcoveries he had already made.

Pedrarias made Governor of Terra-Firma.

This news was very acceptable to the Court of Spain, and twelve or fifteen hundred men were embarked immediately for Darien, under the command of PETER DE ARIAS, or PEDRARIAS, as he is uſually call'd, to whom the government of that province alſo was committed; and with him were ſent over Father JOHN QUEVEDO, a Franciſcan Friar, as Biſhop of the place, with ſeveral other Monks of that order, to inſtruct the natives in the Chriſtian religion.

But a more covetous and barbarous wretch was never ſent abroad with a command, than this PEDRARIAS. He arrived at Darien the latter end of July, 1514, and was received by VASCO with all the reſpect due to his commiſſion; but the government was no ſooner ſurrendered to him, than he began a proſecution againſt the man who had made all thoſe important diſcoveries, that he might engroſs the wealth of thoſe countries to himſelf, and have no rival or check upon his ſavage diſpoſition. Then he ordered his troops out every way, and without any regard to the treaties and alliances that VASCO had made with the neighbouring Caciques, plundered their countries, and maſſacred their ſubjects without mercy; and, above all, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh a communication with the South-ſea, in order to make himſelf maſter of the gold and pearls he underſtood were to be found on that ſide; but the Indians finding themſelves thus ſlaughter'd and abuſed, notwithſtanding their former ſubmiſſion, aſſembled their forces, and laying ambuſcades, cut off a great many of his parties, and he was not for ſome time able to fix colonies in any part of the iſthmus.

In the mean time, the friends of VASCO having repreſented the hardſhip of his caſe to the Court of Spain, and the important ſervices he had done or

Vaſco diſcovers Peru.

Is beheaded by Pedrarias.

might do the Crown, a commiſſion was ſent him to be Adelantado, or Lord-lieutenant of the coaſt of the South-ſea, that he might proſecute the diſcoveries he had begun on that ſide; with orders to PEDRARIAS, to furniſh him with ſuch forces as were neceſſary for ſuch an expedition: but VASCO however remained as a priſoner at Darien for ſome time: At length Biſhop QUEVEDO interpoſed his good offices, and procured a reconciliation between the two Generals; and, in order to cement their friendſhip the ſtronger, VASCO married the daughter of PEDRARIAS. Soon after which he applied himſelf to the building of brigantines and veſſels; the timber whereof he cauſed to be carried croſs the mountains of the iſthmus to the South-ſea, and put together there; and theſe being deſtroyed by the worms in a ſhort time, he built more on the other ſide, with which he ſailed to the Pearl-iſlands in the Bay of Panama, and afterwards as far as Port-Pinas in Peru; but ſome malicious Officer informed PEDRARIAS, or rather the Governor pretending to be informed, that VASCO was about to renounce all dependance on the Crown of Spain, and to ſet up for himſelf, commanded him to return to Darien, and anſwer the accuſation; which ſummons VASCO readily obey'd, being conſcious of his innocence; but PEDRARIAS ſo managed the matter, that he got him convicted, by the forms of law at leaſt, and cauſed him to be beheaded, to the great ſurprize of all men who were acquainted with the ſervices he had done the Crown of Spain.

Who reduces all the country as far as Veragua.

Nata and Panama founded.

Nombre de Dios, and Porto-Bello founded.

And now PEDRARIAS, being without a rival, or any one to check his fury, ravaged the country in a terrible manner from ſea to ſea, and even as far as the province of Veragua, planting a colony at Nata, and another at Panama, on the South-ſea. Nata, it ſeems, took its name from the Cacique, who was Governor of that part of the country when the Spaniards ſubdued it; and Panama, which was then only a ſmall village, inhabited by Indian Fiſhermen, received its name from the employment of its inhabitants; Panama, in their language, ſignifying a Fiſhing-town. PEDRARIAS alſo founded another town on the North-ſea, which was named Nombre de Dios, between which and Panama all the trade was carried on from the North to the South-ſeas, for ſome time; but the Spaniards, not liking the ſituation of Nombre de Dios, abandoned it afterwards, and built the town of Porto-Bello, removing the trade thither; and this ſtill continues the moſt conſiderable port on the North-ſea.

The cruelties of Pedrarias.

PEDRARIAS alſo reduced the provinces of Veragua and Nicaragua, by the forces he ſent thither under the command of FRANCIS HERNANDEZ; but entertaining ſome ſuſpicion that HERNANDEZ had too great a regard to his own intereſt, he ſerv'd him as he had done VASCO NUNEZ, and cut off his head, under pretence he was about to throw off his dependance on the Crown of Spain, and ſet up for himſelf; and expecting to be called to an account for the many outrages he had committed, both on the Spaniards and Indians, he quitted Darien, before his ſucceſſor arrived there, and removed to his acquiſitions in Veragua, where he looked upon himſelf to be out of the reach of juſtice; but what became of him afterwards, hiſtory does not inform us, only Father BARTHOLOMEW DE CASAS, Biſhop of Chiapa, has given us a very melancholy relation of the numerous cruelties and ravages committed by this Commander, in reducing theſe provinces under the dominion of the Crown of Spain.

There landed (ſays the Biſhop) in Terra-Firma, in the year 1514, a miſchievous Governor, who not only waſted and diſpeopled the ſea-coaſt, but plundered and ravaged large realms and countries, murdering infinite numbers of people from Darien to the province of Nicaragua, being upwards of fifteen hundred miles, full of people, governed by ſeveral Princes and great Lords in their reſpective territories, who were poſſeſſed of more gold than any Princes upon the face of the earth at that time.

This Governor and his Officers every day invented new torments, to make the Indians diſcover their gold; ſome they racked, others they burnt by inches 'till they expired in torments; and inſtances in a great Lord or Cacique, who having given PEDRARIAS the weight of nine thouſand ducats to obtain his favour, ordered him to be ſet on the ground, with his legs ſtretched out, and then faſtened to a ſtake: After which, he ordered fire to be applied to his feet, 'till he ſent for three thouſand Caſtellans more, and ſtill continued to burn him 'till the marrow dropp'd from his bones, and he died in the moſt exquiſite torment; all which was inflicted on this unhappy Prince, without any other provocation given the mercileſs PEDRARIAS, than that he could not, or would not diſcover ſuch a quantity of gold as he expected; and many other great Lords were uſed in the ſame barbarous manner, when they could not produce as much gold as was demanded of them: That another great Cacique, named PARIS, making his ſubmiſſion, and preſenting the Spaniards with gold to the value of fifty thouſand pieces of eight, they pretended to be ſatisfied with it, and agreed to march out of his territories; but returning again at midnight, they ſet fire to the town, maſſacred the inhabitants, and carried off the value of fifty or threeſcore thouſand pieces of eight more: The Cacique himſelf however eſcaping, aſſembled ſeveral thouſands of his ſubjects, overtook the Spaniards, of whom he kill'd fifty, and recovered moſt part of the plunder; which PEDRARIAS and his Officers ſeverely revenged a little afterwards; for they ſent another body of forces into the territories of the Cacique PARIS, and maſſacred or made ſlaves of all his people, inſomuch that the Biſhop aſſures us, when he wrote this relation, there was not of the natives one man, woman or child to be found in that country for 30 leagues, though it was before very populous.

That PEDRARIAS and his ſucceſſors did not deſtroy leſs (in that Government only) than eight hundred thouſand people, and plundered the country of ſeveral millions of gold, of which they did not ſend the King more than the value of three thouſand crowns.

The reſt of Terra-Firma reduced by private Adventurers.

The reſt of Terra-Firma, or the north part of South-America, from Darien to the river Oronoque, was ſubdued by private Adventurers, at their own charges; every one begged a certain extent of country of the Court of Spain, and uſed the natives as they thought fit, ravaging and plundering the ſeveral countries, and murdering or enſlaving the miſerable inhabitants, who were able to make but little reſiſtance to theſe tyrants, as the Biſhop of Chiapa calls them.

Santa Martha diſcovered.

Venezuela.

GRACIA DE LERMA brought the Indians of Santa-Martha under the Spaniſh yoke, about the year 1529: AMBROSE ALFRINGER got the grant of VENEZUELA, and carried over eight hundred or a thouſand Germans thither about the ſame time, with whom he harraſſed the country in a terrible manner for ſome hundreds of miles to the ſouthward, ſpending upwards of three years in this expedition.

Carthagena.

The province of Carthagena was begged by Don Peter de Heredia, who enſlaved the natives, and ſettled Spaniſh colonies there in the year 1532.

Gonsalo Ximenes de Quesada, and George Federman the Dutchman, with the reſt of the Governors of theſe three northern provinces laſt mentioned, penetrated far within the land to the ſouthward, and ſubdued that large province which now bears the name of New Granada, about the year 1535.

Granada.

Alonzo de Herera, and Anthony Sedony, made large diſcoveries and planted colonies in Guiana, Paria and Caribiana, now called New Andaluſia, about the year 1533. The province of Popayan was diſcovered and ſubdued by Sebastian de Belalcazar, Governor of Quitto, in the year 1536; and if we may credit the relation of the Biſhop of Chiapa, whoſe buſineſs it was to enquire into the uſage of the oppreſſed Indians, the conduct of all theſe Adventurers was rather more barbarous than that of Cortez in Mexico, or of Pedrarias in Darien and Veragua.

Guiana, and Caribiana.
Popayan.

Thoſe who reduced Santa-Martha, he ſays, perfectly depopulated a country which was before crowded with people for the ſpace of 400 leagues; nor were they content with barely maſſacring theſe miſerable people, but ſo tortured and oppreſſed thoſe that ſurvived, that they choſe death rather than to live under the tyranny of theſe barbarous Spaniards.

That they had carried into ſlavery two millions of people, from the coaſt of Guiana, or New Andaluſia, many of whom periſhed at ſea for want of proviſions, and the reſt in the mines; and that in the pearl-fiſheries on this coaſt they deſtroyed many thouſands more, by compelling them to dive for pearls beyond their ſtrength.

In the province of Venezuela (tho' the people readily ſubmitted to the Dutch and German Adventurers ſent thither, and treated them with all the goodneſs and hoſpitality imaginable) they deſtroyed four millions of ſouls and upwards; and moſt of their Princes and Great men were rack'd and tortured 'till they expired, to make them diſcover the gold theſe ſavage Chriſtians ſuſpected they had concealed.

That they ſometimes drove the Indians into barns, and threatned them with death, unleſs they redeemed themſelves with gold; and when they had procured as much as was required for their liberties, then they uſed to impriſon them again, and demand as much more; which, if they could not produce, they were ſhut up ſometimes 'till they were ſtarved; and others were cut to pieces, or burnt by hundreds, for not anſwering the expectations of their conquerors, as they called themſelves.

Father Bartholomew de Casas adds, that thoſe who had been eye-witneſſes of the Spaniſh cruelties in New Granada, depoſed on their oaths before the Court of Spain, that the Indian Caciques or Princes in that province quietly ſubmitted to the Spaniards and Germans, with all their people, and were contented to become their vaſſals; and the ſeveral lordſhips and diſtricts were divided among the Spaniſh and German officers and ſoldiers, with all the natives upon them, as their reſpective properties. That the Indians did not only cultivate the grounds for their new maſters, and furniſhed them with proviſions, but preſented them with gold and precious ſtones to a very great value; which was ſo far from ſatisfying their avarice, that theſe new Lords proceeded to exerciſe all manner of cruelties on the miſerable natives, to extort more gold from them.

That the greateſt Prince of this country, named Bogata (from whom the capital city was afterwards called Santa-Fé de Bogata) was tortured by the General for ſeveral months, to make him diſcover his gold and emeralds; who, in hopes of being releaſed from his tormenters, promiſed them at length to furniſh them with a houſe full of gold; and diſpatching expreſſes to every part of his dominions, brought in a prodigious quantity: But the houſe being not quite filled, he was ſtill racked and tortured to make him produce more; which being impoſſible, he expired in torments under the hands of his mercileſs perſecutors.

And as this great Prince had been uſed by the Spaniſh General, ſo his Officers and Soldiers uſed thoſe of an inferior rank, torturing and burning them to pieces by inches, to make them diſcover their treaſures: That it was a common thing to cut off the hands and noſes of men in women in ſport, and give them to their dogs: That when the poor natives fled to the woods and mountains, to ſhelter themſelves from their rage, this was called a rebellion, and they were hunted out by dogs, torn in pieces, ſlaughtered, and thrown from the tops of the rocks by hundreds: And when any of them had ſecured themſelves in inacceſſible places, the Spaniards would treacherouſly offer them their lives and liberties, to induce them to ſurrender, and then cut them in pieces as ſoon as they had them in their power: That it was impoſſible to deſcribe the miſchiefs and cruelties of theſe monſters of mankind; and if they were ſuffered to go on, the inhabitants muſt be totally extirpated, and theſe populous and fertile countries become a wilderneſs (as in reality it happened not long afterwards, for upwards of 600 leagues) the Emperor's commands for redreſſing theſe outrages being very ill obſerved.

That theſe Adventurers here, as well as thoſe in other parts of America, kept packs of great maſtiffs on purpoſe to hunt and tear in pieces the Indians: It was an ordinary thing to kill an Indian, without any offence given them; and to lend a brother Spaniard a quarter of a man, as they would lend a neighbour a quarter of Pork or Mutton to feed their dogs; promiſing to return it in kind when they killed a ſlave.

That others would go out a hunting for Indians with their dogs as they would hunt wild beaſts, and boaſt of their having killed twenty or thirty in a day: Which fact, how monſtrous ſoever, appeared to be true, by the teſtimony of numbers of witneſſes, on the trials of cauſes in the Courts of Spain, between the ſeveral Adventurers, who frequently fell out about the limits of their reſpective provinces, the diſtribution of the natives, and the reſt of their plunder; and in theſe conteſts, the truth frequently came out.

CHAP. II.

Of the name, ſituation, and extent of Peru; and of the face of the country.

I DO not find that the natives had any general name for this country, only it was looked upon as the dominion of the Great King, or Emperor of South-America, who was called The Inca, and ſo it might be ſtiled the empire of the Inca's, as the Eaſt-Indies is called The empire of the Great Mogul.

Peru deſcribed. Its name.

As to the modern name of Peru, Garcilasso de la Vega gives us this account of its obtaining that appellation: He ſays, that Vasco Nunez de Balbao having firſt diſcovered the South-ſea, the King of Spain, as a reward of that ſervice, conſtituted him Admiral of that ſea, in the year 1514, and Governor of all the kingdoms and countries he ſhould diſcover in it. Whereupon Vasco built three or four ſhips, to go upon diſcoveries in that ocean, one whereof ſtretching to the ſouthward beyond the Equinoctial-line, and ſailing cloſe by the ſhore, diſcovered an Indian Fiſherman in the mouth of a river; who, while he ſtood ſtaring at the ſhip as ſhe was under ſail (a moſt amazing ſight to a man that had never ſeen one) they ſent out their boat and ſurprized the Indian, making him their priſoner; and demanding of him by the Indians they carried with them (or by ſigns, according to De la Vega) what country it was? He miſtaking them, and ſuppoſing they had aſked him his own name, anſwered Beru; and the Spaniards ſtill ſeeming importunate to know ſomething more, he anſwered, Pelu; which was the name of the river; or, according to ſome, is a common name in the language of thoſe people for any river; however, from both theſe words the Spaniards formed another, and called the country Peru; and ſome of their writers, Piru; but however that was, the dominions of the Inca's, of which this was the moſt northerly province, have ever ſince gone under the name of Peru.

The limits of the dominions of the Inca's.

When the Spaniards arrived here, the country was divided by the Inca's into four grand diviſions, the limits on the north being the river Paſſao, or the Azure river, juſt under the Equinoctial; the ſouthern limits were the Aranco's, in 40 degrees of ſouth latitude (now part of Chili) the eaſtern limits were the Cordelero's, or mountains of the Andes; and the weſtern boundary the South-ſea, or Pacific-ocean.

The limits of Peru.

The limits of modern Peru are much the ſame now, except on the ſouth; for the Spaniards ſtill bound it by the province of Popayan (which extends to the Equator) on the north, by the mountains of the Andes on the eaſt, by Chili on the ſouth, and the Pacific-Ocean on the weſt; extending it from the Equator to 25 degrees of ſouth latitude only; ſo that as the land extends, or runs from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, Peru muſt be near two thouſand miles in length, and in breadth it is generally about two hundred; but in the ſouth, it may be four or five hundred miles broad.

The face of the country.

The face of the country, according to Acosta, is very different, as it is diſtant from, or approaches near the ſea. He divides the country into three long narrow ſlips, viz. 1. The Lanos, which are ſandy plains that run along the ſea-coaſt. 2. The Sierras, which are hills beyond thoſe plains, intermixed with valleys. 3. The Andes, or Cordelero's, ſtill further within the land, which are ſteep craggy mountains, far ſurpaſſing all the reſt in height. The Lanos, which lie along the coaſt, are about 10 leagues in breadth; in ſome places more, in others leſs. The Sierras 25 leagues in breadth, and the Andes ſomething more than 25 leagues over.

The Andes and Sierras are two ridges of mountains that run from north to ſouth, parallel to each other for above a thouſand leagues: Nor are the Lanos that lie between the Sierras and the ſea-ſhore low land. Both Dampier and Wafer inform us, that Peru has generally a high bold ſhore, and that there is no landing on it, but at the ports, or in ſome particular bays: However, theſe plains may be called low in compariſon of the Sierras that ſurmount them, and of the Andes that far ſurpaſs both, and are eſteemed the higheſt land in the known world. Beyond the city of Caſco, which lies in 14 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude, the two ridges of mountains ſeparate themſelves to a greater diſtance, incloſing a fruitful plain of a vaſt extent, which is called the province of Callao, watered by many rivers, and by the great lake Titiaca, which is fourſcore leagues in compaſs; moſt of theſe rivers falling into the lake.

The Lanos.

The Lanos, or ſandy plains near the ſea, are perfectly barren, except ſome few valleys, into which they turn ſmall winding ſtreams, and that part of the coaſt which lies within 3 or 4 degrees of the Equator, where they have very heavy rains great part of the year.

The Sierras.

The Andes.

The Sierras alſo are barren hills; but then there are fine fruitful valleys between them, that yield all manner of grain and fruits; and theſe being temperate between the extreams of heat and cold, are beſt inhabited; for the Lanos by the ſea are for the moſt part exceſſive hot: The Andes, on the contrary, are cold barren mountains, the ſnow lying upon them great part of the year. Timber and wood in general ſeems to be very ſcarce, here, and in all parts of Peru, unleſs near the Line, and there they meet with enough.

Acosta, ſpeaking of the unparallel'd height of the Andes, and of the diſorders the air occaſioned in all that paſſed them, ſays, he once reſolved to make the experiment himſelf, and mounted one of the higheſt tops of theſe hills, called Pariacaca; that he went prepared for the adventure according to the beſt inſtructions he could get with ſeveral more who had the like curioſity; but notwithſtanding all his precaution, when he came to mount the ſtairs or ladders near the top, he was ſeized with ſuch pains, that he thought he ſhould have fallen to the ground; and the reſt of the company being under the like diſorder, they all made haſte to get down the mountain as faſt as they could, none ſtaying for his companion: That they were all taken with ſuch reachings to vomit, that he thought they ſhould have brought up their hearts; for not only green phlegm and choler came up, but a great deal of blood; and that this laſted for three or four hours, 'till they had deſcended to the lower part of the hill; and ſome of them purged violently: But generally this ſickneſs goes off as they come down the hill, and is attended with no ill conſequences.

And not only this paſſage of Pariacaca has theſe properties, but the whole ridge of mountains, called the Andes, for upwards of five hundred leagues; in what place ſoever people paſs it they meet with ſtrange diſorders, but more in ſome parts than others; and thoſe are more ſenſible of the ill effects who aſcended from the ſea, than thoſe that aſcend from the neighbouring plains; for he had paſſed the Andes, in four other different places, and always felt the like diſorder, but not ſo violently as at Pariacaca; and the beſt remedy they found againſt it was to ſtop their mouths, noſes, and ears, as much as poſſible, and to cover their breaſts; for the air was ſo ſubtile and piercing, that it penetrated the entrails, not only of men, but beaſts; and he had known horſes ſo affected by it, that no ſpurs could make them move. And ſuch is the height of the Andes, that the Pyrenees and the Alps were but as ordinary hills in compariſon of them; from whence he concluded, that the air here was too pure and ſubtile for animals to breath in (they requiring a groſſer medium) and this he ſuppoſed occaſioned that diſorder in the ſtomach.

He obſerved farther, that the high mountains he had paſſed in Europe were only exceſſive cold, and made him cloath himſelf the warmer when he paſſed them; but the ſtomach and appetite for meat was ſtill ſtronger, and they had no reachings to vomit there, as here; the outward parts only were affected: On the contrary, on the Andes, they were not affected with cold at the time of the year they paſſed them, either in their hands or feet, or any part of their bodies; only their entrails were affected, and that moſt when the ſun was hotteſt; which confirmed him in the opinion, that the diſorder proceeded from the pureneſs and ſubtilty of the air.

He adds, that this ridge of mountains is for the moſt part deſart, without villages or habitations for men, not ſo much as to lodge a night in: Nor are there any beaſts upon them, wild or tame, except their country ſheep, whoſe great excellency lies in their climbing rocks and precipices, with burthens on their backs, where neither man nor beaſt can follow them. But to return to the mountains; he relates, that the graſs upon them is frequently burnt up and black, and that theſe deſarts are 25 or 30 leagues over, and 500 leagues long, tho' in other places he makes them but 20 leagues broad.

Peſtilential blaſts in other parts of Peru.

The ſame writer informs us, that there are other mountainous uninhabited deſarts in Peru, where a ſudden blaſt of air ſometimes ſtrikes a traveller dead in an inſtant: That the Spaniards formerly paſſed theſe mountains in their way to Chili, but now either go by ſea, or by the ſide of theſe mountains, to avoid the danger, ſo many having periſhed in going over them; and others, that have eſcaped with their lives, have loſt their fingers and toes, and been lamed. ACOSTA ſays, he was informed by General COSTILLA, who loſt three or four toes in paſſing this deſart to Chili, that they fell off without any pain; and that the ſame General marching over it once before with an army, great part of his men ſuddenly fell down dead, and their bodies remained there without ſtench or corruption: That he had relations of the ſame kind from others; and conjectured that theſe people were killed by the exceſſive coldneſs of the air, which preſerved their bodies alſo from putrefaction after they were dead. But as he ſays in other places, that they met with theſe peſtilential blaſts in the valleys between the hills, I am apt to think they were rather hot than cold winds, and that it was the hot ſands that preſerved their bodies from corruption; for near the ſame latitude, viz. between 20 and 30 degrees north, in the deſarts of Eaſt-India, Perſia and Africa, we frequently meet with the Samiel, or hot winds, which have the like effects: And ſome Engliſh ſeamen, who have been aſhore in this very country of Peru, aſſure us, that they have ſeen great numbers of bodies lying dead upon the ſands there; particularly, our countryman WAFER relates, that landing with thirty more at Verneio, in 10 degrees ſouth latitude, in ſearch of water, and marching four miles up a ſandy bay, they found the ground covered with men, women and children, which lay ſo thick, that a man might have walked on them half a mile. That theſe bodies to appearance ſeem'd as if they had not been dead a weak; but when he handled them, they proved as dry and light as a ſpunge or a piece of cork: That he carried on board the body of a boy of about nine or ten years of age, deſigning to have brought it to England; but the ſeamen had a fooliſh conceit that the compaſs would not traverſe aright ſo long as a dead body was on board, and compelled him to throw it into the ſea. Theſe people were very probably deſtroyed by ſuch hot winds as we meet with in Perſia, and the Eaſt-Indies, there appearing no ſigns of wounds or violence upon them; tho' WAFER ſaid he was informed by an old man, that they buried themſelves in the ſands, to avoid the cruelties of the Spaniards in the preceeding age (which is ſcarce credible.) However, thus much will be agreed on all hands, that the heat of the ſands and the dryneſs of the Peruvian air preſerved theſe bodies from putrefaction, whatever was the cauſe of their deaths. If it be objected, that the deſart, ACOSTA mentions, was in a much cooler climate, viz. between 25 and 30 degrees of latitude, and therefore it could not be ſuppoſed the ſoldiers he ſpeaks of were killed by the hot winds; it may be anſwered, that the deſarts of Perſia, Africa, and Arabia, where the like hot winds are met with, lie between the Tropic and 30 degrees of latitude; and that the heat is frequently as great in this climate as within 10 degrees of the Line; for the ſituation of the country, the length of the days, and the nature of the ſoil, contribute almoſt as much to extreme heat as the ſun itſelf: Sandy valleys between hills are uſually exceſſive hot, and the hot winds are occaſioned by their blowing over a long tract of burning ſand for ſome hundreds of miles; the ſun alſo continuing longer about either Tropic, and the days being longer there than under the Equinoctial, that luminary gives more intenſe heat uſually in countries ſeated near either Tropic, than it does in thoſe about the Equator.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſeas, rivers, lakes, ſprings, winds, tides, air, and ſeaſons of Peru.

The ſea of Peru.

THE only ſea that borders upon Peru is the Pacific-Ocean, which obtained its name from the conſtant ſerene weather that reigns here from 4 degrees to 30 or 35 degrees ſouth latitude, in which is comprehended part of Chili. If we go farther ſouthward, this ſea, tho' it ſtill retains the name of the Pacific-Ocean, is as tempeſtuous as any other; and within 3 or 4 degrees of the Line they have the like variable winds and heavy rains, moſt part of the year, as we meet with in other ſeas in the ſame climate: And to the northward of the Tropic of Cancer (and ſometimes within it) DAMPIER and other ſeamen relate, they frequently meet with ſtorms and hurricanes, tho' this part of that ſea alſo bears the name of the Pacific-Ocean. When I ſpeak therefore of that which is properly the Pacific-ſea, in this deſcription of Peru and Chili, I would be underſtood to mean only that part of it between the 4th and the 35th degrees of ſouth latitude; and from the American ſhore weſtward, indefinitely: Here we have no rain or dark clouds, ſays DAMPIER, tho' 'tis often ſo thick and hazy as to hinder an obſervation of the ſun with a quadrant; and in the morning there is hazy weather frequently, and thick miſts that wet a little; but there are not in this ſea, ſays the ſame writer, any tempeſts, tornadoes, or hurricanes: Tho', north of the Equator, they are met with in this ſea as well as in the Atlantic-Ocean: This Pacific-ſea, however, at the new and full moon ſwells and runs with high long ſurges, or waves; but ſuch as never break at ſea, and ſo are ſafe enough. On the contrary, where they fall in and break upon the ſhore, they make it very dangerous landing. At Guiaquil, on the Peruvian coaſt, ſituated in 3 degrees ſouth latitude, the tide runs very ſtrong, and riſes 16 or 18 feet perpendicular; but it does not riſe ſo high on any part of the coaſt to the ſouthward, where there are not ſuch bays, or ſo many rivers, as there are here; for, according to DAMPIER's obſervation, the tides always run ſtrongeſt and riſe higheſt in gulphs or bays of the ſea, and up the mouths of rivers. FUNNEL obſerves, that the winds in the Peruvian-ſeas, and on all the weſtern ſide of America, from 38 degrees ſouth, to 7 degrees north, are always ſoutherly two points

Winds in this ocean.

points upon the ſhore; ſo that where the coaſt runs due north and ſouth, the wind is at ſouth-ſouth-weſt; and where the coaſt runs ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, the wind is due ſouth (except it be in the night, when the ſea-wind generally ceaſes, and there comes a fine moderate gale from the land, which they call the land-breeze;) but DAMPIER obſerves, that on promontories and head-lands, and ſuch places as lie open to the ſea, they have ſcarce any of theſe land-breezes, it being in creeks and bays chiefly that they have the advantage of land-breezes.

DAMPIER alſo obſerves, that the ſoutherly winds on the coaſt of Peru continue to blow 140 or 150 leagues from the ſhore before they alter; but then they may be perceived to come about more eaſterly; and about 200 leagues to the weſtward of that ſhore the true trade-wind ſets in at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, which never alters 'till they have paſſed the Pacific-ocean, and arrive at the Eaſt-Indies.

But both DAMPIER and FUNNEL relate, that at Arica, which lies on the coaſt of Peru, in 18 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude, for near 100 leagues to the ſouthward, this ſea is very ſubject to calms, within 35 or 40 leagues of the ſhore; but that theſe calms are not uſual on any other part of this coaſt: It is obſerved alſo, that when the ſun is in the northern ſigns, viz. from March to September, the ſky is generally bright and clear: But when the ſun retorts back to the ſouthern ſigns, then the weather is frequently ſo thick and hazy, that they cannot take an obſervation, tho' they have no rain even then, either at ſea or on the coaſt.

Weather at ſea.

Weather at land.

As to the weather on ſhore it is various, according to the ſituation of the land; the Lanos, or ſandy plains by the ſea-ſide, never have a drop of rain upon them; but frequently thick miſts riſe here. On the Sierras, or hills beyond, the rains fall when the ſun is in the ſouthern ſigns, as they do in other countries that lie between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn. And on the Cordelero's, or Andes, the high mountains that are ſituated fartheſt from the ſea, it rains or ſnows two thirds of the year, and is exceſſive cold; and as the valleys between the hills, called Sierras, are the moſt fruitful parts of the country, their ſeaſon for planting and ſowing there is at the beginning of the rains, and their harveſt at the return of the dry weather: Their vintage alſo is in the fair ſeaſon, and their vines thrives beſt in thoſe valleys near the ſea, where there is little or no rain, and which are watered by rivulets that fall from the hills in the rainy ſeaſon; but moſt part of the Lanos, or ſandy plains by the ſea-ſide, are barren deſarts, bearing neither trees nor herbs; and are very little inhabited, except ſome few port-towns ſituated at the mouths of rivers.

The reaſons for the general draught on the Peruvian coaſt enquired into.

ACOSTA, and other writers, have endeavoured to account for this everlaſting draught on the ſea-coaſt of Peru and Chili: They ſuppoſe, in the firſt place, that the country being a dry ſandy ſoil affords no vapours, or not enough to furniſh them with rain, tho' miſts ariſe here. And, ſecondly, That the mountains called the Andes or Cordelero's are ſo exceeding high, that the clouds are ſtopped there, and can come no farther weſtward: But to this it may be anſwered, if the land affords but few vapours, one would think that the South-ſea that adjoins to it might afford as many vapours as any other ſea; and the wind conſtantly blows obliquely from that ſea upon the coaſt. And as to the mountains of Andes intercepting the clouds that come from the eaſtward, this is not true in fact; for the Sierras or hills which lie between the Andes, and the Lanos or plains on the ſea-coaſt, have their periodical rains, as all other countries have that lie between the Tropics; tho' the plains on the ſea-ſhore have no rain; and this is the more ſtrange, inaſmuch as the ſea-coaſts in other countries are uſually more ſubject to rain and cloudy weather, than either the ocean at a great diſtance from land, or the middle of any continent; as the low countries in Holland and Flanders, that lie on the ſea, have more wet and cloudy weather than either the middle of Germany or France; and in like manner, when we are at ſea four or five hundred miles from land, eſpecially between the Tropics, we have uſually ſerene ſettled weather, and judge ourſelves near land when we ſee thick clouds, which uſually hang over it: Sea-men alſo obſerve, that tornadoes and hurricanes are more frequent and violent near land, than they are an hundred leagues out at ſea, tho' in this peaceful ocean, and on the coaſt, they know not what ſtorms or hurricanes mean; inſomuch that this ſea is navigated by barklogs; and in theſe aukward floats they carry on great part of their coaſting-trade from port to port, as they did before the Spaniards arrived there: Theſe barklogs are only rough timber logs laid in ſquares a-croſs each other, and built up two or three ſtories high; of which I ſhall give a more particular deſcription, when I come to treat of their navigation.

Barklogs.

The capes, iſlands, and port towns on the coaſt of Peru.

Cape Paſſao.

Cape Lorenzo.

La Plata iſland.

Cape St. Helena.

St. Clara iſland.

Cape Blanco.

Guiaquil iſland.

Payta port.

The ſea and land breezes here.

Lobos iſland.

I proceed in the next place to give ſome deſcription of the moſt conſiderable capes, iſlands, and ports on the coaſt of Peru and Chili, from the Equator to 30 degrees of ſouth latitude; and, 1. Of Cape Paſſao, which lies in 8 minutes ſouth latitude, and 82 degrees of weſtern longitude. It is an high round cape, with ſome few trees upon it; and further up in the country the land is mountainous and very woody. 2. Cape Lorenzo, in one degree ſouth latitude; near which, ſhipping may furniſh themſelves with freſh water. This cape alſo is high land, and has ſome trees and buſhes upon it: Five leagues weſt-ſouth-weſt of Cape Lorenzo, is a ſmall barren iſland, called La Plata, from its being the place where Sir FRANCIS DRAKE ſhared the plate with his company which he took out of the Spaniſh galeon, called the Calefogo. 3. Cape St. Helena, in 2 degrees, 20 minutes ſouth latitude; near which is a ſmall town of Spaniards and Indians, that keep ſtore-houſes of flour, ſalted fleſh, fiſh, biſcuit, and other proviſions, with which they ſupply the ſhipping that touches there in their paſſage to and from Panama. The point itſelf is high land, and level on the top; but the land about it is low. 4. The iſland of St. Clara, in 3 degrees ſouth latitude; it is pretty high land, covered with ſmall trees. 5. Cape Blanco, in 3 degrees, 45 minutes ſouth latitude (pointing St. Helena) makes the north point of the bay of Guiaquil, as Cape Blanco does the ſouth point. The town of Guiaquil, which will be deſcribed hereafter, and gives name to the bay, is ſituated about 6 leagues up a navigable river, and is the port to Quitto. 6. The port of Payta, in 5 degrees, 15 minutes ſouth latitude, a fine large bay, capable of containing an hundred ſail of ſhips; the town conſiſts of about fourſcore houſes, moſt of them Spaniards; and the bay is ſeldom without ſhips, it lying very convenient for the ſhips of Peru, in going to and from Panama, who put in here for refreſhments that are brought down hither from Colon; for the town of Payta itſelf does not ſo much as afford freſh water. In this bay, the ſea and land-winds ſucceed each other very regularly; the ſea-winds blowing in the day-time ſouth-and-by weſt, and the land winds in the night-time, from the eaſt. 7. The iſland of Lobos, in 6 degrees, 20 minutes ſouth latitude, in which is an harbour on the north-eaſt, but no freſh water: The iſland is about two leagues in compaſs, but produces neither trees, buſhes, or herbage.

Malabrigo port.

8. The port of Malabrigo, in 8 degrees ſouth latitude, which is known by a mountain near it of the ſame name. The beſt place to anchor in is, to leeward of the mountain, bringing it to bear due ſouth: Here is five fathom water good faſt anchor-ground. 9. Guanchaco, in 8 degrees, 15 minutes ſouth latitude, being but an indifferent harbour, as it lies almoſt expoſed to all winds; and there uſually runs ſo great a ſea upon the ſhore, that boats cannot go or come on board ſometimes for three or four days;

Guanchaco port to Truxillo.

notwithſtanding which, Guanchaco is a place of pretty briſk trade, being the port-town to the city of Truxillo, which lies ſix miles up the river; from whence, flour, wine, brandy, ſugar, and marmalet are exported to Panama every year, in great quantities.

Coſma port.

10. Coſma, a very good port, in 9 degrees, 50 minutes ſouth latitude, and 78 degrees of weſtern longitude; the common anchoring-place being at the mouth of a freſh water river.

Vermeio harbour.

11. Vermeio is a very good port, a little to the ſouthward of Coſma; but here is no town or inhabitants, or any freſh water within a mile of the ſea. The mountain Mongou, which lies about 7 leagues to the northward of this port, is ſaid to be one of the higheſt mountains on the coaſt.

Guara port.

12. The port of Guara lies in 11 degrees ſouth latitude, and 77 degrees of weſtern longitude, near which is a mountain, with ſeveral pyramids on the top of it;

Salinas port.

and a little to the northward is the ſmall port of Salinas, from whence they export great quantities of ſalt beef, both to Lima and Panama.

Callao the the port to Lima.

13. The iſland of Callao, a high barren iſland, 2 leagues in length, that has neither freſh water, wood, or any green thing upon it; and yet, on this barren ſpot, ſtands the town of Callao, the port-town to Lima, the capital of Peru.

The port is defended by a ſtrong caſtle, that has ſeventy braſs guns mounted on the walls, cloſe under which is the uſual place of anchoring; and here the ſhips ride in ſix fathom water, good faſt ground; tho' in all the bay and port of Callao, it is very ſecure riding; it growing ſhallow gradually from twelve to four fathom water; and the ſhips are defended from the ſoutherly winds, which reign on this coaſt, by a ſmall iſland.

This port of Callao lies in 12 degrees, 20 minutes ſouth latitude, and is about 2 leagues diſtant from Lima. The Armadilla, or little Armada, ſails annually from hence to Arica, where moſt of the ſilver and gold of Peru is imbarked on board this fleet; and returning to Callao the latter end of March, the ſame treaſure is tranſported in the month of May to Panama, and from thence by land-carriage conveyed to Porto-Bello, as has been intimated already.

Ylo port.

14. The Port Ylo lies in 18 degrees ſouth latitude, and is a good harbour; and near it is a ſtream of freſh water called the river Ylo, which is very rapid from the beginning of January till the latter end of June, when it begins to decreaſe, and in September it is quite dried up; which is the caſe of moſt of the rivers on the coaſt of Peru.

Arica port.

15. The port of Arica, ſituate in 18 degrees, 20 minutes ſouth latitude, and in 72 degrees weſtern longitude: Here the treaſure brought from the mines of Potoſi is conſtantly embarked every year for Lima. It is a good harbour, the beſt anchoring-place cloſe under mount Arica, in eight fathom water, where ſhips ride ſecure from the ſouth winds. It is a large town, inhabited by Spaniards, Indians, and Mulattoes.

Copiapo port.

16. The port of Copiapo, a good harbour, defended from all winds, lies in 21 degrees ſouth latitude; the inhabitants moſt of them Indians, who make good wine here, and have plenty of corn, fleſh, fruits, and other proviſions.

Coquimbo.

17. Coquimbo, ſituated in 30 degrees ſouth latitude, at the foot of a mountain, in the form of a ſugar-loaf; a rich city, driving a great trade with Lima and Panama, and is a very good harbour.

Lakes of Peru.

Altho' there is no other ſee borders upon Peru but the Pacific-ocean, yet have they ſome lakes that may be called ſeas, if we regard the greatneſs of their extent.

The lake Titicaca.

The lake Titicaca (already mentioned to be 80 leagues in circumference) is ſituated in the province and valley of Callao, the middle of it being in 15 degrees ſouth latitude, and 67 degrees of weſtern longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London: Upon this lake they ſail in ſhips, and other veſſels, as upon the ocean; but 'tis ſubject to ſtorms ſometimes; for the firſt ſhip the Spaniards built upon it was broken to pieces by a tempeſt that drove it on ſhore. The water of it is not ſo ſalt as the ſea, but too thick and foul to be drank. There are abundance of large fiſh in the lake not eſteemed wholeſome food: There are alſo great ſhoals of ſmall fiſh, very bony, but better eating than the former; and there are prodigious flocks of wild ducks, and other water-fowls, in it.

This the beſt part of Peru.

The towns and villages bordering upon the lake are eſteemed the moſt agreeable dwellings in Peru:

Lake of Paria.

From this lake iſſues a large ſtream to the ſouthward, which forms another lake called Paria, not much inferior to the former in its dimenſions, and has ſeveral iſlands in it. On the banks of theſe lakes are rich ſavannahs, or meadows, that feed great herds of cattle.

Lakes on the tops of mountains.

There are alſo many lakes upon the mountains, which are the ſources of ſeveral large rivers. Acosta mentions two lakes, particularly on the high mountains, one on each ſide of the great road leading from Arequippa to Callao;

One of them the ſource of the river Amazon.

from one of which iſſues a river that falls into the Pacific-ocean, and from the other the river Aporima, ſaid to be the principal ſtream that forms the celebrated river Amazon, which falls into the Atlantic-ocean, eſteemed the largeſt river in the world.

The ſame writer obſerves, that it is very ſtrange there ſhould be ſo many lakes on the tops of the mountains into which no rivers enter, and from whence many ſtreams iſſue, and yet theſe lakes do not appear to be much diminiſhed at any ſeaſon of the year. Some conjecture, that theſe lakes proceed from melted ſnow, or rain; but this does not entirely ſatisfy him, he ſays, becauſe there are ſeveral of theſe mountains on which there does not fall much ſnow or rain. He is of opinion, therefore, that they are ſprings which riſe naturally; tho' he admits it probable, that they may ſometimes be increaſed by ſnow and rain. He adds, that theſe lakes are ſo common in the higheſt tops of the Peruvian mountains, that there is ſcarce a conſiderable river but has its ſource in one of them: Their waters are uſually very clear, but breed few fiſh, and thoſe very ſmall, the water being generally extreme cold.

A lake of hot water.

However, the waters of ſome lakes in the valleys are extremely hot, particularly one in the valley of Tarpaya near Potoſi, the waters whereof in the middle are ſo hot, that they perfectly boil up for more than twenty foot ſquare, which is the ſpring; but the heat is ſo moderate near the ſhore, that the inhabitants frequently bathe in it. The waters of this lake, Acosta obſerves, are never known to increaſe or decreaſe, tho' they have drawn a ſtream from it that turns ſeveral mills for grinding their metals.

The ſprings of Peru.

Water that forms rocks.

Pitchy fountains.

As to the Peruvian ſprings, they have great variety of them in that part of the country which is remote from the ſea, but very few on the ſandy plains near the ſhore: ACOSTA mentions one of a very extraordinary nature near the quickſilver mines in Guancavilica. This fountain, he ſays, throws out hot water, which, in running a little way, turns into ſtone, and forms a rock; of which ſtone the inhabitants build their houſes, it being ſoft, light, and eaſily wrought, and yet very durable: As this water turns into ſtone after running a little way, the paſſages are frequently ſtopped up, and the ſtream alters its courſe as the rock increaſes, and is branched out into many ſmall channels: There are alſo at Cape St. Helena, and many other parts of Peru, fountains of liquid matter called Coppey, very much reſembling tar, or pitch, and put to to the ſame uſes by ſea-faring men, to preſerve their ropes, planks and tackle; as we learn not only from ACOSTA, but from DAMPIER, FUNNEL, and ſeveral other Engliſh Buccaneers.

Hot ſprings.

As the Inca's-baths, as they are called, is a ſpring of water that iſſues out hot and boiling, and near it another as cold as ice, which thoſe Princes uſed to temper and mingle together in their courſe to bathe in; and in the province of Charcas, the moſt ſouthern province of Peru, are abundance of ſprings ſo hot, that a man cannot bear his hand in their waters.

A ſalt ſpring.

At a farm near the city of Cuſco is a fountain, the waters whereof in a ſhort courſe turn into ſalt; which ACOSTA obſerves, would be an eſtate to a man in any other country, but is not valued in this, where ſalt is plentiful.

Salutary waters.

The waters near Guiaquil are famous for curing the French-diſeaſe; which is the reaſon why multitudes of people reſort thither continually; for no diſeaſe prevails more in Peru than this. Theſe waters are ſuppoſed to receive their virtue from the roots of Saſſiparella, which abound in this country, and communicate this healing quality to the waters that run by them.

Hot ſmoaking waters.

Waters as red as blood.

From the top of the mountain Balconotta, eſteemed the higheſt in Peru, which in ſome places looks black, as if it was burnt, ACOSTA relates, there riſe two fountains, which run different ways, and ſoon form two large ſtreams: Theſe ſprings, when they firſt iſſue from their reſpective rocks, are of an aſh-colour, hot and ſmoaking, and ſmell of burning coals; and thus they run a great way, 'till, mixing with other ſtreams, they become cool, and loſe that burning ſmell. The ſame writer ſays, he has ſeen another fountain in Peru, from whence there runs a ſtream as red as blood, and has from thence obtained the name of the Red River.

Rivers that riſe in the mountains of Peru,

Moſt of the rivers of South-America riſe in the Peruvian mountains, that go under the name of the Cordelero's, or Andes, which run from north to ſouth, from 10 degrees north latitude, to 50 ſouth, almoſt parallel to the coaſt of the South-ſea, and for the moſt part 40 or 50 leagues to the eaſtward of it.

and fall into the North-ſea.

Thoſe rivers which riſe on the eaſtward of the Andes, and fall into the North or Atlantic-ocean, have a very long courſe, and are ſome of them the largeſt rivers in the known world. Thoſe that riſe on the weſt ſide of the Andes, are rather torrents than rivers, made by the annual rains, which fall on the mountains, for the moſt part, between May and September, and before January are perfectly dry'd up; but as the mountains they fall from are exceeding high, and their courſe ſcarce ever more than 50 leagues, before they fall into the South-ſea, their ſtreams are ſo ſhallow and rapid, that ſcarce any of them are navigable.

Magdalena river.

The four principal rivers, that riſe on the eaſt ſide of the Andes, are, 1. The river Magdalena, or Grande; which riſing in the province of Quitto, near the Equator, runs above a thouſand miles directly northward, falling into the North-ſea between Carthagena and St. Martha.

Oronoque river.

2. The river of Oronoque; whoſe ſource is near that of Magdalena, almoſt under the Line, and takes its courſe firſt to the eaſtward for fifteen hundred miles, and upwards; and then turning directly north, runs almoſt as far to the northward, falling into the North-ſea, againſt the iſland of Trinity, in 8 degrees of north latitude.

Amazon river.

3. The river of Amazons, generally held to be the largeſt river in the world, is formed at firſt by two ſtreams, that riſe near 11 degrees aſunder; each of which, by different travellers, is ſaid to be the true river Amazon. The firſt of theſe riſes near Quitto, a little ſouth of the Equator, and runs ſouth-eaſt; the other riſes from the lake of Lauricocha, in 11 degrees ſouth latitude; and running firſt northward 5 degrees, then turns about to the eaſtward, and unites its waters with the former: From thence the united ſtreams run between three and four thouſand miles farther eaſtward, being enlarged by a multitude of other conſiderable rivers, that fall into this ſtream, both on the north and ſouth ſide, and diſcharges itſelf into the Atlantic-ocean under the Equator, being 50 leagues wide, at leaſt, at the mouth; of which I ſhall ſpeak more particularly, when I come to deſcribe the country of the Amazons.

Plata river.

4. The fourth river, which riſes on the eaſt ſide of the Andes, and is very little inferior to the laſt, is the river of Plata; which riſes near the town of Plata in Peru, in 20 degrees of ſouth latitude; and running firſt to the eaſtward, 'till join'd and enlarg'd by many other ſtreams, then bends its courſe directly ſouth, 'till it comes into 34 degrees ſouth; then ſtretches away to the eaſtward, falling into the Atlantic-ocean, in 35 degrees of ſouth latitude, near the town of Buenos Aires, in the province of La Plata, being 30 leagues broad at the mouth of it; but this river will be further deſcribed alſo, in treating of the province of La Plata.

Rivers that fall into the South-ſea.

Colanche. Guiaquil. Payta. Ylo, and Arica.

Rivers that diſcharge themſelves into the great lakes.

As to the rivers that riſe on the weſt-ſide of the mountains of Andes, and fall into the Pacific-ocean; the chief of them mentioned by the Buccaneers, who have viſited that coaſt, are, 1. The river Colanche, in 2 degrees ſouth latitude; 2. The river of Guiaquil, in 3 degrees; 3. The river Payta, in 5 degrees, 15 minutes; 4. The river Ylo, which diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, in 18 degrees; 5. The river of Arica, which falls into the ſame ſea, near the town of Arica, in 18 degrees, 20 minutes; beſides which, there are a great many other ſmall rivers, that fall into the ſea, within 18 or 20 degrees of ſouth latitude; but farther ſouthward, DAMPIER informs us, they did not meet with a river on the coaſt of Peru or Chili, once in 100, or 150 leagues. ACOSTA indeed mentions abundance of rivers he had croſſed; but this muſt be either near the Equator, or in the province of Callao; where a great many rivers diſcharge themſelves into the lakes of Titicaca, Paria, &c. and never reach the ſea.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The provinces the kingdom of Peru is divided into; its ſub-diviſions, and chief towns; and their publick and private buildings.

CHAP. IV.

Peru divided into three audiences.

THE kingdom of Peru, like that of Mexico, is divided into three audiences, viz. 1. The audience of Quitto; 2. The audience of Lima; and, 3. The audience of Los Charcas.

Quitto audience.

The audience of Quitto, the moſt northerly of the three, is bounded by Popayan on the north; by the country of the Amazons on the eaſt; by the audience of Lima on the ſouth; and by the Pacific-ocean on the weſt; being about four hundred miles in length, from north to ſouth; and two hundred in breadth, from eaſt to weſt; and is ſub-divided into three provinces, viz. 1. Quitto Proper; 2. Quixos; and 3. Pacamores.

Sub-diviſions of it.

Quitto Proper.

The province of Quitto Proper lies upon the ſea-coaſt, being bounded by Popayan on the north; by the provinces of Quixos and Pacamores on the eaſt; by the audience of Lima on the ſouth; and by the Pacific-ocean on the weſt; and is about two hundred miles in length, from north to ſouth; and upwards of an hundred miles in breadth, from eaſt to weſt.

Chief towns.

The chief towns of Quitto Proper are, 1. Quitto; 2. St. Jago de Puerto Veijo; 3. Guiaquil; 4. Tombes; 5. Thomebamba; 6. Loxa; 7. Zamora; 8. St. Michael's; and 9. Payta.

Quitto city.

The city of Quitto, the capital of this province, and of the whole audience, is ſituated in 30 minutes ſouth latitude, and in 78 degrees of weſtern longitude, at the foot of the mountains, which almoſt ſurround it. It is a rich populous city, built after the Spaniſh model, with a great ſquare in the middle, and ſpacious ſtreets running from it on every ſide; and a canal runs through the middle of it, over which are ſeveral bridges. It is the ſeat of the Governor, and of the Courts of juſtice; a Univerſity, and a Biſhop's ſee, Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of Lima. They have a good trade in woollen-cloths, ſugar, ſalt, and cattle; but their greateſt riches proceed from the gold that is found in the adjacent mines and rivers: This, as all other countries near the Equator, is ſubject to annual periodical rains and floods, which make the town unhealthful. The Peruvian Emperor had made a conqueſt of Quitto, which was the reſidence of the former Kings of this country, but a very few years before the Spaniards arrived there; and there are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of ſome of their palaces, and of the temple of the Sun, the chief object of their adoration.

There is a vulcano in one of the mountains near this town, whoſe eruptions have, more than once, endangered to the ruin of it.

Puerto Veijo.

St. Jago de Puerto Veijo is ſituated on the coaſt, in 1 degree ſouth latitude, a little to the eaſtward of Cape Lorenzo, in an unhealthful part of the country; near which, there was formerly a quarry of Emeralds, that made it much reſorted to; but the quarry being exhauſted, the town declined with it.

Guiaquil.

Guiaquil is ſituated upon a navigable river, 6 or 7 leagues from the mouth of it, in 3 degrees ſouth latitude, about two hundred miles to the ſouthward of Quitto; part of it lying on the aſcent of a ſteep hill, and the other part in a bottom on a bog; it is divided into the new and old town, by the river that runs through it, and conſiſts chiefly of one long ſtreet, about a mile and half in length; there are four or five hundred houſes in the place, whereof ſome are built of brick, and others of timber; but the common people have only huts of Bamboe-canes: It contains alſo five churches, and ſeveral convents, ſome of which are built of ſtone; and it is defended by three forts, two whereof are upon the river, and the third and largeſt upon the hill. There being plenty of timber in the neighbourhood of this place, a great many ſhips are built here for the King of Spain; and it has a pretty briſk trade, eſpecially in timber, and cocoa-nuts, for chocolate; they export alſo a great deal of ſalt, ſalt-fiſh, dried beef, rice and cotton; but there is no gold or ſilver mines near it, nor have they any corn, but Indian-corn: They are ſupplied with wheat-flour from Truxillo, and other ſouthern parts, and with ſeveral ſorts of good woollen-cloth, and ſtrong bays, from Quitto, where they are made; they receive wine, brandy, oil, olives, and ſugar, from Piſca, La Naſta, and other towns farther ſouth; and a market is held daily in boats and barklogs on the river, where fleſh, fiſh, fruits, and other proviſions, in which the country abound, are ſold very cheap. Governor ROGERS relates, that the river is ſo wide at the mouth, that a man can ſcarce ſee croſs the channel; that the country on the ſides of it, is low, marſhy ground, incumber'd with mangrove-trees and ſhrubs; that the tide flows above 18 feet perpendicular, and is quicker and ſtronger than that in the Thames; that the river is navigable 14 leagues beyond Guiaquil, for large veſſels; and the tide flows 20 leagues above it.

Both the civil and military government of this town, and the territory belonging to it, according to the ſame writer, is lodg'd in the Corregidore, and his Lieutenant, tho' they have a Council for managing the affairs of the Government, and determining cauſes of conſequence, which conſiſts of the Lieutenant, two Alcaids, or Judges, who are Lawyers; the Alguizil, Major, a Sheriff, and eight Regidors, or Aldermen; from whom, however, there lies an appeal to the Court of Lima. The Officers of the Inquiſition act more arbitrarily here, 'tis ſaid, than in Spain itſelf. Their Magiſtrates and Officers, all, affect pompous titles; the Corregidore ſtiles himſelf General; and his Deputy, Lieutenant-General; beſides whom, they have a Camp-Maſter-General, a Serjeant-Major, a Commiſſary of Horſe; four Dons, Captains of large companies of foot; and another Don, that commands two hundred horſe; and yet have all theſe great Officers, with a proportionable number of troops under their command, ſuffered this important town of Guiaquil to be taken and plunder'd, by a handful of men, ſeveral times; which has given ſome occaſion to think, that the American Spaniards are ſo much degenerated from their anceſtors of Old Spain, that they might be driven from the Weſt-Indies, as eaſily as they drove out the Indians two hundred years ago. Moſt of the towns within the juriſdiction of Guiaquil lie upon the river, and are governed by Lieutenants, appointed by the Corregidore, and can join him with their whole forces within two tides, which makes it the more to be admir'd, that they ſhould ſo often ſuffer themſelves to be ſurpriſed, as it appears they have been.

Guiaquil taken by the French Buccaneers.

In the year 1687, the French Buccaneers came to an anchor in the mouth of the river Guiaquil, and ſent a detachment of two hundred and ſixty men up the river, in the night-time, who landed within cannon-ſhot of the town, about two hours before day; but the garriſon was alarmed by the firing of a muſket accidentally; however, they advanced, and attack'd the town at break of day;

and after a very little oppoſition, drove the Spaniards out of their forts, and took poſſeſſion of the place, with no other loſs, than nine men kill'd, and twelve wounded; however, they put to the ſword nine hundred Spaniards, and took ſeven hundred priſoners of both ſexes, among whom were the Governor and his family. Here they found abundance of pearls and precious ſtones, a great quantity of ſilver plate, and near an hundred thouſand pieces of eight in money, beſides a great deal of rich merchandize, particularly, they took a Vermilion Eagle, that had two large Emeralds for its eyes, ſaid to belong to one of their churches; and nothing could be richer than the furniture of the Governor's houſe; they found alſo two of the King's ſhips upon the ſtocks, ſeveral galleys, and fourteen or fifteen barks; and the Governor agreed to ranſom himſelf and family, the city, cannon, forts, and ſhips, at a million of pieces of eight; but the town being ſet on fire, either by deſign, or accident, the Governor refuſed to pay the ranſom: Whereupon the Buccaneers cut off the heads of four of the priſoners, and threatened the reſt, if the ranſom was not immediately paid; however, they contented themſelves, at length, with two hundred and ſixty thouſand pieces of eight; upon the receipt whereof, they releaſed their priſoners, and retired to their ſhips.

The French relate, that the Spaniſh Friars had repreſented the Buccaneers as monſters and canibals; and that ſome of the women, that were taken priſoners, were ready to grant them any favours, on condition they ſhould not be devoured; eſpecially, when they obſerved nothing ſhocking in their figure.

Guiaquil taken by Captain Rogers.

DAMPIER, and the Engliſh Buccaneers, attempted this town in the year 1685, and very narrowly miſſed ſurpriſing it: And Captain ROGERS, who had the Queen's Commiſſion during the laſt war between the confederates and the French, took Guiaquil by ſtorm, with very little loſs, in the year 1703; and plunder'd it of ſome treaſure, and rich effects; making the Spaniards pay thirty thouſand pieces of eight, to ranſom the town, and ſhips in the harbour: But moſt of the treaſure was carried away, before the Captain made himſelf maſter of the place.

Tumbez.

Tombes, or Tumbez, is ſituated at the foot of the mountains, about 20 leagues ſouth of Guiaquil, upon a good freſh-water river: Here the Spaniards, at their arrival, found a temple dedicated to the Sun, and abundance of Silverſmiths in the place, who made veſſels of gold and ſilver for the temple, and the palace the Inca had here; and they relate, that the walls of the temple were lined or covered with ſilver plate.

Thomebamba.

Thomebamba is ſituated on the great road of the Inca's, one hundred and ſixty miles ſouth of Quitto, in a plain, at the conflux of two rivers: Here alſo was a royal palace of the Inca's, and a temple dedicated to the Sun; both of them adorned with gold, and images made of Touch-ſtone and Jaſper, of a very great value. In the year 1544, there were diſcovered gold mines near this place, incredibly rich.

Loxa.

Loxa alſo is ſituated at the conflux of two rivers, on the great road of the Inca's, in 5 degrees ſouth latitude. It is a pretty large town, and has ſeveral monaſteries in it.

Zamora.

Zamora is ſituated an hundred miles to the eaſtward of Loxa, well built with ſtone, and hath very rich gold mines in the neighbouring mountains of the Andes; and their rivers repleniſhed with gold ſands.

St. Michael's.

The town of St. Michael's is ſituated in 5 degrees ſouth latitude, on the river Shuquimayo, 2 leagues eaſt of the ocean, and as many from the port of Payta; a large town, chiefly inhabited by fiſhermen, and ſuch as carry on a coaſting-trade in barklogs, as far as Panama; by which many of them grow very rich.

Payta.

Payta is ſituated in 5 degrees, ſome odd minutes ſouth latitude, being one of the beſt harbours upon the coaſt, and the town pretty well fortified: But this has been deſcrib'd already among the port-towns.

Quixos province.

The province of Quixos is bounded by Popayan on the north, the country of the Amazons on the eaſt, the province of Pacamores on the ſouth, and by Quitto Proper on the weſt. The only town I met with of any note in this province is that of Quixos, ſituate about ſixty miles ſouth-eaſt of Quitto, at the head of a river ſaid to be one of the ſources of the river Amazon.

Quixos town.

Pacamores province.

The province of Pacamores is bounded by that of Quixos on the north, by the country of the Amazons on the eaſt, by the audience of Lima on the ſouth, and by Quitto on the weſt. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Loyola; 2. Valladolid; 3. St. Jago; 4. St. Franciſco de Borgia.

Loyola.

Loyola is ſituated in 6 degrees ſouth latitude, and 74 degrees of weſtern longitude.

Valladolid.

Valladolid is ſituated ſeventy miles north-weſt of Loyola.

St. Jago.

St. Jago de Montanas lies in 5 degrees ſouth latitude, and 71 degrees of weſtern longitude.

St. Francis Borgia.

St. Francis de Borgia ſtands about ſixty miles north of St. Jago de Montanas, on one of the branches of the river Amazon; but I meet with no other deſcription of theſe four towns than their ſituation.

Lima audience.

The audience of Lima, or Los Reyes, is bounded by that of Quitto on the north, by the country of the Amazons on the eaſt; by the audience of Los Charcas on the ſouth; and by the ocean on the weſt; being about eight hundred miles in length from north to ſouth, but the breadth very unequal, and uncertain, not four hundred miles in any part, except on the ſouth.

Chief towns.

The chief towns are, 1. Lima; 2. Caxamalca; 3. Guanuco; 4. Truxillo; 5. Piſca; 6. Guamanga; 7. Cuſco; 8. Arequipa.

Lima city.

Lima, the capital of this audienee, and of the whole kingdom of Peru, is ſituated in 12 degrees and an half of ſouth latitude, and 76 degrees of weſtern longitude, on the banks of a river of the ſame name, about ſix miles from the ſea, and as many from the iſland and port of Callao, lying in one of the moſt ſpacious and fruitful plains of Peru: It is built like other Spaniſh cities, having a large ſquare or parade in the centre, with piazza's on every ſide; all the principal ſtreets terminating in the ſquare; on the ſides whereof ſtand the cathedral, the Archbiſhop's palace, the Viceroy's palace, the treaſury, the town-hall, the armory, or publick magazine, and a ſchool or college of the Jeſuits, where the Indian languages, and arts and ſciences are taught.

There are, beſides the cathedral, a great many parochial and conventual churches, a univerſity, abundance of monaſteries and nunneries of every order, and five or ſix large hoſpitals. The whole city being about four miles in length, and two in breadth; the air moderately temperate and healthful, conſidering the climate; prodigiouſly wealthy, and plentifully ſupply'd with proviſions, and Indian and European fruits; and well watered with canals, that are ſupply'd from the river. The outſides of their houſes make but a mean appearance, being built with bricks dry'd in the ſun; many of them have only clay walls, and ſcarce any of them are more than one ſtory high; the roofs exceeding light, cover'd with reeds and mats, and ſometimes only a cloth, for which they give two very good reaſons; one is, that they are ſubject to earthquakes; and the other, that the ſun does not heat theſe roofs as it does tiles or ſlate: And they have no occaſion to provide againſt wet or ſtormy weather, for it never rains on this coaſt, and they are never diſturb'd by ſtorms or tempeſts, but enjoy conſtant ſerene weather; and the heats are much abated by the ſea and land-breezes. But this great city, thus happily ſituated, is not without its allays: The earthquakes they are frequently ſubject to muſt neceſſarily caſt a damp on all their enjoyments; eſpecially when great part of their town has been ſeveral times laid in ruins by them; particularly in the years 1586 and 1687; in the laſt of which years, the ſea ebb'd ſo far from the ſhore, that there was no water to be ſeen; and after the ſea had diſappeared a conſiderable time, it return'd in rowling mountains of water, which carried the ſhips in the harbour of Callao (the port to Lima) a league up into the country; overflow'd the town of Callao, tho' ſituated on a hill, together with the fort, and drown'd both men and cattle for 50 leagues along the ſhore. The ſhips, 150 leagues at ſea, to the weſtward of Lima, were ſenſible of it, as WAFER aſſures us, who was then in thoſe ſeas: The ſhip he was in felt ſo violent a ſhock, he relates, that they thought they had ſtruck upon a rock; but after their conſternation was a little over, they caſt the lead and ſounded, but could find no ground; tho' the ſea, which uſually looks green, was then of a whitiſh colour, and the water they took up mixed with ſand; which made them conclude the ſhock was occaſioned by an earthquake; and a little after, they were informed there had been a terrible earthquake at Lima, at the ſame time. But to return to the town: The city is ſurrounded by a wall fortified with baſtions, but of no great ſtrength, if compared with European fortifications. However, as it is very populous, it may be ſtrong enough to reſiſt any force that can be brought againſt it in that part of the world. The plain of Lima, in which it ſtands, produces plenty of corn, wine, oil, ſugar, flax and fruits.

Caxamalca.

Caxamalca is ſituated at the foot of a mountain, in 7 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude, on the great road of the Inca's, 30 leagues eaſt of the Pacific-ocean. This was an ancient town when the Spaniards arrived there, and, if we may credit their writers, well-built, ſurrounded with a ſtone wall, and defended by a caſtle: On one ſide of the city ſtood the temple of the Sun, and on the other a magnificent palace of the Inca ATABALIPA, who was taken here in the year 1533, by PIZARRO, and afterwards murdered by him.

Guanuco.

Guanuco is ſituated near the lake of Bombon, an hundred and fifty miles north of Lima, a well built town, and ſtanding in a good air. Here alſo was a fine palace of the Inca's, and a temple dedicated to the Sun, when the Spaniards arriv'd.

Truxillo.

Guancacho port.

Truxillo is ſituated on the banks of a pleaſant river in the valley of Chinca, ſix miles from the port of Guancacho and the ocean, in 8 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude. It is a handſome Spaniſh town, conſiſting of five hundred houſes; the air healthful; the country fruitful; abounding in corn, wine, figs, oranges, and other merchandize and proviſions, of which they export a great deal to Panama, and the more northern ſettlements. The ſea beats with that violence on the coaſt, that it is bad landing frequently at the port of Guancacho, that lies expoſed to almoſt every wind.

Piſca.

Piſca, or Piſco, is a port-town ſituated in 14 degrees ſouth latitude, in a mountainous country; but the valleys produce good wine, and they export more of it than any town on the coaſt of Peru.

Guamanga.

Guamanga is ſituated on the great road of the Inca's, in a fine plain, an hundred and eighty miles eaſt of Lima. It is a well built Spaniſh town, and ſtands in a healthful air. The country about it abounds in corn and cattle; and it is conſiderable for the mines of gold, ſilver, copper, ſulphur, and loadſtone, in the neighbouring hills.

Cuſco.

Cuſco (the metropolis of Peru, during the reigns of the Inca's) is ſituated in 13 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude, and in 70 degrees of weſtern longitude, 350 miles to the eaſtward of Lima. It is built on the ſide of a hill, in the midſt of a ſpacious plain ſurrounded by mountains, from whence there fall four ſmall rivers that water the country, and altogether afford a moſt agreeable proſpect from the town, which proudly overlooks the vale. The city itſelf alſo is watered by one of theſe rivers that runs through it, and ſupplies ſeveral canals that are cut through the principal ſtreets.

The climate, here, is ſaid to be exceeding temperate and healthful, and there is very little difference between ſummer and winter; the air rather dry than moiſt; inſomuch that meat hung up will keep without corrupting, and grow as dry as mummy if it hangs long; and this dryneſs of the air preſerves the natives from Musketo's, Gnats, Flies, and all other noxious inſects, which are ſcarce ever found here, tho' they are the plague of other hot countries.

Buildings.

The chief ſtreets of the old town pointed to the four winds; and the houſes were generally built with ſtone, cover'd with reeds, or thatch'd. The principal buildings in it were, the temple of the Sun, the palace of the Inca, and the caſtle.

The temple of the Sun.

What the form or dimenſions of the temple of the Sun were, neither DE LA VEGA or any other writers pretend to deſcribe; but relate, that amongſt all their buildings, none was comparable to this temple: That it was enrich'd with the greateſt treaſures that ever the world beheld. Every one of their Inca's, or Emperors, adding ſomething to it, and improving and perfecting what his predeceſſor had omitted.

It was built of freeze-ſtone, and lined or wainſcotted (if I may uſe the expreſſion) with gold plate, the cieling being of the ſame metal; however, the roof was no better than common thatch, that people not knowing the uſe of tiles or ſlate: It was divided into ſeveral chapels, cloiſters or apartments; in the principal whereof, which ſtood towards the eaſt, was placed the image of the ſun, conſiſting of one gold plate that cover'd the whole breadth of the chapel, almoſt from the top to the bottom, and was twice as thick as the plates that cover'd the other walls.

This image, repreſenting the ſun, was of a round form, with all his rays and emiſſions of fire and light proceeding from him, much in the ſame manner as the European Painters draw him: On each ſide of this image were placed the ſeveral bodies of the deceaſed Inca's, ſo embalm'd, 'tis ſaid, that they ſeemed to be alive. Theſe were ſeated on thrones of gold, ſupported by pedeſtals of the ſame metal, all of them looking to the weſt, except the Inca HAANA CAPAC, the eldeſt of the Sun's children, who ſat directly oppoſite to it. Upon the arrival of the Spaniards, the Indians carried off and concealed the embalmed bodies, with moſt of the treaſures of the temple; only the image of the ſun was not removed, which falling to the ſhare of a Spaniſh Nobleman, named Macio Serra de Lequicano, known to our author De la Vega, he play'd it away before ſun-riſe the next morning.

The temple had ſeveral gates cover'd with gold, the principal whereof open'd towards the north; and round the top of the temple, on the outſide, was a kind of cornice a yard deep, conſiſting of gold plate.

The chapel of the Moon.

Beſides the chapel of the Sun, there were five others of a pyramidical form. The firſt being dedicated to the Moon, deem'd the ſiſter and wife of the Sun. The doors and walls whereof were cover'd with ſilver: And here was the image of the moon, of a round form, with a woman's face in the middle of it. She was called Mama Quilca, or Mother Moon, being eſteemed the mother of their Inca's; but no ſacrifices were offered to her as to the ſun. On each ſide of this image, were placed the bodies of their deceaſed Empreſſes, ranged in order; only that of Mama Oello, the mother of Huayna Capac, ſate with her face towards the moon.

The chapel of the Stars.

Next to this chapel was that of Venus, called Chaſca, the Pleiades, and all the other ſtars. Venus was much eſteem'd, as an attendant on the Sun, and the reſt were deem'd Maids of honour to the Moon. This chapel had its walls and doors plated with ſilver, like that of the moon; the cieling repreſenting the ſky, adorned with ſtars of different magnitude.

Of thunder.

The third chapel was dedicated to thunder and lightning; which they did not eſteem gods, but as ſervants of the ſun; and they were not repreſented by any image or picture. The chapel, however, was cieled and wainſcotted with gold plates like that of the ſun.

Of the rainbow.

The fourth chapel was dedicated to Iris, or the rainbow, as owing its original to the ſun. This chapel alſo was cover'd with gold, and a repreſentation of the rainbow on one ſide of it. They had a great veneration for this Phenomenon, and whenever it appeared in the air, clapped their hands before their mouths, as a teſtimony of their regard for it, I preſume; and not, as my author ſurmiſes, leſt their teeth ſhould drop out.

The Prieſts chapel or apartment.

The fifth apartment was for the uſe of the High Prieſt, and of the reſt of the Prieſts, who were all of the royal blood; not intended for eating or ſleeping in, but was the place where they gave audience to the Sun's votaries, and conſulted concerning their ſacrifices: This alſo was adorn'd with gold, from the top to the bottom, like the chapel of the Sun.

And tho' there was no other image worſhipped in this temple but that of the ſun, yet had they the figures of men, women and children, and of all manner of birds, beaſts, and other animals, of wrought gold, placed in it for ornament, as big as life; and having many more than were ſufficient for this purpoſe, the reſt were laid up in chambers and magazines, piled one upon another; and ſtill every year the people, at their great feſtivals, preſented more gold and ſilver, which the Goldſmiths, who reſided near the temple, and were dedicated to the ſun, form'd into one figure or other, as the offerer deſired; for beſides the figures of animals, they made all ſorts of veſſels and utenſils, as pots, pans, bowls, fire-ſhovels, and even ſpades and rakes for their gardens, of the ſame precious metal.

The royal palace.

De la Vega does not give ſo particular a deſcription of the palaces of the Inca's in Cuſco, as could be wiſh'd. He only relates, they were vaſtly large and magnificent, and mentions ſome particular rooms, and the manner of their building them: He ſays, there were galleries, or rather halls, two hundred paces in length, and fifty or ſixty in breadth: One of which, in his time, was left undemoliſhed, and converted into the cathedral church. He adds, that the Indians of Peru never raiſed one ſtory above another in their buildings; nor did they join one room to another, but always left ſome ſpace between the rooms, and perhaps a whole court or quadrangle, unleſs ſometimes in the largeſt halls they built cloſets or withdrawing-rooms at the corners. He obſerves alſo, that when they had built the four walls of ſtone or brick, they erected pillars in the middle of the room, to ſupport the roof; for they knew not how to croſs their beams, or faſten them with nails or wooden pins, but laid their timbers upon the walls, and faſtened them with withs or cords. Theſe main beams they croſſed with rafters, and faſten'd in like manner, and thereon laid a covering of thatch or ſtraw a yard deep, extending the eves a yard beyond the walls, which ſerved for a penthouſe. Beſides their walls of ſtone, they had thoſe of ſun-dry'd bricks, which they formed in moulds, mixing the clay with ſtraw; the leaſt of their moulds being a yard long, a ſixth part of a yard broad, and a ſixth in thickneſs. Theſe being dry'd in the ſun, were laid upon each other in the ſhade; and after they had lain out of the ſun and weather three years more, were uſed in building, cemented with the ſame clay, mix'd with ſtraw; but they never attempted to make common clay or mud-walls.

Their way of building.

Whenever one of the Inca's died, they lock'd up the room where he uſually ſlept, with all the furniture, ornaments, gold and ſilver in it, and none were ever ſuffered to enter it afterwards, the place being looked upon as ſacred; but they kept it in repair on the outſide as long as it would ſtand. The like ceremony was obſerved as to all other rooms where the deceaſed Inca had ſlept, tho' it was but one night on a journey, or by accident: Therefore on the death of the Inca, they immediately fell to building a new apartment for the ſucceſſor. The ſtones of theſe buildings were generally ſo well laid and join'd, 'tis ſaid, that they needed no cement; and if any were uſed, it was a ſlimy liquor, like cream, which ſo united and cloſed the ſtones together, that no ſeam or crevice appear'd: And in many of the royal palaces and temples, for the greater magnificence, ſays Pedro de Sieca, they cloſed up the ſeams of their buildings with melted gold and ſilver; which afterwards occaſioned the total deſtruction of moſt of them, the Spaniards ſubverting the very foundations, in hopes of finding treaſure. The furniture, or rather ornaments, of theſe palaces, like that of their temples, were the figures of men, beaſts, birds and other animals, caſt in gold; and on the walls, inſtead of tapeſtry, were plants and flowers irritated, of the ſame metal, intermixed with ſerpents, butter-flies, and other inſects, that appear'd extremely natural.

Furniture and ornaments.

Beds.

I don't find they had any chairs; but the Inca himſelf ſat on a ſtool made of gold, without arms or back, having a pedeſtal of the ſame metal: And they had no other bedding but blankets, or rather carpets, made of the wool of their country ſheep, ſpread on the floor; which ſerv'd both to lie on, and cover themſelves with; and in ſome parts of the country they lay in hammocks.

Bagnios. Utenſils of gold.

They had bagnios, and ciſterns of gold alſo in their palaces; and all the utenſils of their kitchens, and in the meaneſt offices about the palace, were of that metal. Inſomuch that Pedro de Sieca avers, that if all the treaſures in their temples and palaces, which were then loſt, ſhould be recovered, they would be found ſo great, that all the riches the Spaniards had poſſeſſed themſelves of, would be no more, in compariſon of them, than a drop of water to a buſhel. However, the Indians neither purchaſed lands or houſes with it, or eſteemed it the ſinews of war, as the Europeans do; but only adorned themſelves, their houſes and temples with it while alive, and buried it with them when they died: And the Indians, obſerving how the Spaniards thirſted after gold, and tranſported into Spain all they could ſeize or lay their hands on, buried and concealed whatever they could from them.

They buried their treaſures with them.

Their gardens.

De la Vega alſo informs us, that the royal gardens of the palace were not only planted with a great variety of trees, fruits and flowers; but the figures of theſe, and all manner of animals, were made of gold, and placed in the walks and ſquares to adorn them.

The caſtle of Cuſco.

The ſame writer, ſpeaking of the caſtle of Cuſco, ſays, its works are incredible to thoſe who have not ſeen it; and thoſe that have, are apt to look upon it as erected by enchantment, ſeeming to ſurpaſs the art or power of man. This fortreſs ſtood upon the top of the hill on which the city was built, and towards the town was defended by a high rock, perfectly perpendicular; ſo that there was no approach it on this ſide, and towards the country it was defended by triple ſemicircular walls, of ſuch thickneſs and height, that they were proof againſt all the force that could be brought againſt it, the innermoſt wall riſing above, and commanding the other two. The ſtones of theſe walls were ſo very large, eſpecially the three firſt rounds, that they appeared to be entire rocks; and it was paſt man's underſtanding to conceive, how they were hewn out of the quarry, or brought thither, the Indians having no iron tools, or inſtruments to faſten them, or beaſts to draw them thither; or any pullies or engines to lift them into the places where they were fixed; ſuch was their bulk and weight, that they muſt have broken down any carriages they could be laid upon. Acosta relates, that he meaſured a ſtone in the walls of an Indian caſtle, that was thirty-eight foot long, eighteen broad, and ſix in thickneſs; and yet the ſtones in the fortreſs of Cuſco were ſtill larger; and theſe were dragg'd by the ſtrength of men, ten, twelve and fifteen leagues over hills and valleys, and the moſt difficult ways to that place: There is one ſtone to which the Indians give the name of Syacuſa, that is, the tired or weary, becauſe it never arrived at the place it was deſign'd for, but remains ſtill on the road.

Vaſt ſtones in the walls.

This rock was drawn by twenty thouſand Indians, 15 leagues over very rugged and uneven ways; one half of them drew before, the reſt came after it, and on each ſide, to poiſe its weight, and keep it in a direct courſe, leſt it ſhould fall into a precipice, or be wedg'd into any place from whence it could not be recovered; but notwithſtanding all their care, it got the better of them; and tumbling down a ſteep hill, kill'd ſeveral hundred of the Indians, who were endeavouring to poiſe the weight: However, they raiſed it once again, and with incredible pains dragged it to the plain in the neighbourhood of Cuſco, and there they were forced to leave it, never being able to get it up the hill; here, according to their way of expreſſion, it tired, fainted and wept, and was able to travel no further, but bled with the fatigue and labour it underwent in the paſſage. Which the reader will have the ſagacity to diſcern, no doubt, is to be apply'd to the poor wretches who drew it, and periſhed in the enterprize; and ſeems to me, to reſemble another expreſſion that has been frequently made uſe of in this part of the world, where abundance of people have been deſtroyed by the labour and hardſhips impoſed on them by tyrannical Princes, in erecting cities and magnificent works, to eternize their memories. In theſe caſes, it is frequently ſaid, "that the walls or the foundations were laid in blood, or cemented with the blood of ſo many thouſand men:" Which metaphorical expreſſions have, indeed, by ſome unthinking readers been interpreted literally, or rejected as fabulous, when a very moderate ſhare of reflection might have ſet them right.

To return to the caſtle: In the outward wall were found the ſtones of the largeſt ſize, which, De la Vega was of opinion, were never dug out of any quarry, but looſe rocks found in the mountains, and piled one upon another in a ruſtick manner, without poliſhing; but ſo well fitted, however, to each other, 'tis ſaid, that there were no chaſms or ſeams left open: A work ſo prodigious, that had they been maſters of all our modern engines, it would have been thought beyond all human force to erect ſuch another fortreſs.

Between each wall, there was a ſpace of 25 or 30 foot, which was fill'd up with earth, and every wall had a breaſt-work on the top of it: Beyond theſe three walls, were three ſpacious towers, ſtanding in a triangle, anſwerable to the bending of the walls, which were in the form of a creſcent on this ſide, as has been obſerved already. The principal of theſe towers, which ſtood in the middle, and was called Mayoc Marca, or the round fortreſs, had a fountain of excellent water in it, brought a great way by a ſubterraneous aqueduct; but from whence, De la Vega ſays, the natives themſelves did not know; for theſe were ſecrets communicated to none but the Inca or his Council, poſſibly leaſt an enemy ſhould diſcover the ſtream, and cut it off, in caſe of a ſiege. In this fortreſs, the Inca's had an apartment, which was adorned and furniſhed with gold plate, veſſels, and images of all kinds, of the ſame metal, like their other palaces. The other two towers on the right and left were both ſquare, and contained rooms for the lodging and quartering the garriſon, who were all of the blood of the Inca's, no others being admitted into any of them; the whole fortreſs being conſecrated to the Sun for the exerciſe of arms, as the temple was for prayers and ſacrifices.

A labyrinth.

Under the foundation of theſe towers was as much room as above; and they had a communication with each other by a ſubterraneous labyrinth, ſo difficult to paſs, that no ſtranger could find his way through without a guide, or a line faſtened at the entrance, by which he might diſcover the turnings and windings in his return. This labyrinth, De la Vega aſſures us, was remaining in his time, and he had been often in it; but the upper rooms were all ruined. In the framing theſe vaults, as they were ignorant of arching, they laid over great ſlabs of ſtone, which ſerved inſtead of beams; and in theſe, and many of their works, the Inca's ſeem'd to have a view rather to their glory, than to the uſe or convenience of the building, as was the caſe of thoſe Princes that erected the walls of Babylon, the pyramids of Egypt, and other ſtructures that obtained the name of the world's wonders: Moſt of the new city of Cuſco was built with the ſtones found in the ruins of this fortreſs.

Four great roads iſſue from the great ſquare of Cuſco.

From the grand market-place in old Cuſco, iſſued four high-ways to the four quarters of the empire. Thoſe to the north and ſouth running upwards of 500 leagues each, and were carried over mountains and valleys pitch'd with ſtone; in ſome places raiſed, in others ſunk, to render it commodious travelling, and to facilitate the march of their armies from one province to another; but theſe will be more largely deſcribed hereafter, in treating of their roads.

The city of Cuſco compoſed of all nations in the empire.

Every nation of this extenſive empire had quarters aſſign'd for their reſidence in the royal city of Cuſco. The vaſſal Princes of every province, and eſpecially the Caraca's, or conquered Princes, were obliged to ſend their eldeſt ſons to Court, and build them a palace; about which all the natives of the ſame province, reſiding in Cuſco, had their houſes; and every people were obliged to retain the habits of their reſpective provinces, being chiefly diſtinguiſhed by their head-dreſſes.

Theſe inſtitutions added to the ſplendor of the Inca's Court, the ſons of the Caraca's, or vaſſal Princes, being obliged to wait at the Inca's palace in their turns, contributed much to the ſecurity of the Government; theſe young Lords remaining in a manner pledges of their fathers loyalty; tho' the reaſons uſually given for their attendance were, that they might be the better educated and inſtructed in the laws of the empire, and prepared for poſts in the Adminiſtration: But whatever was the reaſon of the inſtitution, by this means the Court language, and the manners and cuſtoms of the capital city, were communicated to the moſt diſtant provinces; and the Court, on the other hand, were juſtly informed of the ſtate of their remoteſt territories.

Cuſco compared to old Rome.

De la Vega, in deſcribing Cuſco, compares it to ancient Rome; for, 1. like Rome, he obſerves, it was founded by its own Kings; and 2. was the metropolis of many nations ſubject to its empire: 3. It might be compar'd to Rome for the excellency of its laws; and 4. for the admirable virtues and endowments of its citizens, who were famous for their politicks, as well as military diſcipline; civiliz'd, and freed from all barbarous cuſtoms: However, it muſt be confeſs'd, he ſays, that Rome had one great advantage, and that was in the knowledge of letters, whereby the fame of that city was render'd immortal: Whereas poor Cuſco had nothing but memory, and tradition, to deliver its great actions to poſterity. Rome, he inſinuates, might be as much indebted to the pens of its hiſtorians, who had recorded their wiſe inſtitutions, their victories and ſucceſſes, and ſet them in an advantageous light, as to the heroes ſhe had bred: Peru had abounded in men famous in arms and arts, but wanting the knowledge of letters, had left no other memory of their actions than what tradition had preſerved, and tranſmitted to poſterity in ſome few abrupt and ſcattered ſentences deliver'd from father to ſon, which were alſo in a great meaſure loſt by the entrance and invaſion of a new people; for where an empire has had its period, being over-whelm'd by the power of a ſtronger nation, there, of courſe, the memory of actions and cuſtoms are loſt; eſpecially where letters are wanting to record them.

The new city.

As for the city of Cuſco ſince it has been rebuilt, 'tis ſufficient to ſay, that it is purely Spaniſh. They have thrown it into large ſquares with their piazza's, from whence the principal ſtreets, which are very long and broad, run in direct lines, and theſe again are croſſed by other ſtreets at right angles; and as it is divided into the upper and lower town by the river which runs through it, they have built ſeveral arch'd ſtone bridges on the river, for the more eaſy communication, inſtead of planks, which the Indians uſed in the old town, not underſtanding how to make arch'd bridges.

Beſides the cathedral, there are ſeveral parochial and conventual churches, monaſteries and nunneries of every order, and ſome noble hoſpitals, as well for Indians as Spaniards. And it muſt be ſaid, for the honour of the Spaniards, that none take more care of their hoſpitals, and of ſick and infirm people than they do in every part of the world. The Biſhop of Cuſco is Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of Lima, which the Spaniards have thought fit, ſince their conqueſt, to make the capital of Peru. I ſhall only add, that the gentlemen and citizens of Cuſco (as the Indians had formerly) have moſt of them their country-houſes in the pleaſant and healthful valley of Yuca, thro' which there runs a fine river, that makes it one of the moſt fruitful valleys in Peru, and is now planted with almoſt all manner of Indian and European corn and fruits.

Arequipa.

Arequipa, the laſt of the great towns I ſhall mention in the audience of Lima, is ſituated on a river that falls into the Pacific-Ocean, about forty miles ſouth-weſt of the town, lying in 16 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude, 100 leagues and upwards ſouth-eaſt of Lima, and 80 leagues ſouth-weſt of Cuſco. It conſiſts of about three or four hundred houſes, and ſtands in a country abounding in corn and wine; but is moſt conſiderable for the gold and ſilver mines in the neighbourhood of it. This town was founded by the Marquis Pizarro, one of the firſt conquerors, and over-turned by an earthquake forty years afterwards; but the Spaniards liked the ſituation of the place ſo well, that it was ſoon after rebuilt; and it is now a Biſhop's ſee, Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of Lima.

Los Charcas audience.

Chief towns.

The audience of Los Charcas is bounded by the audience of Lima on the north, by the province of Paragua, or La Plata, on the eaſt, by Chili on the ſouth, and by the Pacific-Ocean on the weſt; being about ſeven hundred miles in length, from eaſt to weſt, in the broadeſt part, and about the ſame breadth from north to ſouth; but both the length and breadth very unequal. The chief towns in this audience are, 1. Potoſi; 2. Porco; 3. La Plata; 4. Santa Cruz; 5. La Paz; 6. Chinquita; 7. Tiagunaco; 8. Arica; and 9. Hillo, or Ylo.

Potoſi.

Potoſi, which takes its name from the mountain at the bottom of which it ſtands, is ſituated in 22 degrees ſouth latitude, 67 degrees weſt of London, in one of the moſt barren countries of America; there being neither trees or graſs to be found near it, but the richeſt ſilver mines that ever were diſcovered; which has brought multitudes of people hither, inſomuch that it is ſaid to be one of the largeſt and moſt populous towns of Peru: Nor is it ill ſupply'd with proviſions; all the countries round about, for 30 or 40 leagues, ſupplying their markets, where they are ſure to be well paid for what they bring. As to the mines, which have rendered this town famous through the world, I ſhall deſcribe them under another head; and only obſerve here, that there are ſeveral thouſand people conſtantly employed in digging and refining the ſilver. So diligent have the Spaniards been ſince they diſcovered this mountain, that tho' it be 3 or 4 leagues in circumference, and one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-four rods (I preſume it ſhould be yards) high; it is now little more than a cruſt or ſhell, out of which they have taken moſt of its internal riches, and are daily in ſearch of new mines. The Spaniards have erected a chapel on the top of the hill, to which they aſcend by a narrow winding path; but the mountain is ſo exceeding cold, that it is ſcarce habitable; poſſibly, the chapel therefore was erected more for oſtentation than devotion. There are alſo a great number of churches, chapels, and convents in the town; for however the Religious ſeem to have renounced the world, it is obſerved, they are uſually moſt numerous, where ſilver moſt abounds.

Porco.

Porco is ſituated 10 leagues north-weſt of Potoſi, conſiderable on account of its ſilver mines, before thoſe of Potoſi were diſcover'd; but the latter being richer, and not ſo much incommoded by water, Porco was in a manner deſerted: However, 'tis probable, the mines of Porco will be reſorted to again, ſince thoſe of Potoſi are in a manner exhauſted, according to the relations of ſome travellers.

La Plata, capital of the province, received its name from the ſilver mines in the neighbourhood; which were the firſt the Spaniards wrought. It is ſituated on one of the ſources of the great river La Plata, in 21 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude, and 66 degrees of weſtern longitude. The town ſtands in a fine plain, and in a much more fruitful ſoil than either Potoſi or Porco; and is the ſee of an Archbiſhop, and the reſidence of the Governor and Courts of juſtice of this province; the inhabitants whereof are exceeding rich. The cathedral, with the reſt of the churches and convents, are very magnificent; and the revenues of the Archbiſhoprick are ſaid to amount to eighty thouſand crowns per annum.

Santa Cruz.

St. Croix, or Santa Cruz, of the mountains, is ſituated on another branch of the great river La Plata, 50 leagues to the eaſtward of the city of La Plata; but I meet with no particular deſcription of the place.

La Paz.

La Paz, or City of Peace, ſtands on the great road of the Inca's, 100 leagues to the northward of La Plata. It is a ſmall town, pleaſantly ſituated in a fruitful plain on the river Cajana, and has ſeveral gold mines in the adjacent mountains.

Chinquita.

Chinquita is ſituated on the great lake Titicaca, in an exceeding plentiful country; and is a very wealthy town.

Tiguianuca.

Tiguianuca is ſituated on the ſouth end of the lake; beſides which, there are abundance of fine towns and villages bordering on the lake, this being the pleaſanteſt and moſt fruitful part of Peru, as well as the moſt temperate.

Arica.

Arica lies in 18 degrees, 20 minutes ſouth latitude, on the South-ſea, 100 leagues north-weſt of Potoſi, and is the port-town, where moſt of the treaſure is embarked for Lima; but this has been already deſcribed among the ports.

Ylo.

Ylo, or Hillo, is another ſmall port, ſituated on the South-ſea, about 20 miles north of Arica, in a fine valley, abounding in Indian and European fruits; and has been frequently plundered by the Buccaneers.

Of the Peruvian towns in general.

In treating of the Peruvian towns, it is neceſſary to inform the reader, that before the arrival of the Spaniards, there was only one great town in every province; all the reſt were villages, conſiſting of little huts or cottages, that did not deſerve the name of towns: But in the Capital of every province was a temple belonging to the Governor, or vaſſal Prince; a temple dedicated to the Sun, and a convent of ſelect Virgins, reſembling thoſe in the imperial city of Cuſco; there were alſo four royal high-ways running through the whole empire, that center'd in the grand ſquare, or market-place, of Cuſco: And upon theſe high-ways were magazines and ſtore-houſes of the Inca's, ſufficient to ſupply all the forces of the provinces in which they ſtood; the Indians had alſo noble aqueducts, by which they brought water into their great towns and corn-fields many miles, which render'd the moſt barren lands fruitful; as was the uſage of the ancient Perſians, and many other people, where the ſoil was dry and ſandy, like that of Peru.

Convents of ſelect Virgins.

I have already deſcribed the palaces of the Inca's, and the temple of the Sun at Cuſco, by which model thoſe in the other provinces were built. As to the convents of ſelect Virgins, thoſe ſeem to have been built like cloiſters, with cells for the Virgins on the ſides of them, without any upper rooms.

Their royal high-ways deſcrib'd.

Magazines.

In the nunnery of Cuſco, 'tis ſaid, there were no leſs than fifteen hundred Virgins, all of the blood of the Inca's or Emperors: And in the convents of every province, the Nuns were the kindred of the vaſſal Princes, or of the Lords of the reſpective provinces. But, according to De la Vega, theſe Nuns were not intended for the ſervice of the temple of the Sun. On the contrary, no female was ever ſuffer'd to enter into theſe temples: Nor was any man admitted to come within the walls of theſe nunneries. But I ſhall treat further of their inſtitution under the head of religion, and proceed to the deſcription of their royal high-ways, of which Augustin Carete gives the following relation: He ſays, that the Inca Guaynacava, marching with his army from Cuſco, to ſubdue the province of Quitto, diſtant 500 leagues from that capital, met with great difficulties in his march over almoſt inacceſſible rocks and mountains. Whereupon returning victorious, he cauſed a ſpecious way to be hewn out through the rocks; levelling the rough and uneven ground, by raiſing it in ſome places fifteen or twenty fathoms, and in others ſinking it as much; and in this manner carried on the work for fifteen hundred miles (and future Inca's continued it as far to the ſouthward.) He afterwards cauſed another way, of equal extent, to be carried through the plain country forty foot wide, which was defended by walls on each ſide: And along theſe ways were houſes at certain diſtances, ſhady groves, and rivulets or reſervoirs of water, introduced for the refreſhment of his troops, or weary travellers, upon a march. At the houſes erected by the Inca's on the great roads, ſays De la Vega, travellers were ſupplied gratis with victuals, and other proviſions for their journeys: And in caſe any traveller fell ſick, he was attended and taken care of as well as he could be at his own houſe: But the truth is, ſays the ſame writer, no perſon was ſuffer'd to travel for curioſity, pleaſure, or private buſineſs, but only in the ſervice of the Inca, or the Lord of the province; all who had not orders, or licences at leaſt, for travelling, were taken up as vagrants, and puniſh'd: But De la Vega does not inform us within what limits the natives were confined: As I apprehend, they were at liberty to travel any where within the diſtrict of the particular Lord under whoſe government they liv'd, without a licence. The Inca's alſo had their palaces and houſes of pleaſure on the tops of the mountains in theſe roads, from whence they had the fineſt proſpects in the world. But to proceed to their magazines. In every province, ſays De la Vega, there were always two magazines, or ſtore-houſes; in one of which they laid up corn and proviſions for the ſupport of the natives in years of ſcarcity; and in the other, the proviſions belonging to the temple of the Sun, and the Inca; beſides which, they had ſmaller ſtore-houſes, built upon the high-ways, 3 or 4 leagues diſtant from each other; which the Spaniards make uſe of at this day, as inns, when they travel. All the eſtate of the Sun and of the Inca, within 50 leagues of the city of Cuſco, was brought thither for the maintenance and ſupport of the Court; the overplus whereof the Inca's diſtributed among the vaſſal Princes, and great Officers civil and military,

tary, that attended at Cuſco in their turns; only a certain portion of the revenue of the Sun, within thoſe limits, was laid up in magazines for the uſe of the people of the reſpective diſtricts.

The revenues ariſing in the provinces above 50 leagues from Cuſco, were laid up in the King's ſtore-houſes, and from thence carried to the leſſer ſtore-houſes, ſtanding on the common road, conſiſting of ammunition and proviſion, arms, cloaths, ſhoes, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for an army in the field; from whence the forces were readily ſupply'd wherever they march'd, and the ſoldiery was never quartered upon the people, or in the leaſt burthenſome to them. There were magazines and ſtore-houſes alſo erected in the mountains and plains out of the road, at the diſtance of a day's march or two, near ſome rivulet; where an army might, at any time, be ſupply'd with arms and proviſions of all kinds, and theſe were called Tombo's.

From their roads, we very naturally come to their bridges, by which they paſs over rivers; and theſe ſeem to have been the meaneſt of all their works: They neither knew how to erect arches, or to fix piles in the middle of a ſtream to ſupport a bridge; and therefore, whenever the ſtream was too wide to lay planks over from one bank to the other, they had a kind of floating-bridges faſten'd to each ſide, made of flags or ruſhes: And inſtead of ferry-boats, they had floats of calabaſhes, or ruſhes, to convey over travellers. It is related alſo, that they ſometimes faſten'd ropes croſs their rivers, and drew themſelves over in baskets, ſliding along the ropes.

Their carriages, and way of travelling.

As to their carriages, and way of travelling, it appears that they had no cattle fit for draught; every thing was drawn by men, how weighty ſoever; nor had they any beaſts of burthen, but a kind of ſheep, one of which would ſcarce carry an hundred weight, and will be particularly deſcrib'd hereafter, under the head of animals: Moſt of their baggage therefore, was carried by Porters. Their Great men alſo were carried on chairs or couches, on the ſhoulders of men, or in hammocks; which laſt was the uſual way of carrying ſick people, and is ſtill uſed in many parts of America.

CHAP. V.

Of the perſons and habits of the Peruvians; of their genius and temper; arts, manufactures, food, exerciſes and diverſions; diſeaſes and Phyſicians.

Perſons of the Peruvians. No Giants or Monſters.

THE Peruvians are generally of a middle ſtature. There are no nations of Giants or Pigmies, in that part of the world, as our firſt Adventurers related: Nor can I find any of thoſe deform'd monſters in South-America, that Sir WALTER RALEIGH and his people were pleaſed to amuſe us with.

The Inca, or royal hiſtorian, GARCISIASSO DE LA VEGA, indeed, informs us, that there was a tradition in his time, that a race of Giants, ſome ages paſt, invaded that country, landing at Cape St. Helena, on the South-ſea, in 2 degrees of ſouth latitude; and refers us to the account PEDRO DE SIECA, the moſt circumſtantial of the Spaniſh writers, gives of them; which, with the readers leave, I ſhall tranſcribe the ſubſtance of.

"There were, ſays DE SIECA, many ages ſince, men of an extraordinary ſize arrived in this country in great ſhips: Such was their ſtature, that an ordinary man reached but to their knees: Their heads were proportionably large, cover'd with long hair hanging down their ſhoulders, and they had great ſaucer eyes, but no beards. Some of them were cloathed with the ſkins of beaſts, others naked, without any other covering than the long hair which nature had given them. There were, near Point St. Helena, ſome ruins of vaſt wells and ciſterns, hewn out of the rocks, when DE SIECA wrote, which he ſuppoſed muſt be made by theſe Giants, to preſerve freſh water in the dry ſeaſon.

"They were no leſs put to it, he relates, for victuals than they were for drink; for one of theſe Giants eating as much as fifty of the natives, they ſoon waſted the country, and made a famine in the place, 'till they found means to take great quantities of fiſh, with which they ſatisfied their voracious appetites.

"They liv'd but in ill terms with the natives; not only becauſe they plunder'd them of their proviſions, but took their women from them, who died in their rude embraces, or at leaſt in child-birth: Thus theſe Giants having no women by whom they could propagate their ſpecies, were guilty of ſodomy openly with each other; and were all deſtroyed by thunder and lightning, and an avenging Angel, in the very act; only their skulls and bows remained as an eternal monument of this judgment.

"PEDRO DE SIECA adds, that he heard ſome Spaniards ſay, that they had ſeen a piece of a hollow tooth of one of theſe giants, that weigh'd above half a pound; and others had ſeen a ſhank-bone of incredible length and bigneſs; and he thought the wells and ciſterns, already mention'd, clear teſtimonies of their inhabiting this part of the country."

From hence it appears, that there had been no Giants in Peru for many ages before the Spaniards arriv'd there (which I look upon as a great point gain'd) and they had only an uncertain tradition that there ever were ſuch people. As for the ciſterns, hewn out of the rocks, greater things have been effected by men of an ordinary ſize; and as to a tooth or a ſingle bone or two, pretended to be found there, ſince the ſcene is laid on the ſea-coaſt, both the tooth and bone might belong to ſome great fiſh; for we find miſtakes of the like nature in this part of the world.

Sir Walter Raleigh's monſters.

I proceed, in the next place, to Sir WALTER RALEIGH's monſters: The writer of that expedition to Guiana in South-America ſays, As for the monſters of men, "they are ſaid to be not ſeen by our men, but reported by the ſavages,," with mouths in their breaſts, and eyes in their ſhoulders; and of others, headed like dogs, which lie all day in the ſea. Theſe things are ſtrange, ſays that author; yet I dare not eſteem them fabulous, only ſuſpend my belief, 'till ſome eye-witneſs of our own ſhall teſtify the truth. But as ſuch monſters have never been ſeen ſince in South-America, Sir WALTER, had he liv'd in our time, probably would have made no ſcruple to have rejected theſe ſtories as fabulous. But to proceed in the deſcription of their perſons.

The real ſtature and complexion of the Peruvians.

The Peruvians, as has been obſerved already, like other Indians, were of a middle ſtature, and of an olive complexion generally; but near the Equator of a perfect copper-colour; their hair, as that of all other people between the Tropics, always black; moſt of them had their heads ſhav'd; and the hair of their beards and other parts of the body was pull'd off from time to time with tweezers whenever any appear'd, except on their eye-brows and eye-lids.

Habits.

The ſeveral nations were diſtinguiſh'd chiefly by their head-dreſſes: Some wore whole pieces of cotton-linnen, wrapp'd about their heads like turbants; others had only

only a ſingle piece of linnen tied about their heads: Some wore a kind of hats; others, caps in the form of a ſugar-loaf; and a multitude of other different faſhions there were of their head-attire, and theſe they never alter'd, but continued the ſame in their reſpective nations and tribes from generation to generation. But this is to be underſtood of the better ſort of people; for the reſt, as far as I can perceive, went bare-headed; at leaſt, the Spaniards have repreſented them ſo, in the pictures they have given us of the Peruvians at the time of their conqueſt. The head-dreſs, cap, or turbant, ſeems to have been granted to their chiefs as a mark of diſtinction: Their heads and bodies alſo were anointed with oil, or greaſe; and ſome of them uſed paint, like the reſt of the Americans.

Their holiday-dreſs was a ſort of ſhirt, and a veſt without ſleeves, and a mantle: They had alſo ſhoes, or rather ſandals, on their feet, made of the ſkins of beaſts untanned; but the common people uſually went naked, except a ſmall piece of linnen about their waiſts: They had ſcarce any cloaths on when they were at work, when they went a hunting or travell'd the road.

De la Vega, ſpeaking of the ancient Indians, and of ſome nations of them in his days, ſays, their manner of cloathing, or covering their bodies, was, in ſome countries, as immodeſt as ridiculous: That ſome had no other covering but what nature gave them; tho' others, perhaps for oſtentation, girt a piece of cotton-linnen about their waiſts. He had ſeen ſome nations of South-America that went perfectly naked, in the year 1570.

That the women went naked as well as the men; only thoſe who were married tied a ſtring round their bodies, to which they faſten'd a cotton-clout about a yard ſquare, which look'd like an apron; and where they had no linnen, they made uſe of broad leaves. So barbarous, ſays he, were the Indians in the hot countries, who were not under the dominion of the Inca's. And the people in the colder countries were cloathed only with the ſkins of beaſts, or matts, and that rather to defend them from the weather, than out of regard to modeſty or decency; concluding, that in his time there were ſome nations of Americans, both men and women, under the dominion of the Spaniards, and even their menial ſervants, that no arguments but force could prevail on to wear cloaths.

But wherever the Inca's had any power or influence, ſays De la Vega, the people (he muſt mean the better ſort of people) were decently cloath'd; in hot countries, their cloaths being made of cotton-linnen, and in colder of wool; but every garment was wove fit for the uſe it was deſign'd, without cutting, whether it were a ſhirt, a veſt, or a mantle; they were all of a-piece, as they came from the loom, only dy'd into various colours that never faded.

In another place De la Vega obſerves, that it was one of the eſtabliſh'd laws of the Inca's, that no man ſhould change the habit and faſhion of his country, tho' he chang'd his habitation.

Ornaments.

The principal ornaments of the Peruvians were their rings and jewels in their ears, which they ſtretch'd to a monſtrous ſize, and occaſion'd the Spaniards to give ſome of them the appellation of the People with great Ears. They had alſo chains of jewels and ſhells about their necks; but I don't find the Peruvians wore gold plates, or rings in their noſes, like the Indians ſituate to the northward of the Equator.

Antonio de Herera relates, that when the Spaniards firſt invaded the north part of Peru, they were oppos'd by a people that were ſtark naked, but painted, ſome red, and others yellow: But among theſe he informs us, there were ſome (probably their Chiefs) that had mantles, and other garments made of cotton, or of wool, and adorned with jewels.

The habits of the Peruvian women.

The habits of the Peruvian women were not very different from thoſe of the men, for theſe alſo are ſaid to have worn veſts and mantles; only as the men ſhav'd their heads, and wore caps or turbants, the women dreſs'd in their hair, which reached down to the middle of their backs, ſometimes looſe and flowing, and at others braided and twiſted in ſeveral braids: And as the ſun frequently changed their hair from black to a ruſſet-brown, or red, they were at great pains to reſtore it to its original colour, dipping their hair into a black hot liquor, over which they would lie ſeveral hours in great uneaſineſs, 'till it was ſufficiently tinged; nothing being eſteem'd a greater beauty among the women than long ſhining black hair: And both men and women, at feſtivals, and other ſolemn times, frequently adorn'd their heads with flowers and beautiful feathers; but the Peruvians now follow the Spaniſh modes in every thing.

The Americans were no leſs ſurpriz'd at the complexion and dreſs of the Spaniards, than the Spaniards were at theirs; but admir'd nothing ſo much as their long beards, having never ſeen a beard in their country; and their glittering ſwords and fire-arms perfectly amaz'd them. However, as the Spaniards did not at firſt treat them in a hoſtile manner, they adored theſe white ſtrangers as ſo many gods, and made them rich preſents; but of this hereafter, when I come to their hiſtory: I ſhall only add, under this head of complexion and dreſs, that nothing amaz'd the Indians more than the blackneſs of the Negroe ſlaves the Spaniards carried with them. They could not believe this to be natural, having never ſeen a Black in America. They deſired the Spaniards, therefore, to let them make the experiment, and try if they could not waſh off the black paint (as they took it to be) which made the Negroe and his Maſters exceeding merry.

The genius and temper of the Peruvians.

As to the genius and temper of this people, if we were to credit the firſt accounts we received of them from the Spaniards, they were little better than brutes in human ſhape. They relate, that they ſacrificed men, and even their own children, fed on human fleſh, were guilty of ſodomy, and all manner of vice. And this has been the general conduct of mankind (as has been obſerv'd already) to repreſent diſtant nations, and thoſe they are enemies to, as barbarians. The great conquerors and heroes of antiquity among the Greeks and Romans always repreſented their enemies, and thoſe they were pleaſed to make ſuch, as ſtrange unpoliſh'd animals; and one reaſon of invading and ſubduing them they pretended was, to civilize and inſtruct them in better morals, as well as in arts and ſciences: And ſuch, it ſeems, were the pretences of our modern conquerors of Peru and Mexico; namely, to reform that new world, deſtroy idolatry, and eſtabliſh the Chriſtian religion there; tho' in the end it appears, they made them, in the ſcripture phraſe, tenfold more the children of hell than they found them.

The reaſons people repreſent their enemies as barbarous.

It is remarkable alſo, that the Inca's, or Emperors of Peru, gave much the ſame reaſons the ancients did, for making war upon their weaker neighbours, and ſubjecting all the nations in that part of the world under their dominion.

Garciliasso de la Vega, the royal hiſtorian, in the 7th chapter of his firſt book, relates, that he received the following account of the ancient inhabitants of this country, from one of his relations, a deſcendant of their Inca's, or Kings, as he himſelf was, (viz.) that they were like ſo many brute beaſts, without religion or government; they neither ploughed or ſowed, or cloathed themſelves; they dwelt ſolitarily in caves or holes of the rocks; fed on herbs, roots, and wild fruits, and on man's fleſh; enjoy'd their women, as well as lands, in common, and underſtood nothing of property: But that their father the Sun (as the Inca's and royal family call'd him) beholding the ſavage diſpoſition of theſe people, ſent a ſon and daughter from heaven to inſtruct them in the worſhip of himſelf (the Sun) to give them laws and precepts, to teach them to live in ſocieties, cloath themſelves, and cultivate their lands, and reform their barbarous cuſtoms; "conſtituting them (the Inca's) Lords and Princes over that people."

From whence it appears, that the Inca's of Peru, like the ancient law-givers, pretended to be deſcended from ſome god, who had confert'd the dominion of thoſe nations upon them; or at leaſt had dictated thoſe laws and rules they promulg'd and requir'd the people to obſerve. And De la Vega tells us, chap. 12. of his 5th book, that the two principal motives or reaſons the Inca's gave for making war upon their neighbours, and ſubduing them where they refuſed to ſubmit tamely to their dominion, were, "the barbarity and ignorance of the people, and the violence and oppreſſion they exerciſed over their ſubjects." And theſe have been the pretended motives of moſt of our heroes and conquerors on this ſide the globe; tho' 'tis evident, ambition is generally at the bottom of theſe ſpecious pretences: We can never therefore make a juſt eſtimate of the characters of any people from the accounts we receive from thoſe who have enſlaved them, or uſurp'd the dominion over them. They uſually repreſent the conquer'd in the moſt ſhocking and frightful forms, in order to juſtify or excuſe their own cruel ravages and oppreſſions.

To proceed in the character De la Vega gives of the ancient Peruvians. He ſays, they ſacrificed men to their gods; were canibals; had ſhambles of man's fleſh, and made ſauſages of their guts; but he "reflects ſeverely upon thoſe Spaniſh writers who relate, that there were any ſuch ſacrifices, or any canibals in Peru, ſince the Inca's reign'd there;" which was four or five hundred years before the invaſion of the Spaniards; from whence we may very well conclude, that all the modern accounts we have of human ſacrifices and cannibals in South-America from the Spaniſh writers are falſe. There were no ſuch people when they arrived there, nor for four hundred years before, if we may credit De la Vega, a native of Peru, who was better acquainted with their language, hiſtory, and cuſtoms, than any of the Spaniſh writers, and generally eſteemed the beſt hiſtorian that ever wrote of that country. Acosta de Sieca, and the reſt of their hiſtorians are infinitely to blame therefore, in ſlandering that people, and abuſing the world with ſuch fabulous relations.

No probability of human ſacrifices or canibals in Peru.

If it be admitted then, that there were no ſuch barbarous people in Peru, no canibals, or any human ſacrifices there for four hundred years before the Spaniſh conqueſt, we may take it for granted, there were none there before that time; at leaſt there could be no certainty of any ſuch, the Peruvians having no poſſible way of recording their hiſtory, as they were deſtitute of letters; and for a tradition of four hundred years ſtanding, it is not to be much valued, eſpecially when it is evident, that the Inca's invented or encouraged ſuch ſtories of the barbarity of the conquer'd nations, as other pretended heroes have done in our part of the world, to excuſe or juſtify their own ravages and invaſions, and to make the world believe they have been ſuch mighty benefactors to mankind, by reducing them to a civiliz'd life, and aboliſhing ſuch brutiſh cuſtoms as they found in the conquer'd provinces. I proceed now to enquire into the real character of the Peruvians when the Spaniards arrived there. Blas Valera (to whom De la Vega ſeems to give entire credit, in this particular, lib. 2. cap. 33. of the *Royal Company of Peru*) ſays, that the people of Peru exceed moſt nations in the world in quickneſs of wit and ſtrength of judgment; which appears in that, without the help of letters, they have attain'd the knowledge of many things which the learning of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Greeks, could never reach. If they had any thing that ſeem'd ſhocking to the Europeans, it did not proceed from the want of natural parts, or endowments of mind, but from their being unpractiſed in the faſhions and cuſtoms of Europe, and their want of maſters to inſtruct them in the liberal ſciences; for ſuch of them as had the advantage of maſters, ſince the arrival of the Spaniards, became greater proficients than the Spaniards themſelves, and would imitate any thing they ſaw ſo exactly, without being taught, that it ſurprized the European artiſts; and as to their memories, they generally exceeded the Spaniards, and would caſt up their accounts, by knots, with more expedition than a European could by the help of cyphers.

The true character of the Peruvians.

Courage and military ſkill.

As to their military ſkill and conduct, making allowance for circumſtances, they appear'd alſo ſuperior to the Spaniards. Let me ſee, ſays my author, the braveſt Captains of France or Spain on foot, without horſes, without armour, without ſpears, ſwords, or fire-arms; with no other cloaths than their ſhirts, no other head-piece than a cap of feathers, or garland of flowers; a ſhield made of a piece of a mat; and "let their diet be only herbs and roots of the field; then let us ſee how they will be able to oppoſe ſwords, ſpears, guns, &c.

On the contrary, were the Indians arm'd, as the Europeans are, train'd up in the ſame military diſcipline, and inſtructed in the art of war by ſea and land, they would be more invincible than the Turks, as experience has ſhewn; for whenever the Spaniards and Indians were equally arm'd, the Spaniards were defeated. No eſtimate can be made of the military ſkill or bravery of the Indians of Mexico and Peru, therefore, from the Spaniſh conqueſts in thoſe empires, on account of the inequality of their arms, and above all, the invention of fire-arms, which was more terrible to them than all the reſt, and ſeem'd to them ſomething more than what was human and natural. "And in fact we find, that the Indians of Chili, having furniſh'd themſelves with European arms, are at this day a match for the Spaniards, and have driven them out of many places they poſſeſs'd themſelves of in that country."

To return to the Peruvians. It is obſerv'd, that as they defended their country, as well as could be expected, with ſuch arms as they had, yet when any province was conquered, and had ſubmitted to the Spaniards, they remain'd faithful to them, however hardly they were uſed; and readily aſſiſted them in the conqueſt of the reſt of their country; being perſuaded, that they ought to remain faithful ſubjects to thoſe they had ſubmitted to, how unjuſtly ſoever they were invaded, and might not attempt the recovery of their liberties afterwards.

Hoſpitality.

Friar Mark, who went with ſome of the firſt invaders from Panama to Peru, ſays, they found the Peruvians extremely hoſpitable and kind; courteous in converſation, and friendly to the Spaniards, giving them gold and precious ſtones, male and female ſlaves, and all manner of proviſions: Nor did they offer to commit any hoſtilities, 'till the Spaniards, by their outrages and cruelties, compelled them to ſtand upon their defence. It muſt be confeſs'd, that the Americans had made but little proficiency in the ſciences, or indeed in mechanick arts, having never convers'd either with Europeans or Aſiaticks, and being deſtitute of inſtruments, and even of proper materials for forming them.

Morality.

There were, ſays De la Vega, certain among them call'd Amanta's, who were ſubtle in their argumentation, and laid down certain phænomena of natural things; but in regard they were unacquainted with letters, they could leave none of thoſe conceptions they had form'd to poſterity, unleſs ſome few principles diſcovered by the light of nature, which they repreſented by glyphicks, or ſome rude figures; however, in Moral Philoſophy, they attained to a greater degree of perfection; for their laws and cuſtoms were their daily leſſons, and the doctrine of good-manners being the ſtudy and buſineſs of the magiſtrate, an eaſy and conſtant improvement was made therein.

Natural Philoſophy.

In Natural Philoſophy they had ſtudied little, and only knew things by their effects; as, that fire would warm them, and the like; and thus they learn'd ſomething of medicine, and the virtues of plants and herbs, which experience and neceſſity taught them.

Aſtronomy.

As to their aſtronomy, they had obſerved the various motions of the planet Venus; the increaſe and decreaſe of the Moon. The Inca's alſo obſerv'd, that the Sun perform'd his courſe in the ſpace of a year; tho' the common people divided it only by the ſeaſons; and the end of their harveſt, with them, was the end of the year: While the Inca's mark'd out the ſummer and winter ſolſtices by high towers, which they erected on the eaſt and weſt of the city of Cuſco. When the Sun came to riſe directly oppoſite to four of theſe towers erected on the eaſt ſide of the city, and to ſet juſt againſt thoſe of the weſt, it was then the ſummer ſolſtice; and in like manner, when it came to riſe and ſet againſt four other towers, it was the winter ſolſtice: Which towers, De la Vega ſays, were ſtanding in his time. They had alſo erected marble pillars in the great court before the temple of the Sun, by which they obſerv'd the Equinoctials; and when the Sun came near the Equator, the Prieſts attended, and waited to ſee what ſhadow the pillars caſt; and when the Sun at its riſing came to dart a ſhadow directly from it, and at mid-day the pillars caſt no ſhade, but were enlightened on all ſides, they then concluded the ſun to be in the Equinoctial, and crown'd the pillars with garlands of flowers and odoriferous herbs; and as they held the Sun then appear'd in its greateſt luſtre, this was one of their chief feſtivals, wherein they offer'd to this deity rich preſents of gold and precious ſtones.

And as they deſcrib'd their year by the courſe of the Sun, ſo their months were diſtinguiſh'd by the Moon, and their weeks were called quarters of the Moon; but they had no names for the days of the week but the order they ſtood in, as the firſt, ſecond, third, &c. They were aſtoniſh'd at the eclipſes of the Sun and Moon; and when the Sun hid his face, believ'd it was for their ſins; imagining it prognoſticated famine, war and peſtilence, or ſome other terrible calamity.

When the moon was entering into the eclipſe, and it began to grow dark, they imagin'd ſhe was ſick; and when totally obſcur'd, that ſhe was dying; and ſounded their trumpets, kettles and pans, and every thing that would make a noiſe, to rouſe her from this lethargy; and taught their children to cry out and call upon Mama Quille, or Mother Moon, that ſhe would not die, and leave them to periſh. They made no predictions from the Sun or Moon, or the conjunction of the ſtars, but chiefly from their dreams, or the entrails of beaſts they offer'd in ſacrifice; and when they ſaw the Sun ſet in the ſea, as they might every night to the weſtward, they imagin'd the waters were divided by the force of the fire, and that the ſun plunged himſelf into the deep, diving quite through the ſea to appear next morning in the eaſt.

Phyſick.

They had ſo much ſkill in Phyſick, according to De la Vega, as to know, that bleeding and purging were two neceſſary evacuations, and uſually open'd that vein which was neareſt to the pain; their lancet being a ſharp-pointed flint ſet at the end of a ſmall cane, which with a gentle fillip cut it with leſs pain than one of our lancets.

They uſually purg'd when the patient was but a little indiſpoſed, and before the diſeaſe had prevail'd, but afterwards left him to nature and a regular diet; and their principal ingredient was a white root reſembling a turnip, which being dry'd and powder'd, they took in water or their ordinary drink, and then the patient ſet himſelf in the ſun, that his heat and bleſſing might contribute to the operation; and in an hour's time it began to work upwards and downwards in a violent manner, bringing away worms and all indigeſted matter, and yet left the body ſtrong and vigorous, and with a very good appetite, which the ſame author ſays he twice experienc'd by himſelf.

Their phyſick was adminiſtred to the Inca's and Great men, by Botaniſts, that ſtudied the virtues of their herbs and plants. Theſe tranſmitted their ſecrets of this kind to their children, and were, in a manner, hereditary Phyſicians to the Royal family, and the Great Lords; but the common people cured one another by ſuch preſcriptions as they learn'd by tradition.

They had ſeveral herbs and roots which they apply'd to wounds with great ſucceſs; but uſed neither plaiſters nor ointments, and had no compound, only ſimple medicines. The Spaniards much improved their phyſick, having diſcover'd the virtues of many herbs and plants that grew in that hot climate, which the Indians were ignorant of; and particularly, that their Maize or Indian-corn was an excellent remedy againſt the Cholick and Stone, obſerving that the Indians, who eat this food chiefly, were never troubled with thoſe Diſtempers.

Geometry.

They had only Geometry enough to meaſure their lands, and deſcribe the bounds and limits of their provinces; but this, our author, ſays, he has ſeen well perform'd, particularly the city of Cuſco, and the country about it, with the buildings, ſtreets, hills, valleys, rivers, roads, &c. as well laid down and diſtinguiſh'd by lines and colours, as any of our modern Coſmographers could have done it.

Poetry.

Their Amanta's, or Philoſophers, were Poets alſo, and invented Comedies and Tragedies, which were acted on their feſtivals before the King and the Royal family; the Actors being the Great Lords of the Court, and principal Officers of the army; every one acting the part that was agreeable to his quality or poſt, and had no conſtant ſets of Actors to perſonate others: The ſubject of their Tragedies were the victories and great actions of their anceſtors, which ſeems to have been the beſt means they had of preſerving the memory of what was paſs'd; and yet in theſe it ſeems fiction had ſo great a ſhare, that it was difficult to diſtinguiſh what was real from what was fabulous. In their Comedies, their husbandry, their houſhold affairs, and their commerce with the world were repreſented, and the moſt remarkable follies in life expoſed.

Muſick.

Theſe Amanta's alſo compoſed ſongs and ballads; for they had both vocal and inſtrumental muſick; ſome reſembling our trumpets, flutes, and other wind-muſick, but intolerably harſh and diſagreeable to an ear uſed to ſofter ſounds. They had alſo their ſtring-muſick, but not a whit better than the former.

Arithmetick.

Mechanick arts.

They ſeem to have been more perfect in Arithmetick than any ſcience, and would caſt up an accompt, ſubſtract, multiply and divide by certain lines or threads of various colours tied in knots, which they call'd Quippo's, with more expedition than a European by the help of figures: And by theſe Quippo's they had the art of imprinting many things in their memories, and communicating their thoughts to others with the aſſiſtance of ill-drawn pictures or images; for they knew ſomething of painting and ſtatuary, as appears by the furniture and ornaments of their temples and palaces; every plant and animal almoſt being repreſented in gold or ſilver plate; and this brings me to treat of their mechanick arts. And firſt of their Gold and Silverſmiths, of whom, ſays the royal hiſtorian De la Vega, tho' there were great numbers that labour'd conſtantly at their trade, yet were they not ſo skilful as to make an anvil of iron or any other metal, but made uſe of a certain hard ſtone of a yellowiſh colour, which they ſmooth'd and poliſh'd; nor had they learn'd to put handles to their hammers, but beat their plate with certain round pieces of copper or braſs; neither had they any files or graving tools, or bellows for melting down their metals; but inſtead of bellows, had copper-pipes of a yard long, and ſmall at one end, almoſt in the form of a trumpet, with which they blow'd up their fires. They had no tongs to take their heated metal out of the fire, but drew it out with a ſtick or a copper bar, and caſt it into a heap of wet earth to cool; and as they had learn'd that the ſteem or effluvia ariſing from hot or melted metals were prejudicial to their health, all their founderies were in the open air without any covering. Their Carpenters had no other tools than hatchets made of copper or flint; no ſaws, augers or planes, not having learn'd the uſe of iron, tho' they did not want mines of that metal; and inſtead of nails, as has been obſerved already, they faſtened their timber together with cords or withs: Nor had their Stone-cutters any tools but ſharp flints or pebbles, with which they wore out the ſtone in a manner with perpetual rubbing; pullies and other engines alſo were wanting for lifting and placing ſtones in their buildings; all was done by ſtrength of hand, and multitudes were employ'd to remove a piece of ſtone or timber, which an ordinary team of horſes would have drawn upon proper carriages: And yet under the want of all theſe things they raiſed ſtrong and magnificent edifices, as appears by their buildings, already deſcrib'd, the ruins whereof are ſeen at this day.

They uſed a thorn or a fine bone for a needle, and their threads were the ſinews of animals, or the fibres of ſome plant, or of the bark of a certain tree. Sciſſars they had none, and their knives were flint or copper; and under ſuch diſadvantages (as my author obſerves) their needle-work was very indifferent.

Combs were made of the long thorns already mention'd, ſet on each ſide a piece of cane, which ſerv'd for the back of the comb; and the raſors they ſhav'd their heads with were no better than ſharp flints; in which operation the patient underwent ſo much, that there was nothing the Spaniards carried over, was more acceptable to them, than ſteel raſors and ſciſſars: They had no looking-glaſſes, but inſtead of them, the Peruvian Ladies made uſe of a round plate of poliſh'd braſs or copper; and in this, the natives of the Eaſt-Indies agree with them, having no other mirrors at this day, but what they get of the Europeans.

As to ordinary working trades, there were no fraternities or particular men that applied themſelves to theſe; but every man was his own Carpenter, Shoemaker, Weaver, Taylor, and Maſon: Every man knew how to weave, make his cloaths, build his houſe, and cultivate his lands; and the women aſſiſted in the moſt laborious employments.

But there were ſocieties of Poets, Painters, Muſicians, Goldſmiths, Engravers, Founders, and Accomptants, who were employ'd in the ſervice of their temples, and of their Princes and Great men; but ordinary and neceſſary works, as has been ſaid, were done by the family: The common people inſtructed their children in them, and never hir'd ſervants, or call'd in foreign aſſiſtance; and for the polite arts, as they were not neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence, ſo they never troubled themſelves about them.

Their woollen and cotton cloths, which they wove and dy'd into all manner of colours, were their principal manufactures; but no man was ſuffer'd to wear a garment, cap, or turbant, of different colours, but thoſe of the royal blood.

Their carpets and blankets, on which they lay, were made of the wool of their country ſheep, or the fine hair of their Goats; and their hammocks of cotton, or other net-work. In the hot countries, as has been obſerv'd, their garments were of cotton; and in the colder countries, of wool, wove exactly fit for the uſes they deſign'd, and the pieces never cut.

Traffick.

They had little or no trade, either with foreigners, or with one-another; every family having its plantation, and all neceſſaries almoſt within itſelf; only they ſometimes truck'd or barter'd fruits and eatables with their neighbours, ſome grounds producing what others wanted.

Food.

The general food of the Peruvians, before the Spaniards arriv'd amongſt them, was Maize, or Indian-corn (which has been already deſcrib'd, in treating of Mexico.) This they ground between two ſtones, and made thin cakes and biſcuits of the flour, which they baked on their hearths or ſtoves: They alſo boil'd it, and made a ſort of haſty-pudding of the Maize; and in ſome countries that did not produce Maize, they had a very ſmall grain or ſeed, that was produced from a plant like Spinage; and this they converted to the ſame uſes. In other parts, they had the Caſſavy-root, which they boil'd, dry'd, and ground to powder; of which alſo they made thin cakes that ſerv'd them inſtead of bread: They eat alſo Potatoes, and other roots, and almoſt all manner of fruits raw, roaſted and boil'd, which their country produc'd: Nor was there ſcarce an herb that grew, but what ſerved them for food, not as ſauce or ſallads, as we uſe them, but as ſubſtantial diſhes: As to fleſh, they eat very little, for their Inca's and Great Lords were maſters of all the cattle, wild and tame, and of all the game of the country, which the common people were not ſuffered to take or kill under the ſevereſt penalties. But there was a general hunting-bout appointed by their Princes once a year; wherein a great deal of veniſon and game was taken, and diſtributed to the people, who cut it in thin ſlices and dry'd it; and this, with the fleſh of the tame cattle, which was alſo given them annually, ſerv'd for the whole year: They never eat joints of meat, or indeed any quantity of it as the Europeans do, but having cut their dry'd fleſh in pieces, ſtew'd, and ſeaſon'd it high with Axi or Pepper; they eat it as ſauce to their other food, and as we eat Anchovies, or pickles, to reliſh our fleſh. I don't know any country between the Tropics where the people eat great meals of fleſh: In many places they eat none at all (much leſs human fleſh). The Spaniſh hiſtorians obſerve, that one of their men eat ten times as much as an Indian. Their uſual way of dreſſing their food was in pans or diſhes over their ſtoves, on which they ſtew'd or bak'd it, and they roaſted their roots and fruits in the embers frequently.

The uſual times for eating, according to De la Vega, were between eight and nine in the morning, and about ſun-ſet in the evening; for they made but two meals a-day. However, they were not altogether ſo abſtemious in drinking as eating. Their Gentry and Great men, who had little elſe to do, ſate drinking great part of the day; and of the ſame Indian-corn that ſerved them for bread, they made a kind of malt, and brew'd good ſtrong drink of it. The Maghey-tree alſo affords them a very ſtrong intoxicating liquor; and they make a kind of wine of almoſt all manner of fruits, by boiling or ſteeping them in water; but the common people, I find, very ſeldom drank any ſtrong liquors. The common bevarage here, as well as in Mexico, was water with a little of the flour of Maize infuſed into it, being the ſame that our Buccaneers call Poſole, or Poor Soul. But as they have both Palm and Cocoa-trees, there is no doubt but the Spaniards have taught them to draw Palm-wine, and drink the liquor of the Cocao-nut, as they have taught them to eat and drink all manner of meat and drink that Spain affords; which, by the way, the Spaniards obſerve, has been no advantage to them; for ſuch ſort of meat and drink, they tell us, is by no means fit for people that live between the Tropics; and has introduced many diſeaſes the Peruvians knew nothing of before, inſomuch that they give this as one reaſon the natives of America do not multiply ſo faſt as they did formerly, but rather decreaſe in their numbers at preſent; but whether this is not a mere pretence to conceal their own barbarity, who depopulated theſe countries by their cruelties and oppreſſions, and would now have us believe that the natives have been diminiſhed by this alteration in their diet, I very much queſtion: For 'tis certain, the wines the Spaniards have taught them to make of Grapes, will rather preſerve their health than deſtroy them in that hot climate; and as people have no inclination to eat great quantities of meat there, they very ſeldom hurt themſelves that way.

Neither can I think, but that milk, butter and cheeſe, which the natives knew nothing of before the arrival of the Spaniards, muſt be a good wholeſome kind of diet in that warm latitude; and of theſe they have a great deal at this day, now European cattle are multiply'd ſo prodigiouſly, as all writers agree they are; and I'm apt to think, one reaſon of that increaſe is, that neither Spaniards or Indians in that warm country are very fond of fleſh of any kind.

Feaſts.

While I am treating of their food, it is very natural to ſpeak of their feaſts, of which they had many within the compaſs of a year; particularly four in honour of the Sun, and one at every new Moon, which I ſhall enlarge on under the head of Religion. They had alſo their feaſts at the acceſſion of their Princes, and upon every victory, or conqueſt, as with us: Feaſts at their weddings and the birth or weaning of their children, and almoſt upon every joyful occaſion, as in other countries. And at theſe the gueſts were entertain'd with vocal and inſtrumental muſick, and dancing, and the men drank hard; but, according to De la Vega, they always left off early in the evening, and went home, and riſing betimes in the morning, return'd to the feaſt again; ſome of theſe entertainments laſting ſeveral days. Their Princes and Great men alſo at ſuch times were entertain'd with tragedies and comedies, in which the Nobility and Great Officers acted the principal parts. Nor were there any conſtant ſets of mercenary actors. However, according to De la Vega, they did not ſpeak their own ſenſe, but their Poets compos'd the play, and put words in their mouths; which might be a proper and very eaſy way of inſtructing the young Nobility and Gentry in principles of morality and politicks, and of forming their action, and giving them an agreeable addreſs.

Plays.

Exerciſe of arms.

The exerciſing their arms, the lance or ſpear, the throwing darts, and ſhooting arrows, were other parts of their recreations and diverſions; to which all the better ſort of people were bred; and indeed we find part of the royal family of the Inca's addicted to war and warlike exerciſes (as others were to the ſervice of their temples) and train'd up to hardſhips from their infancy, in order to make them good ſoldiers, and qualify them for poſts in the army.

Hunting.

Hunting was another of their exerciſes and diverſions; but this was not permitted to the common people: They were not to meddle with the beaſts of chace or game, under the ſevereſt penalties; only once a year the Prince appointed a general hunting-match in ſome part of his dominions, contriving it ſo, that every place enjoy'd four years reſt; during which ſpace the game never were diſturb'd, but had time to increaſe.

Of theſe hunting expeditions, De la Vega gives the following account. He ſays, after the breeding-time was over every year, the Inca or Prince aſſign'd a certain part of the country for this diverſion, appointing twenty or thirty thouſand Indians to encompaſs a certain ſpace of land, and beat 20 or 30 leagues round by the ſides of rivers, and through woods and mountains; and they march'd along hooping and hollowing 'till the game came to be ſo ſtraiten'd on all ſides, that they could not get away, and were eaſily taken. As to wild beaſts, ſuch as Lions, Bears, Foxes, Mountain-cats, Serpents, and all venomous creatures, theſe they kill'd as they went along, and did not drive them into the circle with the game; which conſiſted chiefly of red and fallow Deer, and of the wild Huanacu, or Lama's, and Vicuna's, that is, the country Sheep and Goats, of which there was ſuch plenty, before the Spaniards arriv'd there, that they frequently took thirty or forty thouſand of theſe ſort of deer and cattle at one hunting-match.

The female Deer they ſuffer'd to eſcape, except the old barren Does, which were kill'd. They releas'd alſo as many of the males as were thought neceſſary to propagate the ſpecies; and the reſt being kill'd, their fleſh was divided among the common people; they alſo ſhore the Sheep, and divided the wool in like manner. But the fine air of the Vicuna's, or Goats, was reſerved for the Inca and the royal family; for no other people might preſume to wear garments made of it.

But beſides theſe annual huntings, if I underſtand De la Vega right, the Caraca's, or Great Lords, had every one the privilege of hunting and taking game within their reſpective territories or lordſhips; tho' the common people were not ſuffer'd to meddle with them at any time.

Every nobleman learned ſome trade.

Viſits and ceremonies.

Before I conclude this head of their exerciſes and diverſions, it may be proper to obſerve, that every Nobleman and Gentleman learn'd ſome mechanick art, ſuch as the making of their arms, utenſils of husbandry, cloathing, and the like, in which they buſied themſelves when they had nothing elſe to do; an idle ſlothful man being univerſally deteſted, and ſeverely puniſh'd by the laws of Peru: Even their Women of quality carried their reels, ſpindles, and needle-work with them wherever they viſited; nor was the Lady of the family ever found unemploy'd.

Races.

Poſts and expreſſes.

They were, according to De la Vega, like the Chineſe, courteous and ceremonious even to a fault in their viſits and commerce with each other, always addreſſing their ſuperiors, and even their equals and inferiors, in the moſt obliging and complaiſant language; and yet theſe were the people that the firſt Spaniſh Adventurers repreſented as brutiſh and barbarous, and made this the pretence for taking away their country, and enſlaving them; many of the Indians they charge even with ſacrificing their own ſpecies and eating them; particularly here in Peru, Acosta, a celebrated writer, has the aſſurance to ſay, they ſacrificed children at their grand feſtivals. Whereas, De la Vega, who was a native of Peru, and better acquainted with their cuſtoms than any man that ever wrote, is poſitive there were no human ſacrifices or canibals in the dominions of the Inca's, which extended three thouſand miles, while they govern'd Peru, which was four or five hundred years; and what there was before that time no man can pretend to ſay, there being no ſuch thing as letters amongſt them to record their actions. But to return to the exerciſes of the Peruvians. The being ſwift of foot was eſteem'd a very great accompliſhment, and prizes given to thoſe that excell'd at their foot-races by publick authority; for as there was no writing, every thing of importance was committed to memory: And if a diſtant Viceroy, or Governor, had any thing to communicate to the Emperor at Cuſco, it was done by word of mouth, and that not by one expreſs, but perhaps by forty or an hundred: For at every quarter of a league on the great roads were little houſes or guard-rooms, where ſeven or eight of the Emperor's Meſſengers, or Purſuivants, always attended, who were of the better ſort of people, and capable of receiving and telling a meſſage very exactly, their heads being as well furniſh'd as their heels: One or more of theſe were diſpatch'd upon all affairs of ſtate; and having delivered their meſſage at the next ſtage, ſome of thoſe ran and delivered the meſſage to the next, and ſo on 'till they reached the Court; but they all carried their Quippo's, or coloured ſtrings and knots with them, which as to numbers, and the qualities of many ſtrings, aſſiſted their memories very much, and prevented miſtakes. And ſo ſwiftly did theſe expreſſes (or Chaquis) run, that the Court received the intelligence in twenty-four hours, tho' the Governor who ſent it was at an hundred and fifty miles diſtance: And in caſe of a rebellion or invaſion, they had beacons on high hills at proper diſtances, which they fired, and thereby gave notice from one to another; ſo that the Court had intelligence of it in a few hours from the remoteſt part of their dominions.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Peruvian animals.

Animals.

As Peru and Mexico both lie for the moſt part between the Tropics, their animals, beaſts, birds, and fiſhes are, for the moſt part, of the ſame ſpecies. I ſhall not therefore deſcribe thoſe again that have been treated of already in Mexico, but ſpeak chiefly of ſuch as ſeem peculiar to Peru. And firſt of thoſe animals to which the Europeans have given the names of Sheep and Goats, becauſe they reſemble thoſe animals more than any other we have in this part of the world.

Paco's, or Peruvian Sheep.

The Peruvian Sheep I find in different authors are call'd by different names, as Paco's, Lama's, Huanacu, and Guanacu; and theſe are diſtinguiſh'd again by the tame and the wild, the large and the ſmall kind. The large tame Huanacu, De la Vega informs us, is of the bigneſs of a Stag, and reſembles a Camel the moſt of any other beaſt, only it hath no bunch on its back: He hath a long ſmooth neck, his body is covered with a coarſe wool, and the hide makes excellent leather. They are of a diſpoſition, ſays Blos Valera, as gentle and tractable as the Indians themſelves, being ſo tame that a child may govern them, and were the only beaſts uſed in carrying of burdens when the Spaniards arrived there. The tame ones differ as much in colour as Horſes do in Europe; but the wild are always of a cheſnut-colour: The fleſh of this creature is tender, and exceeding fine eating, and ſo wholeſome and inoffenſive, that it is the food of ſick people, and preferred before Chickens; but what they were moſt valued for before Horſes and Mules were imported was, their carrying burdens; all kind of merchandize being tranſported from one part of the country to the other, on the backs of theſe creatures. De la Vega ſays, it was common to ſee eight hundred or a thouſand of them in a caravan; and being very ſure-footed, they would carry their burdens over rocks and precipices, where a man could hardly travel on foot: Their uſual burden was about three or fourſcore pound weight, with which they travelled nine or ten miles a-day; but were not to be driven beyond their uſual pace; for if they were, they tired and lay down, and there was no getting them up again, though their burdens were taken off their backs; for which reaſon they had always forty or fifty of them unladen in their caravans; and when they obſerved any one of the laden Sheep began to tire, they eas'd him of his burden, and laid it upon one that was freſh.

They were no charge to their maſters, who only took off their packs and turn'd them up to graze in the common fields at the end of every ſtage; tho' they would eat corn if it was given them: Nor was there any need of pack-ſaddles, the wool on their backs ſerving inſtead of them: And as they were cloven-footed, and had a callous ſpungy matter at the bottom of their feet, they needed no ſhoeing.

The leſſer ſort of Sheep, or Paco's, carry'd no burdens, but their fleſh was almoſt as good meat as the former, and their wool long and much eſteem'd, of which they made ſeveral ſorts of ſtuffs for cloathing,

ing, dying it of various colours that never chang'd or faded. But the Peruvians neither milked the one or the other, or indeed any animal.

The wild Sheep, to which the name of Huanacu ſometimes ſeems to be appropriated, afforded them wool, but not ſo fine as the tame ones; nor was their fleſh ſo good meat. De la Vega relates, that the males uſually kept a watch on the hills while the females fed in the valleys; and when they diſcover'd any people coming towards them neigh'd like horſes; whereupon the females fled to their cover, and the males always brought up the rear 'till they were out of danger.

Vicugnes, or Goats.

The Peruvian Goats (call'd Vicugnes or Vicuna's) had that name given them by the Spaniards, becauſe they reſembled a European Goat more than any other animal. It is a long-legg'd creature, bigger than the largeſt Goat, without horns, and ſo ſwift of foot, that no Greyhound can take it, and therefore they are uſually ſhot or ſnar'd. Their fleſh is lean, tough and ill taſted, and yet in much eſteem with the Indians on account of ſome medicinal and healing qualities it is ſaid to have: And its wool, or rather fine ſoft fur, is much more eſteem'd than the wool of their Sheep; for of this they make the fineſt garments and carpets, which were permitted to be worn and uſed only by the Inca's and the royal family. And as this wool is of a light cheſnut-colour, they never dy'd it. Theſe creatures commonly herd together in the higheſt parts of the mountains near the ſnows.

Bezoar-ſtone.

Acosta relates, that in theſe and moſt of the wild cattle of Peru, the Bezoar-ſtone is found in their ſtomachs and bellies, and that there are ſometimes two, three, or four together of different ſhapes, ſize, and colour, ſome as big as Filberts, others of the ſize of Pidgeons eggs, or Walnuts, and ſome as large as Hens eggs; and he had ſeen of them as big as Oranges, and they were alſo of ſeveral colours; ſome black, others white, dark, grey, green, and ſome look'd as if they were gilded, and were cover'd with many coats and ſkins. The Bezoar-ſtone is found both in the male and female, and all beaſts that engender it, chew the cud, and uſually feed upon the rocks in the ſnow. And as there are many herbs and venomous reptiles that poiſon the waters and paſtures in this country, ſo there is one herb, which the Vicuna's and other beaſts which engender the Bezoar-ſtone, run to by inſtinct when they find themſelves poiſon'd, and by that means expel it: And the Indians are of opinion, that of this herb the ſtone in the ſtomach of theſe animals is compounded; from whence it receives that virtue againſt poiſons, and produces many other wonderful effects; and this, our author obſerves, agrees with Pliny's relation of the Mountain-goats, which fed upon poiſonous herbs without ſuffering any damage: But theſe ſeem to be very uncertain conjectures. Our author adds, that theſe ſtones are frequently form'd in the ſtomach, upon little pieces of wood, ſhells, or iron, which are found in the centre of the ball. Since theſe ſtones have been ſo much in eſteem, the Indians have counterfeited them; and theſe counterfeits not producing the like effects as thoſe that are real, have made ſome people queſtion their good qualities; but Acosta aſſures us, he has ſeen many notable cures done by them.

Deer.

There are red and fallow Deer in Peru, but much leſs than thoſe of Europe; they were ſo numerous before the arrival of the Spaniards, that they came in droves into the villages, the common people never attempting to kill or take them, as they were royal game. They had alſo tame and wild Rabbits, and theſe every man was at liberty to keep or take, and ſcarce a houſe was without them.

Wild beaſts.

As to wild beaſts, they had ſome few Lions, but neither ſo large or ſo fierce as thoſe of Africa. They had ſtill fewer Bears, and not any Tygers, unleſs upon ſome of the higheſt mountains of the Andes. Nor do I find they had any Wolves, ſo that people travell'd in great ſecurity, and their tame cattle were in no danger of being deſtroy'd by them as in Europe; which was very happy, eſpecially as they had no Dogs capable of defending their flocks; and indeed they had no other Dogs but a kind of mongrels or lurchers that never bark'd. De la Vega mentions a beaſt that is found on the mountains of the Andes in ſhape like a Cow, but leſs, and without horns; of whoſe hides they make buff and very ſtrong leather: But he ſays, there are ſcarce any of the Pecaree or Warree (a kind of American Hog deſcrib'd in Mexico) in Peru, or any where to the weſtward of the mountains of the Andes.

Monkeys.

There are great numbers of Monkeys in this country of various kinds and colours, ſome with tails, others without, and ſome four times as large as the ordinary Monkeys. The account Acosta gives of their tricks and dexterity is ſcarce credible, and yet we find De la Vega aſſerts he has been an eye-witneſs of the like.

Some of theſe Monkeys, ſays Acosta, are black, others grey, and a third ſort are ſpotted. Their activity and motion is ſuch, that they ſeem to have reaſon and diſcourſe: They would leap from one tree to another; and when the diſtance was ſuch, that one could not reach the place, they would hang themſelves from the bough of a tree, one at the tail of another, and fetching a long ſwing, the lowermoſt with the help of the other would throw himſelf to the bough they aim'd at, and when he was there help'd his companions after him. Theſe Monkeys, when they were tamed and taught, ſeem'd to equal Men in underſtanding. He ſaw one of Carthagena that was often ſent to the tavern for wine, his maſter giving him money in one hand and a bottle in the other: And when the creature came to the tavern, he would not deliver his money 'till he had receiv'd his wine; and if the boys met him by the way, and play'd the rogue with him, he would ſet down his bottle, and throw ſtones at them 'till he had clear'd his way, and then take up his bottle, and run home. And tho' he lov'd wine exceſſively, would never touch a drop without his maſter's leave: If he met with a woman well dreſs'd he would ſeize upon her cloaths, and be more familiar with her than ſhe deſired; concluding, that he thought there was no animal in the world ſo ſagacious and ſo delighted with human ſociety as this ſpecies of Monkeys.

It has been obſerved already, that there were not to be found either in Peru, or any other part of America, when the Spaniards arrived there, any Horſes, Cows, Elephants, Camels, Aſſes, Mules, Sheep, or Hogs.

Cattle imported from Europe.

The firſt Horſes and Mares were carried over about the year 1495, from Andaluzia in Spain, to the iſland of Hiſpaniola and Cuba, where they multiplied prodigiouſly, and were from thence tranſported to Mexico and Peru, being of great ſervice to the Spaniards in thoſe conqueſts: They were ſo valuable that no man knew what price to ſet upon his horſe, or indeed would part with him on any terms, only in caſe the maſter died, or return'd to Spain, his horſe was ſet to ſale, and the price was uſually four or five thouſand crowns; and my author relates that he was acquainted with a certain Spaniſh Gentleman, who ſeeing a Negroe boy leading a fine manag'd horſe in the year 1554, offer'd ten thouſand crowns for the horſe and boy, which was refuſed by the Officer that own'd them; and a few days after, the horſe was kill'd in a battle, and the maſter mortally wounded; but the price of horſes ſoon abated, being turned looſe into the fields, where they multiplied a-pace, and prov'd a better race than their Spaniſh ſizes, being broke and made fit for ſervice at 3 years of age.

The Indians were a great while exceeding fearful of horſes, and never thought themſelves ſafe if they ſaw one looſe in the ſtreets, expecting to be trampled under foot; nor would any of them for a great while be perſuaded to take up the trade of a Blackſmith (tho' they prov'd excellent artiſts in forming any kind of metal) leſt they ſhould be put upon ſhoeing of horſes: And the Indian boys that were taught to dreſs their horſes, could hardly ever be perſuaded to mount them.

The Spaniards at firſt found ſome difficulty in breaking thoſe wild colts that were bred in the mountains, but when they had once broke them, they became the moſt tractable animals in the world.

Cows and Oxen alſo were highly valued when they were firſt imported. De la Vega relates, that he knew the firſt man that was maſter of a cow in Peru; and that the firſt oxen he ever ſaw at plow was in the valley of Cuſco, in the year 1550, when a great many thouſand Indians were aſſembled to ſee the novelty of the Spaniſh huſbandry.

The firſt cows were only preſerved for breeding; and when they had multiplied a little, and were brought into the market for ſale, they were uſually ſold at two hundred crowns a-head; but in 1554 they were fallen to one hundred crowns a-piece, and in the year 1590 they were ſo mightily increaſed, that they were ſold for twenty or thirty ſhillings a-head: And being ſuffer'd to run wild in the mountains, they were within a little time hunted in the manner deſcribed in Mexico, and kill'd for their hides, which made part of the cargoes of ſuch ſhips as ſailed to Old Spain: Their fleſh it ſeems was little valued either by the Spaniards or Indians, which ſhews how abſurd it is to repreſent the people who inhabit thoſe hot countries between the Tropics as devourers of man's fleſh, where they eat little or no fleſh, and could not digeſt what we call a belly-full of meat if they did: I have ſeen cuts indeed in ſome hiſtories of thoſe countries where the natives are repreſented roaſting of legs and arms of men upon ſpits; but ſuch writers ſurely were little acquainted with the cookery of the Peruvians, who never ſaw a joint of any meat roaſted 'till the Europeans came amongſt them. The little fleſh they had, as has been obſerv'd already, was cut into thin ſlices, and dried over a ſlow fire, ſo that it would keep ſeveral months: and when they dreſs'd it they ſtew'd a little of it with a good quantity of herbs, roots, fruits and pepper, in a pot, ſix or ſeven hours, and I don't find they had any other way of dreſſing their meat: So far were they from roaſting whole joints either of men or animals upon ſpits.

A Jack-Aſs it ſeems was in much eſteem alſo in Peru at firſt, the Spaniards buying them to get mules out of their Mares: De la Vega ſays, he knew one ſold for near eight hundred crowns, and a Goat for an hundred, but theſe alſo multiplied ſo faſt that they were become of little value in his time. Hogs were much dearer than Goats. Pedro de Sieca relates, that he ſaw a Sow and Pigs ſold for near four hundred pounds, and that young Pigs were ſold for a hundred crowns a-piece; but then we are to conſider how plentiful ſilver was in thoſe countries at that time; and that the Spaniards would give any price for their own country food: Theſe animals alſo multiplied in Peru to a prodigious degree; for De la Vega relates, that he ſaw two Sows in 1558 that had two and thirty Pigs each.

There have alſo been ſome Camels carried over, but theſe have not increaſed much.

The firſt European Sheep De la Vega ſaw in Peru was in the year 1556, when they were valued at forty and fifty crowns a-head, but they were increaſed ſo much in ten years time, that a Sheep might be had for a trifle; one reaſon of which may be, that there are no Wolves, or ſcarce any wild beaſts to deſtroy them. And as they have great numbers of Sheep, ſo they have a proportionable quantity of wool, but not fine; all the wool I have ſeen in countries between the Tropics has been coarſe, and more like hair than wool; and indeed the Spaniſh writers tell us, the wool of Peru ſerv'd only for the cloathing of the common people; the garments the Indian Princes wore were made of the fine hair or furr of the Vicugnes, or Mountain-goats.

There were not it ſeems either Houſe-cats or Rats in Peru 'till the Spaniards imported them, and the Rats probably were carried thither in ſhipping againſt their wills; but they multiplied ſo faſt, and grew ſo large on the coaſt of Peru, that in the year 1572 and 1573, they almoſt occaſioned a famine, by eating up the corn as ſoon as it was ſown, and by peeling the bark of the fruit-trees, and gnawing the roots; inſomuch that they were forced to publiſh a proclamation, or act of ſtate, that every houſe ſhould lay Ratsbane to deſtroy them, and in the mean time that they ſhould cover their meat and drink from the Rats, to prevent people's being poiſon'd: De la Vega ſays, as he walk'd one evening by the water-ſide, he ſaw the ground cover'd with Rats that had been poiſon'd, and came thither to drink for above an hundred paces; and by this and ſome other means their numbers were conſiderably leſſen'd for a time.

Fowls.

The Peruvians, according to De la Vega, had no tame fowls or poultry 'till the Spaniards imported them, unleſs it were a fowl that ſomething reſembled a Duck, and was between the ſize of a Gooſe and a Duck: Theſe the Indians called Nuuma, deriving the name from Nuna, to ſuck, becauſe they drew in their meat as if they were ſucking.

But as to wild fowl and birds they had great variety both on the land and on the water: They had Eagles, but not ſo large as thoſe of Europe; Hawks of ſeveral kinds, and ſome ſorts that were never ſeen on this ſide the Atlantic; but the Spaniards could never bring any of them to fly at game, and therefore imported Spaniſh Hawks for that ſport: The moſt remarkable bird of prey was that which the Indians call'd the Conder, or Cuntur, many of which with the wings extended meaſured fifteen or ſixteen foot from the extremity of one wing to the other; they are a very fierce voracious fowl, and have feet like a Hen (not talons like the Eagle;) however, they are ſo ſtrong that two of them 'tis ſaid will ſet upon a Bull or a Cow if they find them lying down, and rip up their bowels; and ſome of them have kill'd boys of ten or twelve years of age, and devoured them; they are black and white like a Magpie, and have combs on their heads; and when they riſe, or light, their wings make ſuch a humming noiſe that it aſtoniſhes a man; there are but very few of theſe terrible animals, but it ſeems they make no ſmall havock among the cattle where they haunt.

The ſame writer mentions a kind of large carrion Crows, which devour fleſh to that degree, that they can't fly 'till they have diſgorg'd it, and ſays it is one of the diverſions of the country to purſue them on horſeback, when they ſpue up the fleſh all the way they run 'till they are light enough to fly; but are ſometimes taken before they can mount.

Upon the coaſt of the Pacific-ocean there are ſuch numbers of birds and fowls which prey upon the ſhoals of fiſh, that they ſometimes darken the ſky for two or three leagues, in DE LA VEGA's phraſe; their rivers and lakes alſo abound in water-fowl, ſuch as Herons, wild Ducks, wild Geeſe, Swans, and many other kinds that we never ſaw in Europe.

They have two ſorts of Partridges, and a pretty great plenty of them; one ſort as large as Hens, and the other leſs than European Partridges, both of them of a greyiſh colour, and delicious food; they have alſo good ſtore of Wood-pidgeons, but had no Dove-houſe Pidgeons 'till they were imported from Spain; there are Turtle-doves of the ſize and colour of thoſe of Europe, and others no bigger than Larks, that build in the eves of houſes, and a great variety of ſmall birds; but they abound more in Parrots than any other, and theſe are of various ſizes and colours, the leaſt of the bigneſs of Larks, and the largeſt as big as Pullets; they are green, yellow, blue, and red, and ſome of them have fine long feathers in their tails, with which the Indians adorn their heads on feſtival-days.

Theſe Parrots, at the ſeaſon of the year when the corn is ripe, come from the mountains into the plains in ſuch numbers, that they ſpoil great quantities of Maize, or Indian-corn.

Fiſh.

The South-ſea is well repleniſh'd with all manner of fiſh (particularly Pilchards) which are a great part of the ſubſiſtence of the people upon the Peruvian coaſt, but their rivers afford ſcarce any fiſh, which is aſcrib'd to their rapidity, falling with great violence from the high mountains of the Andes, and the ſhallowneſs of their channels; and there may be this further reaſon for it, that moſt of them are dry at one ſeaſon of the year, when the fiſh muſt periſh if there were any in them; at other times they have ſome fiſh in their lakes, but ſcarce any that are good for much, moſt of them a ſmall long fry not bigger than Sprats and without ſcales; there is one kind indeed DE LA VEGA mentions, that has a broad head like a Toad, which he ſays are pretty good eating.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Mexican vegetables, viz. of their foreſt and fruit-trees, corn, herbage, roots, flowers, balm, gums, and drugs.

Vegetables. Foreſt-trees.

Kinquina, or Peruvian-bark.

FOREST or timber-trees are very ſcarce in Peru, unleſs in the province of Quitto near the Equator, and here they have cedars, cotton-trees, cocoa-trees, palms, mangroves, bamboes, the maho-tree, light wood, and many other kinds of wood which have been deſcrib'd in treating of Mexico; but none are more valuable than the tree which furniſhes us with the Kinquina, or Peruvian-bark, which grows in the province of Quitto, upon the mountains near the city of Loxa (ſituated in 5 degrees ſouth latitude). Mr. BERNARD informs us, that it is of the ſize of a cherry-tree, the leaves round and indented, and bears a long reddiſh flower, from whence ariſes a kind of pod, in which is found a kernel like an almond, cloath'd with a ſlight rind: That bark which comes from the trees at the bottom of the mountains is thickeſt, becauſe it receives moſt nouriſhment from the earth. It is ſmooth, of a whitiſh yellow without, and of a pale brown within; that which comes from the trees at the top of the mountains is abundantly more delicate; but the trres which grow in the middle of the mountains have a bark ſtill browner than the other, and more rugged; all theſe barks are bitter, but that from the trees at the bottom of the mountains leſs than the others.

It follows from hence, that the bark of the leaſt virtue, is that which grows in the loweſt places; becauſe it abounds more with earthly and watry parts, than that which grows high, which for the contrary reaſon is better; but the beſt is, that which grows in the middle of the mountains, becauſe it has not too much or too little nouriſhment: There is another kind of this bark which comes from the mountains of Potoſi (in 21 degrees and a half ſouth latitude) that is browner, more aromatick, and bitterer than the former, but much ſcarcer than any of the reſt.

The qualities we ought to obſerve in the bark are, that it be heavy, of a firm ſubſtance, ſound and dry; we ought to reject ſuch as is rotten, and will ſuck in water preſently, and ſuch as flies into duſt on breaking, or is dirty and unclean; but we ſhould make choice of little thin pieces, dark and blackiſh without, with a little white moſs ſticking to it, and reddiſh within, and it ſhould be of a bitter diſagreeable taſte: That which is of a ruſſet-colour ought to be rejected; and care ſhould be taken there be no other wood mix'd with it, there being ſometimes more of that than of the bark itſelf.

EMERY deſcribes the Kinquina, or Fever-bark, in the following manner; he ſays, the tree from whence it is taken is of the ſize of an ordinary cherry-tree, and that there are two ſorts of it, the one cultivated, and the other wild, and that the cultivated is much preferr'd to the other; that the beſt bark is of the moſt lively colour, reſembling dark cinnamon, moſt curl'd up, as coming from the ſmaller branches; of a bitter taſte, very aſtringent, or rough and ſtiptick upon the tongue, and whitiſh outwardly: The thick flat dark-coloured is not ſo good, and if it wants the bitter taſte and ſtipticity, is good for nothing.

Phyſicians obſerve, that it is a ſpecifick for all ſorts of intermitting fevers and agues, and that it ſtops catarrhs and fluxes of all ſorts; but that it ought not to be given in continued burning fevers, or when the fit is upon the patient: It is prohibited alſo in obſtructions, or where people are coſtive, and in many other caſes; and in ſhort, they would never have it adminiſtred without the advice of the learn'd; but to me it ſeems to be the moſt innocent medicine that ever was taken, eſpecially if the bark be chew'd: This way I believe it may be taken almoſt in any caſe, and at any time, without any danger, and is not near ſo nauſeous as in the powder; and if I may judge by experience, has more effect this way than any other, and a leſs quantity of it will do than when it is taken in powder; one reaſon whereof may be, that perſons who chew it, uſually make choice of the beſt; whereas the Apothecary crams wood or any thing down the patient's throat, and ſuch rubbiſh cannot be expected to have the ſame ſucceſs as real bark.

Indian-corn.

Maize, or Indian-corn, which has been deſcrib'd already, may be call'd the ſtaff of life in this coun-

Their huſbandry.

try, being as generally eaten as wheat in Europe. They alſo made their ſtrongeſt drink of it after they had ſteep'd and dry'd it, as we do barley; and as the country is for the moſt part hot and dry as well as mountainous, they were at great pains in collecting the waters and introducing rivulets into their corn-fields, without which this kind of grain will not grow in that hot climate. They throw their fields therefore into level ſquares, that they may retain the water; and where they meet with a mountain of a tolerable good ſoil, they cut it into ſquares, one above another, from the bottom to the top, ſupporting them with little ſtone walls; ſo that they look like hanging-gardens or ſtairs: And if they can meet with a fountain on the top of the hill, from thence they water all the ſquares beneath: They uſed alſo to make aqueducts and canals, ſeveral hundred miles in length, into which they brought all the ſtreams and rivulets they could meet with, and from theſe every man was allow'd to let water into his grounds, in his turn, to improve both his corn and graſs. So diligent and induſtrious were the ancient Peruvians in their huſbandry. But the Spaniards, we are told, have let moſt of theſe aqueducts run to ruin; one reaſon whereof may be, that the Spaniards have now introduced Wheat and other European grain, which may not require ſo much moiſture: And another reaſon for this neglect may be, that theſe countries are not half ſo populous as when the Spaniards arriv'd there, and conſequently leſs grain is wanting. I can't avoid taking notice here, that the Chineſe and the Peruvians ſeem to agree pretty much in their agriculture, and to have been equally induſtrious in improving their grounds, cutting their hills into ſquare ſpots, ſo as to make them fruitful to the top. Both theſe diſtant nations alſo agreed in this, that human dung was the beſt compoſt for ſome grounds.

By the ſea-coaſt, below Arequipa, for 200 leagues, they uſe no other dung but that of ſea-fowls, of which there are incredible numbers breed on the iſlands near the coaſt, and lay ſuch heaps of dung, that at a diſtance they appear like hills of ſnow. On other parts of the coaſt, more to the ſouthward, they dung their lands with a ſmall fiſh like Pilchards; and it is with infinite labour here, for ſix or ſeven hundred leagues along the coaſt of Peru and Chili, that the natives find a ſubſiſtence; for they have no ſprings or rivers; nor does a drop of rain ever fall on thoſe parch'd ſands: The natives therefore near the ſea, according to De la Vega, dig through the ſand 8 or 12 foot deep, and there meeting with earth which has ſome moiſture in it, plant grains of Maize in holes, at equal diſtances, and in the ſame holes put ſome Pilchards heads, which, without any other dunging or watering, brings the corn to perfection; by which means they get bread enough to ſuſtain the few inhabitants that dwell on that barren part of the coaſt.

European grain ſow'd in Peru.

Wheat and Barley, my author ſays, were firſt imported into Peru about the year 1540, by a noble Lady, who had a plantation beſtow'd on her by the Spaniſh Viceroy, for being ſo great a benefactor to the country; both theſe kinds of grain thriving well, and yielding a great increaſe in ſeveral parts of Peru.

Vines planted there.

Francis de Caravantes, a Nobleman of Toledo, had the honour of planting the firſt Vines in Peru, which he imported from the Canaries about the ſame time. The Spaniards, in a very few years afterwards, made wine there; but it ſeems the Indians preferr'd their own liquor, made of Indian-corn, to any wine made of Grapes, and liked bread made of Maize better than wheaten bread; ſuch ungenteel palates had my country-men, ſays La Vega.

Their vineyards water'd.

They water their vineyards in all parts of Peru chiefly by turning rivulets through them, or letting in the water from ſome adjacent river or reſervoir; for the country is ſo hot and dry, that their Vines will yield no Grapes if they are not water'd: When they would have them bear fruit therefore, they water the Vines, and they have ripe grapes at what time of the year they pleaſe.

Scarce any difference of ſeaſons.

The ſame thing is obſerv'd of their Maize, or Indian-corn, one man is ſowing of it, while his neighbour has it grown up a good height, and perhaps is ready for harveſt; that it may truly be ſaid, in great part of the country, they know no difference of ſeaſons.

Olives.

Sugar, Oranges, Peaches, &c.

Coco, Cocoa, Pine-apples, &c.

Olives have been carried over alſo into Peru, but they do not thrive there ſo well as other European plants; tho' they are found very agreeable to the ſoil of Chili. However, Peru, at this day, abounds in Sugar-canes, Oranges, Lemons, Figs, Cherries, Apples, Pears, Quinces, Nectarines, Peaches, Apricots, Plumbs, and Pomgranates; none of which fruits were in Peru before the Spaniards arrived there: But they had Coco-nuts, Cocoa-nuts, Pine-apples, Guava's, Plantains, and moſt of the fruits enumerated in Mexico.

Kitchen-gardens.

Caſſavi-root.

Fruits of Europe vaſtly large.

As to the kitchen-garden, they had neither Lettice, Radiſhes, Turnips, Garlick, Onions, Beets, Spinage, Aſparagus, Melons, Cucumbers, Peaſe, Beans or Rice; of all which there are now great plenty, as there are alſo of Roſes, Jeſſamin, and many odoriferous flowers they never ſaw before the Spaniards imported them. But then they had ſeveral ſorts of herbs, flowers, ſallading and roots that we want, particularly the Caſſavi-root, which ſerv'd great part of North and South-America inſtead of bread, as has been obſerved in the deſcription of Mexico: And 'tis obſerved of the fruits and plants that have been carried thither from Europe, that they thrive better, and grow much larger there than they do here. De la Vega relates, that he had ſeen bunches of Grapes from eight or ten pound weight, Quinces as big as his head, and other fruits proportionably large.

Balms.

Balſam of Peru deſcrib'd.

I muſt not paſs over the plants that produce thoſe excellent balms and gums for which this country is celebrated, and particularly that call'd the Balſam of Peru, of which we meet with the following account in the Hiſtory of Drugs. It proceeds from the trunks and branches of a little tree. There are three ſorts of it. The firſt is call'd the balſam by inciſion, and is a white liquor; the ſecond is called balſam of the ſhell, which drops from the ends of the branches that are cut, to which they hang ſmall flasks or baskets, to receive it; and thus they draw it off 'till the tree will yield no more. They expoſe it ſome days in the hotteſt places, where it congeals, and changes to a reddiſh colour. The third is a black balſam, which is made by boiling the bark-branches and leaves of theſe little trees in water; and after they have boil'd ſome time, they take off the fat or ſcum that ſwims on the top, which is of a black brown colour, and call'd (as well as the former) Balſam of Peru.

In the ſecond deſcription of this balſam in the Hiſtory of Drugs, it is ſaid there are three ſorts alſo; but that the firſt is call'd dry balſam, being a ſort of hard, reddiſh, fragrant roſin, the ſecond a liquid white roſin, and the third a black odoriferous balſam, which is moſt common, and generally uſed as well in phyſick as for perfumes: It ought to be viſcous, and of a turpentine conſiſtence; of a blackiſh-brown colour; a ſweet agreeable taſte, having ſome reſemblance of Storax. Theſe balſams are proper for the brain and ſtomach, drive malignant humours off by perſpiration, deterge and heal wounds, ſtrengthen the nerves, and reſolve cold tumors: The doſe from a drop to four or five.

Beſides this balm, the country produces Anami, Caranna, Storax, Caſſia-feſtata, Guaiacum, Sarſaparilla, Saſſifras, Copal, Liquid-amber, and ſeveral other gums and drugs, mentioned already in the deſcription of Mexico.

CHAP. VIII.

Of their minerals and precious ſtones.

Minerals.

Gold.

GOLD and Silver were ſo plentiful in Peru in the ſixteenth century, when De la Vega flouriſh'd, that he relates, there had been exported from thence to Spain every year, for twenty-five years ſucceſſively, the value of twelve or thirteen millions (of crowns, or pieces of eight, I preſume he means) each year, beſides what had paſſed without account. And obſerves, that Gold was found in every province of Peru, more or leſs; ſome found on the ſurface of the earth, and waſh'd down by torrents, which the Indians gather'd up in baskets and ſeparated from the ſand, being uſually as ſmall as the filings of ſteel; tho' ſometimes pieces are found of the ſize and form of Melon-ſeeds, and ſome are round, and others oval: And that the gold of Peru is generally about eighteen or twenty quillats (I ſuppoſe it ſhould be carats) in goodneſs; only the gold that comes from the mines of Callavia or Caravana, he ſays, he has been inform'd is of the fineneſs of twenty-four carats or better. "And here it may be proper to inform ſuch as are not converſant in theſe matters, that a carat of gold is of the weight of a ſcruple, or twenty-four grains, and conſequently twenty-four carats make an ounce: And gold that is entirely fine, is call'd of twenty-four carats, becauſe, if you put an ounce of ſuch gold to the proof, it will not be diminiſhed; but if an ounce of gold waſte a ſcruple in the proof, it is gold of twenty-three carats. If it waſte two ſcruples, it is gold of twenty-two carats, and ſo on. But ſeveral Refiners are of opinion, there is no gold of twenty-four carats; for let it be refined never ſo well, there will remain ſome light portion of ſilver in it."

Our author proceeds, and relates, that in the year 1556, there was dug out of the veins of a rock in the mines of Callavia (of the fineſt ſort of gold, being of twenty-four carats) a piece of gold ore as big as a man's head, ſomething reſembling a man's lungs in colour and ſhape, having certain perforations in it from one end to the other; and in all the holes were little kernels of gold, as if melted and dropp'd into them. And ſome who underſtood the nature of this mineral were of opinion, that had it remained in the rock, it would all have turn'd into perfect gold in time.

The owner of this valuable piece of ore was carrying it over to Spain, in order to make a preſent of it to King Philip II. but the ſhip was caſt away in the voyage, and he periſh'd with his treaſure.

Gold, ſays a certain writer, is the moſt ſolid, weighty, compact metal, generated in mines in ſeveral parts of the world; but the greateſt quantity is brought in bars or ingots from Peru. That which is found in a maſs or lump in the mines, is called virgin gold, becauſe it comes pure out of the mine, and needs no farther preparation, and is ſoft enough to receive the impreſſion of a ſeal.

The ſecond ſort is in grains, not ſo fine as the firſt. The third is gold mix'd with other metals; and the marcaſite or mineral ſtone, the gold and the ſtone being form'd and incorporated together: This is call'd gold-ore. And the fourth is gold-duſt, mix'd with ſand at the bottoms of rivulets; and there is ten times more gold found in ſuch ſands than is acquired all other ways.

Marcaſites.

All ſtones, which contain any metal, are called marcaſite. But the three principal ſtones that are called marcaſite are, thoſe that contain gold, ſilver, or copper. The two firſt are in little balls, of the bigneſs of a nut, almoſt round, weighty, and browniſh without, but of different colours within; for the firſt is of the colour of gold, the other of ſilver, but both bright and ſhining.

Gold is often found mix'd with ſilver or copper. That which is mix'd with ſilver, is of fewer carats than that mix'd with copper. Father Feuillee relates, that he was at Lima in Peru in the year 1709, and ſaw in the cabinet of Don Antonio Portocaroro, a piece of gold-ore as it came out of the mines, that weigh'd thirty-three pounds, ſome odd ounces, which was found by an Indian in a brook. The upper part of it was gold of twenty-two carats, and the loweſt of ſeventeen carats and an half, decreaſing gradually in its fineneſs to the bottom.

Silver of Potoſi.

There are a great many ſilver mines in ſeveral parts of Peru; but thoſe of Potoſi, in the province of Charcas, in 22 degrees of ſouthern latitude, are the richeſt. Theſe were diſcover'd in the year 1545, about fourteen years after the Spaniards invaded that country. The mountain, in which the mines are, is now entirely undermin'd, ſuch vaſt quantities of ſilver having been drawn from it. It is of the form of a ſugar-loaf, of a dark red colour, a league in circumference at bottom, and a quarter of a league towards the top, and ſtands in the middle of a plain, being ſome mornings cover'd with a cap of ſnow, for it is exceeding cold here, conſidering it lies within the Tropics, and never was a more barren country ſeen for ſeveral leagues round; but 'tis obſerved, wherever the earth is enrich'd with this kind of treaſure, there are no fruitful fields or paſtures to be met with: At the foot of this mountain, riſes another little hill, in which are ſome mines, and the Spaniards have given it the name of Young Potoſi. Theſe mines were never diſcover'd, or wrought by the Indians, before the arrival of the Spaniards, tho' they had dug thoſe of Poreo about 6 leagues diſtant from Potoſi.

Acosta relates, that they were diſcover'd by mere accident. He ſays, an Indian, purſuing his game up the mountain of Potoſi, and being like to fall, laid hold of a ſhrub, that grew upon a vein of ſilver, to ſave himſelf; and happening to pull it up by the roots, thereby diſcovered the rich metal underneath. He kept the thing ſecret, it ſeems, 'till he had drawn from it ſilver enough to enrich himſelf and his family; but at length it was diſcovered to the Spaniards, who thereupon parcel'd it out among ſuch adventurers, as would undertake the digging and refining the ſilver, on ſuch terms as the Government impoſed on them.

That which made the mines of Potoſi the more valuable, was, that they were never hinder'd working by water, as they are in other mines, though they had ſunk them two hundred fathom deep. Acosta informs us, that the firſt forty years theſe mines of Potoſi were wrought, there were regiſtered * one hundred two thouſand millions of

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* This muſt ſurely be a miſtake; the hundred at leaſt, ought to have been left out.

pieces of eight (or crowns) beſides a great deal that had been carried off without paying cuſtom; but according to ſome late travellers, theſe mines begin to be exhauſted. To proceed:

The ſame writer gives the following account of the ſtate of the mines of Potoſi. In his time, he ſays, this rock of Potoſi then contained four principal veins, all which lay on the eaſt ſide of the mountain, towards the riſing ſun; and on the weſt part there was not any one vein: That the veins run from north to ſouth, the largeſt of them being ſix foot over, and the narroweſt about a ſpan broad; and there are other ramifications, which branch'd out like the boughs of trees: That in the richeſt of theſe veins, there were ſeventy-eight mines, eighty or an hundred fathom deep, and ſome two hundred. But at length, inſtead of digging downwards, they opened the rock at the bottom, and ſo proceeded horizontally, 'till they met with the ſilver-veins; but he obſerves, that the nearer the vein is to the ſurface of the earth, the richer it is. Theſe vaults, by which they pierc'd into the mountain, were called Soccabous, being eight foot in breadth, and a fathom in height, and by theſe they eaſily drew out the metal as they found it; but he ſays, the rock was ſo hard, that they work'd between twenty and thirty years in the principal of theſe Soccabous, before they came at the metal: And as they labour in theſe ſubterraneous paſſages, without receiving either light or heat from the ſun, the air is ſo cold and unwholſome, that a perſon, at his firſt entrance into them, is ſeiz'd with a diſorder not unlike that of ſea-ſickneſs; as our author himſelf, who viſited them, experienced. The labourers in theſe mines take it by turns, working alternately night and day, which to them are alike, as they always work by candle-light. The ore is commonly ſo hard, that they are forced to break it with hammers, and it ſplits, as if it were flint.

Quickſilver mines.

Another part of the riches of Peru conſiſts in their Quickſilver, of which they have ſeveral mines in the audience of Lima, particularly in the mountains of Oropeza and Guancavilca, near the city of Guamanga. It is found, according to ACOSTA, in a kind of ſtone called Cinabar, which likewiſe yields Vermilion. He obſerves, that the native Indians had long wrought theſe mines, before the Spaniards arrived, without knowing what quickſilver was. They ſought only for the Cinabar, or vermilion, which they call'd Limpi, eſteeming it for the ſame reaſon the Romans and Ethiopians did anciently; namely, to paint their faces and bodies on feſtivals and rejoicing times, and to beautify and adorn the images of their gods.

Nor did the Spaniards diſcover there was quickſilver in theſe mines, 'till the year 1567, when HENRIQUES GARCIAS, a native of Portugal, happening to meet with a piece of that ore, which the Indians call'd Limpi, and with which they painted their faces, conſider'd that this muſt be the ſame which they call'd vermilion in Spain; and knowing that vermilion was extracted out of the ſame ore as quickſilver was, he went to the mines to make the experiment, and found it to be according as he had conjectur'd; and great numbers of labourers were immediately employ'd to draw the quickſilver out of theſe mines, of which there are many in the above-ſaid mountains; one whereof ACOSTA deſcribes to be a rock of hard ſtone, intermix'd with quickſilver, extending above fourſcore yards in length, and forty in breadth, and threeſcore and ten fathom deep; ſo capacious, that three hundred men might work in it at a time. They did not begin to refine their ſilver with mercury, at Potoſi, 'till the year 1571, when FERNANDEZ DE VALESCO came thither from Mexico, and put them into this way: Whereupon they convey'd their quickſilver to the port of Arica by ſea, and from thence by land-carriage to the mines of Potoſi, and by this means they extracted a great deal more ſilver from their ore, than ever they could do before by fire alone.

Father ACOSTA proceeds to give us this farther account of the manner of refining, or ſeparating quickſilver from the ore. He ſays, they take the ſtone, or hard ore in which it is found, and beating it to powder, put it into the fire in earthen pots well luted and cloſed, and the ſtone being melted by the heat of the fire, the quickſilver ſeparates itſelf, and aſcends 'till it encounters the top of the pot, and there congeals; and if it was ſuffer'd to paſs out, without meeting any hard ſubſtance, it would mount 'till it became cold, and then congealing, would fall down again; but as they melt the ore in earthen pots, it congeals at the top of the pots, which they unſtop, and draw out the metal when it is cold; for if there remain any fume or vapour, it endangers the lives of the workmen, at leaſt they will loſe their teeth, or the uſe of their limbs.

They put the quickſilver, when it is melted, into ſkins, for it keeps beſt in leather; and thus they ſend it from the quickſilver mines to Potoſi, where they ſpend above ſeven thouſand quintals (an hundred weight) in refining ſilver, every year, beſides what is ſpent at other mines. The richeſt ore, 'tis obſerved, conſumes moſt quickſilver, and the pooreſt much leſs: They firſt beat, or grind the ore very ſmall, and ſift it through fine ſieves: Then they put it into veſſels upon the furnaces, allowing to every fifty quintals of powder'd ore, five quintals of ſalt, for the ſalt ſeparates the earth and filth from the metal, and thereupon the ſilver is the more eaſily extracted by the quickſilver. "As "to the reſt, I refer to the deſcription of Mexico, "where I have already inſerted ACOSTA's account "of refining ſilver by quickſilver."

Quickſilver, both fix'd and running, found in the mines.

In the Hiſtory of Drugs it is ſaid, that quickſilver is found in the mines after different manners, ſometimes incloſed in its own mineral, and ſometimes fluid, and of as changeable a figure as we ſee it: It is found ſometimes among earth and ſtones, and very often embodied in natural cinabar: Thoſe who take quickſilver from its mine, or, more properly, from the places it lies in, make uſe of great iron retorts to ſeparate it from its mineral, or other hard bodies with which it is joined; and by means of fire, and the freſh water into which it falls, they render it fluid, as we commonly have it: When it is found running, or liquid, in the ground, the ſlaves, who gather it, have nothing to do but to ſtrain it through ſhamois-leather to cleanſe it from its impurities; and, according to this author, there are but two places in Europe where quickſilver is found, viz. in Hungary and Spain; and though ſome have aſſerted it has been found in France, they are miſtaken; he admits indeed there was a mine of cinabar lately found in Normandy, but the great charges of working it obliged them to ſtop it up again. LEMERY obſerves, that quickſilver is found on the tops of mountains, cover'd with white ſtones as brittle as chalk, and that the plants which grow upon ſuch mountains are greener and larger than in any other places; but the trees that are near the quickſilver mines rarely produce fruits or flowers, and that they uſually find a great deal of water about theſe mines, which is neceſſary to draw off at the foot of the mountain before they can be wrought.

Quickſilver is ſo very weighty, that Mr. De Furetiere affirms, a ſolid foot of mercury weighs nine hundred forty-ſeven pounds, and that a cubical foot of the Seine-water weighs but ſeventy pounds; ſo that a veſſel that will hold thirty-five pints of that water, will contain nine hundred forty-ſeven pounds of quickſilver; and it is ſo exceeding ſtrong as well as weighty, that an hundred and fourſcore pounds of quickſilver will bear up an iron weight of fifty pounds, as this writer avers he had ſeen and experienced.

The properties of quickſilver, ſays that Gentleman, are ſo great, that they exceed imagination; into whatever ſhape you metamorphoſe mercury, you may make it return to its firſt ſtate, and that with a very little diminution. Borrichins, a Daniſh Chymiſt ſays, that having operated upon mercury for a year together, and reduc'd it into ſeveral forms, it took its own ſhape at laſt by means of a little ſalt of tartar: I ſhall not, ſay the ſame writers, pretend to decide the controverſy, whether it be cold or hot; but can affirm, it is ſo cold externally, that it is impoſſible to hold one's hand in a quantity of quickſilver a quarter of an hour: He adds, that when the Dutch have a mind to make quickſilver portable, they fix it very eaſily, and put it into all ſorts of veſſels, even into paper, and ſend it to their correſpondents, who have the ſecret to make it run again without any charge.

As mercury (ſays Lemery) is a very fluid body, ſo it is more difficult to be found than other metals; for it inſinuates itſelf into earth, and into the clefts of ſtones, ſo that you often loſe the ſight of it, when you think you are juſt going to take it up; and men cannot work at it many years without having the Palſy; ſo that few are employ'd in it but criminals (in Europe he means). He adds, that quickſilver is not always taken out of the mine neat and running, but generally mix'd with earth, or reduc'd into a natural cinabar, by ſome portion of ſulphur it has met withal: That which has but a little earth with it, may be ſeparated, by ſtraining it through leather; but when it has a great deal of earth, or other impurities, it muſt be put into iron retorts, to be purified in the manner abovementioned.

The beſt way of purifying quickſilver, ſays the ſame author, is to mix together two equal parts of powder of cinabar, and filings of iron, and fill about half, or two thirds of a retort with them; then place it on a reverberating furnace, and fit to it a glaſs recipient full of water, without luting the joints: Increaſe the fire to the fourth degree, you will find the quickſilver diſtill, and fall to the bottom of the recipient: Keep on the fire 'till no more will riſe, and you will have thirteen ounces of running mercury from one pound of cinabar, which muſt afterwards be waſhed, and dry'd with linnen cloths, and ſtrain'd through a leather, and we may depend upon its purity.

Cinabar, according to Lemery, is of two ſorts; the one natural, call'd Mineral Cinabar, the other artificial, call'd Simple Cinabar: The natural is found form'd in ſtones that are red, ſhining, and weighty, in the quickſilver mines.

The natural cinabar hath been ſublimated by the ſubterraneous fires, almoſt in the ſame manner as the artificial cinabar; but as in its ſublimation it is mix'd with earth, it is not ſo weighty, pure, or beautiful as the artificial cinabar, and contains leſs mercury.

The artificial cinabar is made with three parts crude mercury, and one part ſulphur mixed, and put into ſubliming veſſels over a gradual fire. It ought to be made choice of in fair ſtones, very weighty and bright, with long, clear, and fine points, of a browniſh red: Each pound of cinabar has fourteen ounces of mercury to two ounces of ſulphur.

Vermilion.

Vermilion, ſays the ſame writer, is cinabar in ſtone, ground with urine, or aqua vitæ; it is a moſt beautiful red, made uſe of by painters, &c.

As to the medicinal virtues of quickſilver, or mercury and cinabar, I muſt refer the reader to the Hiſtory of Drugs for his ſatisfaction, or rather to adviſe him never to meddle with them without the directions of the learned; for though they are excellent medicines, a very ſmall miſtake in the application of them, I perceive, may be fatal to the patient.

Precious ſtones.

As to the precious ſtones of Peru, I find they have great plenty of Emeralds here as well as in Mexico; but thoſe having been treated of there, it is needleſs to deſcribe them again.

Pearls.

They have alſo Turquoiſes, which are of a blue, or azure colour, as the Emeralds are of green, but not ſo much eſteem'd; Cryſtal alſo is found here: And Pearls they had in greater plenty in South than in North-America, particularly on the coaſt of Terra-Firma in the North-ſea, and in the Bay of Panama in the South-ſea; but thoſe fiſheries ſeem to be almoſt exhauſted.

CHAP. IX.

The hiſtory, religion, and government, of the ancient Peruvians, before the Spaniſh conqueſt.

Ancient hiſtory, religion, government, &c.

NOTHING is more uncertain than the original of nations, even in this part of the world, where we have the advantage of letters; perhaps there is not any one country in Europe that can tell from what particular people they are deriv'd, and conſequently neither know how, or when it was planted; much leſs what were the religion, cuſtoms, or manners of the firſt inhabitants; how then can we depend on the accounts they give us of Peru for any number of years before the Spaniſh conqueſt, when they had neither letters or characters to record the tranſactions of preceding ages?

Garciliasso de la Vega has indeed attempted to give us the hiſtory of Peru, even before the Inca's founded that empire, that is, four or five hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards, and was as well qualified for ſuch an undertaking, as any man could be in ſuch circumſtances, being deſcended, by his mother's ſide, from the royal family of the Inca's, and bred up among his mother's relations before they were converted to Chriſtianity, or had received the Spaniſh cuſtoms: And by the father's ſide was deſcended from a Spaniard of quality, and had the advantage of a liberal education: This Gentleman it ſeems made it his buſineſs for ſeveral years to inform himſelf, from his Indian relations and acquaintance, of the hiſtory and cuſtoms of their anceſtors; and afterwards came over to Spain, where that Court put him upon digeſting and methodizing his obſervations, and making them publick; which he did, under the title of *The Royal Commentaries of Peru*, and wanted no aſſiſtance which the Peruvians, or Spaniards could give him in compiling of them; but the Spaniards took care that this hiſtory ſhould be ſo modell'd, as to caſt as little reflection on their conduct in ſubduing Peru as poſſible; and the hiſtorian himſelf ſeems to have had a ſtrong biaſs towards the family of the Inca's, or Peruvian Emperors, from whom he was deſcended, aſcribing the civilizing of that people, and the inſtructing them in every thing that was uſeful or excellent, to them. And that he may reflect the greater honour on the Inca's, he repreſents the people of Peru, before the foundation of that empire, as barbarous as any people on the face of the earth; nay, more ſavage than the brutes themſelves: And he might have this farther view in thoſe horrid accounts he gives us of the ancient Peruvians; namely, to juſtify the Inca's invaſions of their neighbours, and reducing them under their obedience by force, and compelling them to abandon their former way of life, and ſubmit to the laws and government of the Inca's; affecting to give them the title rather of benefactors, than deſtroyers of mankind, as we find has ever been the practice of both ancient and modern conquerors, in order to palliate the injuſtice of their invaſions on the liberties and properties of their peaceable neighbours.

The ſavage lives of the ancient Peruvians, according to De la Vega.

De la Vega tells us, that the ancient Peruvians were at beſt but tamed beaſts, and ſome of them worſe than the moſt ſavage creatures; and beginning with their religion, he ſays, every tribe and family had its particular god; that they adored trees, mountains and rivers, and worſhipp'd Lions, and Tygers, and all manner of animals; others made ſtocks and ſtones the objects of their adoration; and ſacrificed not only their enemies, but their children to them, and eat them in great joy and feſtivity when they had done.

He confirms even that horrid and improbable tale of Blos Valeras, who relates, that the inhabitants of the mountains of Andes eat man's fleſh, and worſhipp'd the Devil, who appear'd to them in the form of a ſerpent, or ſome other animal: That when they took an ordinary priſoner in war, they quarter'd him, and divided him among their wives, children, and ſervants to be eaten; or perhaps ſold his fleſh in the ſhambles: If it was a noble captive, they ſtripp'd him of his garments, and ty'd him to a ſtake, and, alive as he was, cut him with knives and ſharp ſtones, paring off ſlices from the more fleſhy parts, as from the buttocks, calves of his legs, and the brawny parts of his arms, and ſprinkling the principal men and women with part of the blood, drank the remainder, and eat his fleſh in haſte, before it was half boil'd, leſt the miſerable wretch ſhould die before he had ſeen his fleſh devour'd, and intomb'd in their bowels; all this was perform'd by way of a religious offering, 'till the man expir'd; and then they compleated the feaſt, by devouring all the remainder of his fleſh and bowels, eating them with ſilence and reverence, as ſacred, and partaking of a deity. “Such, ſays De la Vega, was the manner of theſe brutes, becauſe the government of the Inca's was not received into their country;” inſinuating, that all Peru was peopled with ſuch ſavages, 'till the Inca's civiliz'd them: But ſure ſuch monſtrous relations need no confutation, the very repeating them is ſufficient to diſcredit them; human nature could never be thus depraved and degenerated; and thus much we are ſure of, that De la Vega could have no certainty of theſe facts, for they are either related of ſuch people as liv'd five hundred years before he wrote; or of thoſe who inhabited diſtant and inacceſſible countries, which the Inca's never penetrated, or had any commerce.

No foundation for theſe ſtories.

However, from ſuch ſtories as theſe, which the Peruvians ſeem to have been very full of, I make no manner of doubt but the Spaniards firſt took the hint, and repreſented the Peruvians themſelves to be addicted to the ſame barbarous cuſtoms, and made this a pretence for oppreſſing and enſlaving them: And when both Spaniards and Indians contributed to ſupport the truth of ſuch relations, no wonder they were ſoon propagated all over Europe; and we find it extremely difficult to undeceive the preſent generation, eſpecially as mankind are frequently delighted with ſuch relations as are moſt monſtrous and unnatural, and ſeem to wiſh they might be true.

De la Vega proceeds to repreſent the ancient Peruvians, as living under no government, and in no ſocieties, but diſpers'd over the country in dens and caves, like wild beaſts; neither building, planting, or cloathing themſelves, but feeding upon ſuch roots and fruits of the earth as grow ſpontaneouſly, or upon man's fleſh.

That others lived by robbery, or ſpoil, tyrannizing over their weaker neighbours, and treating them as ſlaves: That men's carcaſſes were commonly ſold in their ſhambles, and ſauſages made of their guts: That they eat their own children, and the women they had them by, if they were captives taken in the wars, fatting ſuch children when they came to be ten or twelve years of age, as we do calves or lambs (ſays De la Vega, and ſome other Spaniſh writers) and reſerving them as moſt delicious diſhes for their own tables. For all which, however, they have no better authority than tradition, as has been obſerv'd already, which, with the improbability of the thing, is abundantly ſufficient to make any one ſuſpend his belief of ſuch relations, eſpecially, if it be conſider'd that there are no ſuch people upon the face of the earth; and many of thoſe nations, that have been repreſented as barbarous, have proved more humane, gentle, and tractable than their enemies, who found it their intereſt to dreſs them up in ſuch ſhocking colours, particularly the people of Florida, and thoſe who inhabit ſome mountains and iſlands in the Eaſt-Indies and Africa; daily experience now diſcovering they have been groſly abuſed by ſuch miſrepreſentations.

In the next chapter, De la Vega charges the ancient Indians with ſodomy, and with having their women in common, without any regard to kindred or relation; and with practiſing the arts of poiſoning and witchcraft.

The reformation of the Peruvians by the Inca's.

But then he comes and relates in his 7th chapter, that all theſe barbarous cuſtoms were aboliſh'd by the Inca's, when they laid the foundation of their monarchy, and the people reduc'd to a more regular and decent way of living; of which they had in their family the following tradition.

That their father, the Sun (the Inca's giving out that they were the offspring of that glorious planet) beholding mankind in that deprav'd and ſavage ſtate above related, took compaſſion on them, and ſent a ſon and daughter of his own from heaven to earth, to inſtruct them to worſhip and adore him as their god, and to give them laws and precepts to govern themſelves by, to form them into ſocieties, and inſtruct them in building, planting, and husbandry, that they might live like men, and enjoy the fruits of the earth.

With ſuch inſtructions, their father (the Sun) plac'd his two children in the great lake of Titicaca, from whence they were to begin their labours for the reformation of mankind, giving them a little wedge of gold, which they were to ſtrike into the ground at every place they ſlept or reſted; and wherever this wedge ſhould ſink into the earth, and vaniſh out of their ſight, in that place they were to make their reſidence, and the people ſhould reſort to them to be inſtructed, their father (the Sun) conſtituting them Lords and Sovereigns over all men, that ſhould be reduced from their ſavage way of life by their means.

That travelling northward from the lake of Titicaca, and ſtriking the golden wedge into the earth in the valley of Cuſco, there it diſappear'd, as had been foretold; and thereupon they agreed to aſſemble the people there, in order to inſtruct them in the doctrines committed to them: Accordingly the man and the woman ſeparated, the one going to the north, and the other to the ſouth, declaring to all they met in thoſe wild and uncultivated deſarts, that their father (the Sun) had ſent them to be their teachers and benefactors, to draw them from that rude and ſavage way of life, form them into ſocieties, and inſtruct them in all ſuch arts as might render their lives eaſy and comfortable.

That the ſavages, obſerving theſe two perſons cloath'd and adorn'd, as their father (the Sun) had equipp'd them, and that by the gentleneſs of their words, and the graceſulneſs of their countenances, they manifeſted themſelves to be the children of the Sun, they were ſtruck with admiration, and gave them entire credit, adored them as children of the Sun, and obey'd them as their Princes.

Great multitudes being aſſembled, they led them to that ſpot of ground where Cuſco now ſtands, laid out the plan of the city, and inſtructed the people how to prepare materials for building it. In the next place, the Inca ſhew'd the men how to cultivate their lands, and bring the ſtreams of water into them, while his Queen taught the women to ſpin, and weave their cotton into garments, to dreſs their meat, and other parts of houſewifery. This colony flouriſhing extremely, drew in the neighbouring tribes to join them, and be partakers of their happineſs: And now the Inca, finding himſelf in a condition not only to defend himſelf againſt the reſt of the ſavages, but able to enlarge his territories by force, taught the people the uſe of arms; and thoſe, who refuſed to ſubmit themſelves voluntarily, were compell'd, ſays my author, by force, to relinquiſh their former vagrant life, and be obedient to the laws of ſociety, the Inca extending his conqueſts every day, and planting colonies in all parts of the country. This firſt Inca was named MANCO CAPAC, and his Queen COYA MAMA; and, according to DE LA VEGA's computation, they flouriſh'd about four hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards.

Manco Capac, firſt Inca.

His laws.

MANCO CAPAC did not only teach all his ſubjects to adore his father (the Sun) but inſtructed them alſo in the rules of morality and civility, directing them to lay aſide their prejudices to each other, and to do as they would be done by. He ordain'd, that murder, adultery, and robbery, ſhould be puniſh'd with death: That no man ſhould have but one wife; and that in marriages they ſhould confine themſelves to their reſpective tribes: And over every colony, he plac'd a Caracas, or Prince; or, as they call ſuch a Chief in other parts of America, a Cacique, who govern'd the people under them, as their ſubjects. He alſo built a temple to the Sun, taught the people to offer ſacrifices, and other religious rites, and erected a cloiſter for a certain number of ſelect virgins, who were all to be of the blood royal, and dedicated to the Sun.

Religious rites.

Among other inſtitutions, this Inca commanded, that all the males of his family ſhould have their heads ſhav'd, which they ſubmitted to, tho' nothing could be more troubleſome in their circumſtances, having no better inſtruments than ſharp flints to ſcrape off the hair; inſomuch that DE LA VEGA ſays, it was an obſervation of one of his Indian friends, "That "had the Spaniards introduc'd no other inventions "amongſt them, than Sciſſars, Looking-glaſſes, "and Combs, they had deſerv'd all the gold and "ſilver their country produc'd." He alſo ordered them to bore their ears, which they did with a thorn, and afterwards ſtretched the orifice to ſuch a degree, that it would hold the wheel of a ſmall pulley; and their ear-rings were of that form, which occaſion'd the Spaniards to call them Large Ears: They were alſo order'd to wrap a wreath, or cloth of various colours, four or five times about their heads, in form of a turbant; which three things were to diſtinguiſh the royal family of the Inca's from other people; tho' the reſt of the people were afterwards indulged ſo far, as to have their crowns ſhaved, to wear a black wreath about their heads, and to bore their ears, but not ſo wide as the family of the Inca's.

Laſtly, having reign'd many years, he ſummon'd a general aſſembly of the chiefs of his ſubjects, at the city of Cuſco, acquainting them, that he intended ſhortly to return to heaven, and take his repoſe with his father the Sun; and being now to leave them, as the laſt teſtimony of his affection for thoſe who had been his chief miniſters, and inſtruments of reforming that people, he adopted them for his children, conferring on them his own title of Inca, which they and their poſterity retain'd ever afterwards.

Sinchi Roca, ſecond Inca.

The Inca being dead, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, SINCHI ROCA, whom he had by his wife COYA MAMA his ſiſter; he alſo, after the example of his father, married his eldeſt ſiſter by the ſame mother, and this was the practice of all ſucceeding Inca's in their marriages, to marry their eldeſt ſiſters of the whole blood, tho' they did not ſuffer their ſubjects to marry their ſiſters, or near relations: The Inca's alſo had many wives and concubines that were not of the royal blood, but thoſe never inherited the crown.

The corpſe of the firſt Inca, MANCO CAPAC, was afterwards embalm'd, and placed in the temple of the Sun, where he was worſhipp'd by his ſubjects as a god, as were all the ſucceeding Inca's: But both the Sun and the Inca's ſeem to have been worſhipped as inferior deities, according to DE LA VEGA; for he aſſures us, the Peruvians acknowledg'd one almighty God, maker of Heaven and Earth, whom they call'd PACHA CAMAC, PACHA in their language ſignifying, the Univerſe, and CAMAC, the Soul: PACHA CAMAC therefore ſignified him who animated the world: And here he takes notice, that PEDRO DE SIECA ſuppoſes, in his 62d chapter, that the Peruvians call'd the Devil by this name; but that he, who was an Indian born, and better acquainted with their language, could aſſure us, that they never took this name into their mouths, but with the greateſt veneration, and ſigns of devotion; much more than when they mentioned the Sun or their Inca's: And being ask'd who PACHA CAMAC was, they anſwered, it was he who gave life to the univerſe, ſuſtain'd and nouriſh'd all things; but becauſe they did not ſee him, they could not know him, and therefore ſeldom erected temples, or offer'd ſacrifices to him, but worſhipp'd him in their hearts as the Unknown God, tho' there was one temple it ſeems in the valley, call'd from thence the valley of PACHA CAMAC, dedicated to the Unknown God; which was ſtanding when the Spaniards arriv'd in Peru: DE LA VEGA adds, that

The Peruvians notion of God.

that the name by which the Peruvians call'd the Devil, was **Capay**, which they never pronounced but they ſpit, and ſhew'd other ſigns of deteſtation. He proceeds to inform us, that their ſacrifices, and religious rites and ceremonies, were all taught them by the firſt Inca: That their principal ſacrifices to the Sun were lambs, but they offer'd alſo all ſorts of cattle, fowls, and corn, and even their beſt and fineſt cloaths, all which they burnt in the place of incenſe, rendring their thanks and praiſes to the Sun, for having ſuſtain'd and nouriſh'd all thoſe things, for the uſe and ſupport of mankind; they had alſo their drink-offerings, made of their Maize, or Indian-corn, ſteep'd in water; and when they firſt drank after their meals (for they never drank while they were eating) they dipp'd the tip of their finger into the cup; and lifting up their eyes with great reverence to heaven, gave the Sun thanks for their liquor, before they preſum'd to take a draught of it; and here he takes an opportunity to aſſure us, that the Inca's always deteſted human ſacrifices, and would not ſuffer any ſuch in the countries under their dominion, as they had heard the Mexicans, and ſome other countries did.

Their Prieſts of the royal blood.

All the Prieſts of the Sun that officiated in the city of Cuſco were of the royal blood, tho' the inferior Officers were taken out of thoſe who had been adopted into the privileges of the Inca's; the High Prieſt was either the brother, or uncle of the King, or one of his neareſt relations; but the Prieſts had no veſtments to diſtinguiſh them from others of the royal family; in other provinces, perſons of diſtinction among the natives were made Prieſts, but the High Prieſt was always an Inca; and each province had its cloyſter of ſelect virgins, that vow'd perpetual virginity.

All the laws and religious rites their firſt Inca inſtituted, were pretended to be the commands of his father the Sun, to give them the greater authority, tho' future Inca's, it ſeems, frequently took an opportunity of making ſuch improvements and alterations as they ſaw requiſite for the times they liv'd in.

Beſides the worſhip of the Sun, De la Vega informs us, they paid ſome kind of adoration to the images of ſeveral animals and vegetables, that had a place in their temples; and that the Devil enter'd into ſuch images, and ſpoke to them from thence, their Prieſts and Conjurers entertaining a familiar converſation with ſuch ſpirits: Of which kind of idolatry, De la Vega ſays, he can bear teſtimony, becauſe he has ſeen it with his own eyes (“ I preſume he means he had ſeen images worſhipped in the temple of the Sun, but he does not pretend to ſay, he heard any voice. This part of the ſtory probably he had from hear-ſay or tradition”); and theſe were the images brought from the conquer'd countries, where the people adored all manner of creatures, animate or inanimate; for whenever a province was ſubdued, their gods were immediately remov'd to the temple of the Sun at Cuſco, where the conquer'd people were permitted to pay their devotions to them, for ſome time at leaſt, for which there might be ſeveral political reaſons aſſign'd.

The Peruvians brought the idols of all nations into the temple of the Sun.

The Civil Government of the Inca's.

He proceeds to give ſome account of the Civil Government, inſtituted by the firſt Inca's: He ſays, the people were divided into Decurions, or Tythings, of which an exact regiſter was kept: That over every Decurion, or ten famalies, the maſter of one of the ten was appointed to preſide; that over every five of theſe diviſions was another Decurion, who had the command of fifty families, another Officer was placed over an hundred, another commanded five hundred, and the chief Officer a thouſand; but no man was ſuffered to govern more than a thouſand families: The loweſt Decurion of ten was to ſee that thoſe under his command wanted none of the neceſſaries of life, and was to deliver out to them corn to ſow their lands, wool for their cloathing, and materials to build their houſes, and to take care of ſuch as were ſick and infirm: He was alſo to be the Cenſor of their actions, and inform his ſuperiors of any crimes, or immoralities, committed by thoſe under his care, which were to be puniſh'd by him; but as for trivial offences, the loweſt Officer had the correction of them, and the deciſion of ſuits and controverſies of ſmall moment; and where differences aroſe between two provinces, theſe were decided by Commiſſioners appointed by the Inca himſelf; and there was a general Cenſor appointed to inſpect the conduct of the chief Officers, and Miniſters of State, who were puniſh'd capitally, if ever they oppreſs'd the ſubjects, or betray'd their truſts.

A profound ſubmiſſion to parents requir'd.

The conduct of parents and maſters of families was nicely inſpected, and the Decurion, as well as the Father, was anſwerable for the faults of the children of thoſe under their care: Like the Chineſe, they inculcated nothing more than a moſt reſign'd ſubmiſſion and obedience of children to their parents, encouraging a modeſt behaviour, and the utmoſt civility and reſpect, in ſpeaking to and addreſſing their ſuperiors; and as the Indians were naturally of a gentle and tractable temper, never was more peace and order ſeen in families, according to De la Vega.

Other commendable inſtitutions.

As every family was regiſtered, ſo the Decurions took care, from time to time, to intimate ſuch alterations as happened on them by births, marriages, or deaths; ſo that the Inca's were always apprized of the ſtate and condition of their provinces, the numbers of their ſubjects, and the forces and revenues proper to be required of them upon all occaſions, and were inform'd alſo of ſuch calamities and misfortunes as befel them, whether from floods, fires, unkind ſeaſons, peſtilence, and the like; and the Inca's thereupon immediately ſupplied them with whatever was wanting; ſo that the Spaniſh writers themſelves obſerve, they might juſtly be ſtiled, Fathers and Guardians of their people; and it ſeems one of the Inca's titles was, “A Lover of the Poor”; and ſo dutiful were their ſubjects, and obedient to the laws, that in this vaſt empire, which extended upwards of a thouſand leagues, it was rare to find one perſon convicted of a crime within the ſpace of a year, if we may credit De la Vega.

Second Inca.

The hiſtorian in the next place proceeds to give us ſome account of the reign of Sinchi Roca, the ſecond Inca, who anſwer'd the name that had been given him of a prudent and brave Prince; the word Sinchi ſignifying Wiſe, and that of Roca, Valiant.

This Prince having ſolemnized his father's funeral in a magnificent manner, inſtead of being crown'd, had a wreath, or coronet, of various colours bound about his temples, ſuch as the ſupreme Inca's wear; and was no ſooner eſtabliſhed on his throne, but he propoſed to the Caraca's, or Vaſſal Princes, the making an expedition in perſon to the South, to ſummon the neighbouring nations to come in, and acknowledge the Sun for their god, and the Inca for their Sovereign, and to require them to abandon their former ſuperſtition, and ſavage courſe of life: The Caraca's expreſſing their readineſs to attend

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their Prince, he ſet forward at the head of a numerous army, employing Heralds to march before him, and declare the intent of his approach: And the people were ſo alarmed with the gentleneſs of his adminiſtration, and the happineſs they ſaw his ſubjects enjoy beyond the reſt of mankind, ſays De la Vega, that they immediately ſubmitted to him, without compulſion; and during his whole reign, which was a long one, he never engag'd in war, or compelled any people to ſubmit to him by force, tho' he conſiderably enlarg'd his Empire; 'tis very poſſible, however, that the appearance of ſo formidable a power was the ſtrongeſt argument to induce theſe Indians to reſign their liberties, and change their religion for that of the Inca's; for few men part either with their religion, or ancient form of government, how abſurd or inconvenient ſoever, upon choice.

Sinchi Roca having reign'd many years, in imitation of his predeceſſor, declared he was going to repoſe himſelf with his father the Sun; and dying ſoon after, was ſucceeded by Loque Yupanqui, his ſon by his wife and ſiſter Mama Cora; having other children by her, but many more by his other wives and concubines, of the blood of the Inca's, all of which were held legitimate; but thoſe he had by other women were looked upon as baſe born: The Inca's were allowed to multiply and increaſe their children by any means, it being requiſite, ſays De la Vega, that the poſterity of the Sun ſhould be numerous: But the vulgar were confined to one wife a-piece.

Third Inca.

The Inca, Loque Yupanqui, receiv'd his firſt name from his being left-handed, and the other from his exalted ſtation, that of Yupanqui being given only to the Sovereign Inca.

He was not altogether ſo peaceable as his predeceſſor; for thoſe nations that refuſed to obey him on his firſt ſummons, were invaded, and treated in a hoſtile manner, 'till they made their ſubmiſſion; and were contented to forſake their former laws and cuſtoms, to adore the Sun as their god, and become ſubjects of the Inca.

He extended his conqueſts to the ſouthward of the Lake Titicaca, and taught the ſubdu'd people how to cultivate their grounds, to introduce rivulets into them, to make aqueducts, to build, to plant, and cloath themſelves decently; in all which the Peruvians were defective, according to De la Vega, 'till they were inſtructed by the Inca's; ſo that he would have us look upon theſe invaſions and conqueſts to be infinitely to the advantage of the conquered people, and an ample equivalent for all the ravages and devaſtations of war, tho' there is not much doubt, but the unhappy people, who felt the force of thoſe arms they could not reſiſt, would have been very well contented with their native ſimplicity and ignorance, rather than have been beaten into better manners: But to proceed; the Inca Loque Yupanqui, having finiſhed a glorious reign, and left a numerous iſſue of ſons and daughters, died in a good old age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Mayta Capac, whom he had by his ſiſter and wife Mama Coya.

Fourth Inca.

Mayta Capac, the fourth Inca, enlarg'd his dominions by the conqueſt of ſeveral other nations lying to the ſouthward of the Lake of Titicaca: In one of which, 'tis related, they found ſeveral ancient magnificent ſtructures of hewn ſtone, with variety of ſtatues of human form, excellently well carved; but this, I muſt confeſs, I can ſcarce credit; for if it be true, it confutes what De la Vega ſo often affirms, that the Inca's firſt taught the Mexicans to build, carve, &c. There is little remarkable in this reign, unleſs it be the Inca's making a great bridge or rather float of Oziers, on which he tranſported his army over great rivers, and invaded his enemies, who thought themſelves ſecured by thoſe waters from all invaſions: And that this ſo aſtoniſhed thoſe people, that they ſubmitted to the Inca without ſtriking a ſtroke. He died, according to De la Vega, after a triumphant reign of thirty years, wherein he acquired a great name both in peace and war. But though this author acknowledges, it was very uncertain how many years he reign'd, becauſe they had no regiſters or letters to record their actions; yet he afterwards ſays, it is certain he died full of honour, &c. Now if their quippo's or ſtrings were of ſo little uſe to them, that they knew not how to mark the number of years a Prince reign'd, much leſs could they convey down his character, or the hiſtory of his actions to poſterity. As I look upon the hiſtory of the Inca's therefore to be in a great meaſure fabulous, I ſhall give but a ſhort abſtract of it, 'till I come down to thoſe who reign'd about the time of the Spaniſh conqueſt.

Fifth Inca.

Capac Yupanqui, the eldeſt ſon of Mayta Caapc, ſucceeded his father, who ſeems to have been an unactive Prince, there being little ſaid of him.

Sixth Inca.

Inca Roca, eldeſt ſon of the former Emperor, ſucceeded him. The Spaniſh writers make this Inca one of the principal Peruvian Law-givers, and have given us ſome of his moſt celebrated ſayings: As, that upon his viewing and conſidering the heavens, he would ſay, "If the heavens be ſo glorious, which is the throne of the Pacha Camac (or great God) how much more reſplendent muſt his perſon and majeſty be who was the Creator of all things. Again, if I was to adore any terreſtrial thing, it ſhould be a wiſe and good man, whoſe excellency tranſcends all other creatures." Another ſaying they aſcribe to him is this: "That he that cannot make himſelf immortal, nor recover life after death, is not worthy of adoration." But theſe were probably made by ſome of the Spaniſh Miſſionaries; for how they ſhould be informed of the ſayings of a Prince who lived two or three hundred years before the Spaniards arrived there, is not eaſy to conceive.

Seventh Inca.

Inca Roca was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Yahncor Huacac; in whoſe reign there was a great rebellion of the Chanca's, inſomuch that the Inca abandoned the capital city of Cuſco, leaving it to be defended againſt the enemy by his ſon Viraçocha, who gave the Chanca's a great defeat; being miraculouſly aſſiſted by the Sun, as was pretended, who turned the very ſtones into men, and formed them into troops in favour of the Inca Viracocha.

After this victory, Viracocha became extremely popular; and his father ſo loſt the eſteem of his ſubjects by abandoning his capital city, that it was agreed to depoſe the old Inca, and advance his ſon Viracocha to the imperial dignity; which, 'tis ſaid, the ſon very readily accepted, and the father was afterwards content to lead a private life in one of his palaces, ſituated a ſmall diſtance from Cuſco.

Eighth Inca.

This Viracocha is repreſented as one of their moſt victorious Princes, and ſaid to be worſhipp'd as a god. And the Indians afterwards, as a teſtimony of the veneration they had for the Spaniards, gave them the title of Viracocha's, or gods, which this Inca aſſumed on pretence that he had ſeen a viſion of angelick form, that commanded him to take that title.

It is reported alſo by the Indians, that the Inca Viracocha pretending to the ſpirit of prophecy, foretold that, after the ſucceſſion of a certain number of Kings, a people ſhould arrive from far diſtant countries, never ſeen in thoſe regions before, and cloath'd like the angel in the viſion he had ſeen, who ſhould ſubvert their religion and empire: Which they held to be fulfilled at the Spaniſh conqueſt.

Viracocha is ſaid to have reign'd fifty years, which De la Vega thinks not improbable; for that he ſaw his body, which was preſerv'd till his time, and the hairs of his head were as white as ſnow: He was alſo ſhewn the bodies of ſeveral other Inca's, which he obſerves were more entire than the mummies of Egypt, wanting neither the hair of the head or eye-brows, or even the eye-laſhes, which were ſtill viſible. But I do not deſign to impoſe theſe things on any readers as articles of faith.

De la Vega adds, that the fleſh of theſe bodies appeared plump and full, and yet were ſo light that an Indian would eaſily carry one of them in his arms; and that in his time they uſed to carry them about to the houſes of the Spaniſh Gentlemen in Cuſco, who had the curioſity to ſee them.

Ninth Inca. The Inca Viracocha dying, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Pachacutec, who is repreſented alſo as a victorious Prince, and ſaid to have ſubdu'd many nations by the conduct of his Brother and General Capac Yupanqui; for this Emperor ſeldom took the field in perſon, but ſpent his time chiefly in erecting magnificent temples and palaces, regulating his Civil government, planting colonies, and making improvements in ſeveral parts of his empire; and having reign'd, as 'tis ſaid, fifty years with great glory, left this world to dwell with his father the Sun.

Tenth Inca. Yupanqui his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him, and is ſaid to have extended his empire to the eaſtward beyond the mountains of the Andes 200 leagues and upwards; but it was more by perſuaſion than force that this people were induced to ſubmit to him, and might be look'd upon as allies and confederates at laſt, rather than ſubjects; for as their ſituation was upon or beyond thoſe vaſt mountains, the Inca's found it impracticable to lead numerous armies thither. This Inca was unfortunate in an expedition againſt the nation of the Chirihuana's, which inhabited another branch of the mountains of Andes; and we are told were ſo barbarous, that they eat both friends and foes, and choſe the fleſh of men rather than that of any other animal; but this ſeems to have been a calumny fram'd by the Inca's, becauſe that people refuſed to ſubmit to their dominion; and were ſo ſituated the Inca could not conquer them: But however that was, the Inca Yupanqui being repuls'd in his attacks on the Chirihuana's, turn'd his arms to the ſouthward, and reduc'd ſeveral nations in the country of Chili; inſomuch that in his time the Peruvian empire is ſaid to have been of a thouſand leagues extent from north to ſouth. This Prince alſo carried on his conqueſts by his Generals, and ſeldom took the field in perſon. He erected ſeveral ſtately edifices, and among the reſt the celebrated caſtle of Cuſco, already deſcrib'd, and died at length much beloved and lamented by his ſubjects, being ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Tupac Yupanqui the eleventh Inca: He left alſo between two and three hundred children, more legitimate than illegitimate; and moſt of the Inca's had as many, looking upon it as a duty incumbent on them to increaſe the blood-royal, and render them as numerous as poſſible: It being for the honour of their god and father the Sun to have a numerous progeny, as they pretended. But this privilege of a plurality of women was never indulg'd to the vulgar.

Eleventh Inca. As the former Inca made conqueſts to the South, the preſent Inca Tupac Yupanqui carried his arms to the North, as far as the Equator, and ſubdued part of the kingdom of Quitto, one of the richeſt and moſt powerful in South America; and having ſpent two years in this war, ſent for his ſon Huana Capac, to whom he committed the care of finiſhing that conqueſt, and return'd to Cuſco. It is obſervable, that theſe people defending their country very obſtinately, and not ſubmitting to the Inca 'till they were ſubdu'd by pure force, had the misfortune alſo of having the name of canibals given them by their conquerors, and to be repreſented as the moſt barbarous of mankind.

Twelfth Inca. Tutac Yupanqui dying, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Huana Capac, who ſpent the firſt year of his reign in mourning and ſolemnizing his father's funeral, as their laws requir'd, and then viſited the ſeveral provinces of his empire. It is related, that at a feſtival, when his eldeſt ſon was to receive his name, he cauſed a chain of gold to be made of two hundred yards in length, and of the thickneſs of a man's wriſt, which was carried by thoſe that danc'd at that ſolemnity; for the cuſtom was, for an hundred men, and ſometimes two hundred or more, to take hands and dance in a ring together, and inſtead of joining hands the Inca order'd, that every one of the company ſhould take a link of this chain in his hands and dance as uſual, with muſick of all kinds: The Spaniards arriving not many years after, made ſtrict enquiry after this invaluable chain, but it was conceal'd from them by the Mexicans, which might be one occaſion of the Spaniards uſing them ſo cruelly. But however that was, the young Prince receiv'd the name of Huascar, or The Chain, from this rich utenſil. Huana Capac proceeded like his predeceſſors to enlarge his territories by his arms, and conquer'd the famous valleys of Tumpez and Pachacamac, with the Iſland of Puna, at the mouth of the river Guiaquil: The inhabitants of which iſland, cutting off ſome of his troops by treachery, after they had ſubmitted, he took a ſevere revenge of them, putting them to all kinds of deaths. In the mean time, another rebellion broke out in the great province of Chachapayas, on the ſide of the Andes, but he was ſo fortunate as to ſuppreſs this alſo with very little loſs: After which he turn'd his arms towards the country of Manta, on the ſea-coaſt, in which lies that port to which the Spaniards afterwards gave the name of Porto Veio, or the Old Harbour in 2 degrees of ſouth latitude: Here De la Vega ſays, the natives ador'd Lions, Tygers, and Serpents, and an Emerald that was as big as an Oſtrich's egg; to which the people, at their feſtivals, offer'd, among other things, ſmaller Emeralds of leſs value; which was the occaſion of the Spaniards finding ſuch a vaſt quantity of Emeralds amaſs'd together when they invaded this country, and made them imagine Emeralds had been as common almoſt as ordinary ſtones here.

From Porto Veio, the Inca advanc'd as far as Cape Paſſao, which lies juſt under the Equator, reducing all the nations on that coaſt to his obedience; which was not very difficult, the country being divided into ſmall tribes or families, that had no common Chief or any dependance on each other, and conſequently were in no condition to reſiſt ſo formidable a power as that of the Inca's. De la Vega charges theſe people with having their women in common, with ſodomy, and all manner of vice: In which ſtate he would have us believe all Peru remain'd, 'till reform'd by his anceſtors the Inca's: And on this account juſtifies all their invaſions and oppreſſions of that defenceleſs people in the ſame manner as the Spaniards afterwards did their invaſions and barbarous uſage of the inhabitants of the Inca's dominions.

Huana Capac having conquer'd the province of Paſſao, which lies under the Equator, determin'd to make this the limits of his empire towards the North: Having new-modell'd the government therefore, and conſtituted the ſame laws and cuſtoms that were obſerved in other parts of his dominions, he left garriſons behind him to preſerve his conqueſts, and return'd to his capital city of Cuſco.

It is reported of this Prince, that being reproved by the High Prieſt for looking ſtedfaſtly on the Sun, which was deem'd a high profanation by that people, anſwer'd, "There muſt be ſome Being whom our " father the Sun eſteems ſuperior to him, and more " powerful than himſelf; by whoſe commands he " every day meaſures the compaſs of the heavens " without intermiſſion, or allowing himſelf an " hour's repoſe. If he were ſupreme, and at his " own diſpoſal, he would certainly allot himſelf " ſome time for reſt, tho' it were but to pleaſe his " humour, and for the ſake of variety": But I have obſerved ſo many ſayings put into the mouths of the Indians by the Spaniſh Miſſionaries, and then reported as coming originally from thoſe Pagans, that I give the leſs attention to this, eſpecially ſince the ſame authors that report this, allow that the Peruvians acknowledg'd there was one almighty Being, that ſuſtained and governed the univerſe, whom they called Pacha Chamac, and that a temple was dedicated to this Pacha Chamac, or the unknown God; tho' he was ſeldom worſhipped, becauſe they knew ſo little of him, or in what manner he ought to be adored. Theſe hiſtorians therefore muſt forget themſelves, when they make Huana Capac, the twelfth Inca, the firſt of the Mexican Princes that made this reflection. But to return to the hiſtory.

Huana Capac, after the completion of the conqueſt of Quitto, having taken the daughter of that King to his bed, had by her a ſon, whom he named Atahnalpa, or Atabilipa, and is ſaid to have been fonder of him than any of his children: But as none of the ſons or daughters of the Inca's were held legitimate, but thoſe who were born of their ſiſters, or ſome near relation, and Huascar was the eldeſt legitimate ſon of this Inca, to whom all his dominions, by the laws of the empire, were to deſcend on his death; he appeared much diſquieted that his beloved ſon Atahnalpa, or Atabilipa, ſhould become a vaſſal to his eldeſt brother, and that he could not leave him the dominion of any one province: But his ſon Huascar being acquainted with the reaſon of his father's uneaſineſs, generouſly conſented he ſhould ſettle what part of his territories he pleaſed upon his beloved ſon. Whereupon Huana Capac conſtituted Atahnalpa King of Quitto (the inheritance of his mother) in his life-time.

It was in the reign of Huana Capac, namely, in the year 1515, that the Spaniards firſt appear'd with their ſhips upon the coaſt of Paſſao in Peru, which is ſituated under the Equator. They were commanded by the celebrated Vasco Nunez de Balbao, who firſt diſcovered the South-ſea, and would probably at this time have fixed colonies on that coaſt, had he not been recalled by Pedrarias, then Vice-roy of Darien, or Terra-Firma, who, envying his good fortune, recalled Vasco, and cauſed him to be put to death, under pretence that he was about to ſet up for himſelf, and throw off his dependance on the King of Spain his Sovereign: But the true reaſon was, that the Crown of Spain had made Vasco Adelentado, or Viceroy, of all the lands and territories he ſhould diſcover in the South-ſea; in purſuance of which commiſſion, he had, with indefatigable labour, found out the rich empire of Peru, and was about to reap the fruits of his induſtry. Pedrarias, the Vice-roy of Terra-Firma, therefore, envying his good fortune, recalled him, and put him to death, as has been related, and afterwards employ'd a great many ſkilful Sailors and Adventurers to follow Vasco's ſteps, and got poſſeſſion of the treaſures he underſtood were to be found in thoſe regions; but as the winds are always contrary to thoſe who come to the coaſts of Peru directly from the northward, all the Adventurers Pedrarias ſent out upon this expedition, returned with an account that the voyage was impracticable. Whereupon that diſcovery was entirely laid aſide, and abandoned for fifteen or ſixteen years, 'till Francis Pizarro and Almagro, fired with the repeated advices they received of the riches of Peru, obtained leave from Pedrarias, the Viceroy, to purſue that diſcovery Vasco Nunez had begun, at their own expence: Of which enterprize I ſhall treat, when I have finiſhed the hiſtory of the Inca's.

And here, whatever credit is to be given to things of this nature, I cannot avoid taking ſome notice of the portents and omens the Spaniſh hiſtorians, as well as the Inca De la Vega, entertain us with, which are ſaid to have preceded the fall of the Peruvian empire.

Three years before the Spaniards, under the command of Vasco Nunez de Balbao, appeared on the coaſt of Peru, 'tis ſaid a prodigy happen'd, which alarm'd and aſtoniſhed the Court and all the Empire: At their grand annual feſtival of the Sun, a royal Eagle, call'd in their language Anca, appear'd ſoaring in the air, and purſued by Hawks of all ſizes, which attack'd the royal bird with that fury, that he fell down among the Inca's, or royal family, as they march'd in proceſſion to the temple of the Sun, through the great market-place of Cuſco; and that he ſeem'd to beg their protection, having loſt moſt of his ſmall feathers in the encounter: That they nouriſh'd this Eagle with all the tenderneſs imaginable, but notwithſtanding their care, the bird died in a few days, which the Inca, his Prieſts and Diviners interpreted to preſage the total ruin of the empire, and of their religion, eſpecially as it was followed by violent earthquakes, that over-turn'd ſome of the neighbouring mountains. Upon the ſea-coaſt alſo, the Indians obſerved the tides, in their ebbings and flowings, did not keep their uſual courſe; and comets and apparitions were ſeen in the air. The Moon, in the midſt of a bright night, was obſerved to be encompaſſed with three large haloes, or circles, the firſt of the colour of blood, the ſecond black, and the third like a fog or ſmoak; which one of their adepts in magick obſerving, 'tis ſaid, came weeping into the preſence of the Emperor Huana Capac, and declared, that his mother the Moon, like a tender parent, by this phænomena made known to him, that PACHA CAMAC, the creator and ſuſtainer of all things, threaten'd his royal family, and empire, with grievous judgments: That the firſt bloody circle prognoſticated, that after he ſhould be gone to reſt with his father the Sun, terrible wars ſhould ariſe among thoſe of his own family, in which there ſhould be ſuch effuſion of blood, that his whole race ſhould be extinguiſh'd in a few years: That the ſecond black circle threaten'd his ſubjects with total deſtruction, and a ſubverſion of their religion and government, occaſioned chiefly by the diſſentions in his own family: That his empire ſhould be tranſlated to another people, and all his greatneſs vaniſh into ſmoke; which was ſignified by the third circle, that ſeem'd to be compoſed of vapours.

The Inca, 'tis ſaid, was aſtoniſhed at theſe predictions; but endeavoured, however, to hide his fears, and bid the Magician be gone, telling him, theſe were his laſt night's dreams, which he declar'd to him as revelations and advices from his mother the Moon. Whereupon the Diviner deſired him to go out of his palace and behold the three circles with his eyes, which he did, and thereupon aſſembled all the Magicians and Aſtrologers of his Court, who confirmed the interpretation their brother had made of theſe ſigns in the heavens.

HUANA CAPAC, however, that his people might not be diſcouraged, endeavoured ſtill to conceal his fears, and putting the beſt face he could upon the matter, told the Magicians, that unleſs PACHA CHAMAC himſelf reveal'd this to him, he would not believe it. "Is it poſſible, ſaid he, my "father the Sun ſhould abhor his own blood, and "deliver them up to total deſtruction!" and then diſmiſſed them from his preſence.

Reflecting, however, on what had been ſaid, and conſidering how it agreed with the predictions of an ancient oracle, that after the reign of twelve Inca's, the empire ſhould be diſſolved; and being inform'd at the ſame time, that a prodigious wooden float, with tall maſts and ſails (VASCO's ſhip) from whence iſſued terrible thunders, fire and ſmoke, was ſeen upon the coaſt; and that the people on board differ'd in their perſons and habits from all that had hitherto appear'd in that part of the world, he was, in a manner, confounded, expecting that the diſſolution of his empire was approaching. However, he did not entirely deſpair, and neglect the defence of his people, but aſſembled an army, and march'd them to the ſea-coaſt, making the beſt proviſion he could againſt the dangers that threaten'd him; but the ſhip diſappearing, and nothing of that kind being ſeen again in ſeveral years, their apprehenſions began to wear off. Every thing remain'd quiet, HUANA CAPAC died in peace, and in a good old age, about ſeven or eight years after VASCO NUNEZ appeared on the coaſt of Peru, having reigned forty years in great ſplendor, and made large additions to his empire by many ſucceſsful wars.

Their fears, however, began to revive, when the Emperor, upon his death-bed, put his ſubjects in mind of the old prophecy, already mentioned, That after the reign of twelve Inca's, a new nation ſhould arrive, that had never been known in thoſe parts, and ſubdue that empire; which he conjectur'd would happen not many years after his death, he being the twelfth Inca: And adviſed his ſubjects to ſubmit and ſerve that people, who were in every reſpect ſuperior to them; their laws better, and their forces and military skill rendering them invincible. And DE LA VEGA obſerves, that this laſt advice of their dying Inca was not the leaſt inducement to the Peruvians to ſubmit to the Spaniards afterwards. They held, he ſays, that Heaven had decreed the Spaniards the dominion of thoſe countries, and that all reſiſtance would be in vain; but I am apt to think, the thunder of the Spaniſh artillery was a much ſtronger motive for their ſubmiſſion.

The relation of theſe omens, prodigies, and prophecies, GARCILIASSO DE LA VEGA, the Inca, or royal hiſtorian, tells us, he received from two Mexican Officers that had ſerv'd the Emperor HUANA CAPAC, and were, at the time he had this from them, fourſcore years of age, being baptixed and iniated in the Chriſtian religion by the Spaniſh Fathers at Cuſco: However, as we meet with the like omens recorded by hiſtorians before, every conſiderable revolution almoſt that has happened in Europe, whether ancient or modern, I am far from requiring my readers to give entire credit to ſuch relations, but leave every one to paſs what judgment he pleaſes on them.

HUANA CAPAC being dead, his body was embalmed, and carried to the temple of the Sun at Cuſco; but his heart, according to his directions, wes buried at Quitto, the reſidence of his favourite ſon ATAHNALPA.

Thirteenth Inca.

HUASCAR, the eldeſt legitimate ſon of HUANA CAPAC, reign'd in peace at Cuſco four or five years, after his father's death, without giving his brother, the King of Quitto, any moleſtation; but then conſidering the loſs he had ſuſtained by diſmembring and yielding up one of the richeſt provinces of the empire to ATAHNALPA, by which he was prevented extending his dominions further northward; and reflecting alſo, that his brother was a Prince remarkable for his ambitious and turbulent ſpirit, and might one day rival him in the reſt of his territories, he determined to be beforehand with him, and to reſume what he had too eaſily parted from: He ſent an Ambaſſador therefore, or rather a Herald, to his brother the King of Quitto, to inform him, that by the laws of the empire, the territories of the Inca's could not be divided; and though he had been obliged by his father to reſign Quitto to him, this was what his father could neither legally command, nor he perform: However, ſince it was the will of his father, he was ready to confirm the ceſſion upon two conditions; 1. That he ſhould not endeavour to make any addition to his territories; and, 2. That he ſhould hold them as a vaſſal and feudatory of his empire, and actually do him homage for them.

To both which demands ATAHNALPA ſeem'd readily to conſent, and promiſed in a ſhort time to attend on him at Cuſco, with all the Caraca's and Lords of his kingdom, to do him homage in perſon; with which anſwer HUASCAR was entirely ſatisfied, and diſmiſſed the troops he had raiſed to recover Quitto by force; while the ſubtle ATAHNALPA increaſed his forces under pretence of doing his homage with greater ſplendor, and celebrating the exequies of his deceaſed father at Cuſco.

HUASCAR being informed, when it was too late, that his brother, inſtead of ſummoning his vaſſals to attend him, had levied an army of thirty thouſand regular troops, which were advanced within forty leagues of Cuſco, found he had been deceiv'd, and immediately iſſued his orders to the Governors of the ſeveral provinces to rendezvous with their reſpective forces at Cuſco, and form an army for the defence of that capital: But ATAHNALPA having corrupted ſeveral of the Caraca's,

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who join'd his forces in their march; and the reſt that obey'd the ſummons of Huascar being new undiſciplin'd troops, were not much to be depended on. However, being attack'd by Atahnalpa's army, they behaved in defence of their Inca, as bravely as could be expected, and the battle laſted a whole day; but in the evening Huascar's army was forced to yield to the veteran troops of Atahnalpa, and a very great ſlaughter followed, particularly among the Emperor's guards, conſiſting of a thouſand men, who defended their Prince 'till they were almoſt all cut in pieces, and at length Huascar was taken priſoner, and carried in triumph to his brother, who did not march with his army in perſon, but continued at a diſtance, 'till he ſaw what ſucceſs his Generals would have, who were old Officers, that had ſerved his father in the wars of Quitto, and much ſuperior to thoſe who commanded Huascar's army.

Huascar being thus unhappily made priſoner, Atahnalpa gave out, that he had no intention to depoſe his brother, but to defend his own dominions, which his father had conferr'd on him, againſt Huascar's incroachments; and to limit his prerogative, ſo as to make the condition of his ſubjects eaſy and happy: And thereupon ſummon'd all the Inca's of the empire to appear at Cuſco, that all things might be ſettled to the mutual advantage of Prince and People. And having, on ſuch pretences, got moſt of them into his power, he cauſed a body of his forces to ſurround them and cut them in pieces, conſcious that the people would never willingly obey him, as long as there were any of the legitimate iſſue of their Inca left.

Nor did his rage ſtop here; he murder'd all the Caraca's and Officers that appear'd faithful to Huascar; and afterwards the women and children of the family of the Inca's, whom he put to death by various tortures, according to De la Vega, who makes this Atabilipa, or Atahnalpa, a monſter of cruelty.

However, between five and ſix hundred of the blood of the Inca's did eſcape, it ſeems, by one means or other, and particularly the mother of our author, De la Vega, who was, as he tells us, a daughter of Huana Capac's brother. Two ſons of Huana Capac alſo fled from the rage of their brother, and afterwards married Spaniſh Ladies; as did ſeveral of the daughters and near relations of that Prince. The firſt Spaniſh Adventurers, or Conquerors, as they call'd themſelves, ſeemed to be ambitious of intermarrying with the royal blood of Peru; which was not only an honour to thoſe Gentlemen, but might be thought to give them a better right to the country they had invaded, than they could acquire by the ſword.

I ſhould now proceed to the hiſtory of the Spaniards conqueſt of Peru, but beg leave to defer that a little 'till I have given ſome further account of the religion of the ancient Peruvians.

A further enquiry into the religion of the Peruvians.

It is generally ſaid, that the Inca's of Peru acknowledged no other god but their father the Sun, whoſe offspring they pretended to be: And this poſſibly may be true of the firſt Inca's; but ſome of them afterwards invading that part of the country where Lima (now the capital of Peru) ſtands, and meeting with a notable oppoſition, they were oblig'd to indulge that people in the profeſſion of their ancient religion, and the worſhip of the almighty inviſible God, and to promiſe not to demoliſh their temples, before they would ſubmit to their dominion (however, they obliged them afterwards to erect a temple to the Sun, and adore that planet alſo).

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The temple of Pacha Camac.

This temple ſtood in a fine valley, a little diſtance from Lima, and was dedicated to Pacha Camac, the inviſible or unknown God, who created and ſuſtains all things, and was ſtanding when the Spaniards arrived in Peru; and here they found an inconceiveable treaſure of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, that had been dedicated to the God Pacha Camac, whoſe name was communicated to the valley wherein the temple ſtood, and is ſtill called "the valley of Pacha Camac. Roy. Com. "Peru, p. 234."

The Inca's did not only permit this people ſtill to adore their God Pacha Camac, but ſeem to have been convinced, from the time of this conqueſt at leaſt, that there was one almighty inviſible Being that created heaven and earth; and that the Sun was his Viceroy or Lieutenant. Others made two gods of them; the one viſible, and the other inviſible. And ſome of the Inca's, particularly Huana Capac (Roy. Com. p. 365.) manifeſtly look'd upon the Sun as a mere creature, directed and govern'd in all his motions by the ſupreme God; for had he (ſays the Inca) any will of his own, and were not under a neceſſity of performing his annual courſe, he would ſometimes reſt or vary, and not always move in one ſphere, if it was but to ſhew liberty of action.

From whence it is natural to infer, that the Inca's, notwithſtanding the reformation they pretended to have effected in the provinces they conquer'd, by aboliſhing the worſhip of animals and vegetables, and of ſtocks and ſtones, and bringing the natives to adore only the Sun, did in ſome parts of their conqueſts introduce their own idolatry in the room of the worſhip of the one only God, or at leaſt, obliged the people to worſhip the Sun as well as God, and conſequently adulterated rather than reformed their religion. And 'tis very poſſible, that many of the people they ſubdued might equal, if not ſurpaſs, them in their manners, and the innocence and regularity of their lives, as well as in the purity of their religion, and might not be thoſe barbarians the Inca De la Vega has repreſented them; for I cannot help thinking but people were at leaſt as juſt, as innocent, and humane, while they were led and govern'd by the Heads of their reſpective tribes, before large empires or kingdoms were formed by conqueſt or compact, as they were afterwards; for however we may have improv'd in arts and ſciences, the world does not ſeem to improve much in its morals: For my part, I have found much more innocence and humanity among the unpoliſh'd inhabitants of unfrequented deſarts and mountains, that ſeem to have been excluded all commerce and intercourſe with the reſt of mankind, than in the politeſt nations, who uſually look upon ſuch people as barbarians.

Moſt of the Spaniſh writers, either out of prejudice, ignorance, or deſign, have as much miſrepreſented the religion and morals of the Inca's, as the Inca's did thoſe of the nations they ſubdued. Acosta, tho' in other reſpects a good writer, when he comes to treat of the religion of Mexico or Peru, is very little to be credited: He charges the Peruvians with ſacrificing hundreds of their children at ſome of their feſtivals. Antonio de Ferera, and other Spaniſh writers do the ſame, while the royal hiſtorian, De la Vega, who wrote afterwards, and makes it his buſineſs to review and correct the errors of the authors that preceded him, aſſures us, that the Inca's never ſuffer'd any human ſacrifices while they reign'd in Peru, but had the greateſt abhorrence of them; and no man was better acquainted with their rites than DE LA VEGA was.

He alſo corrects the Spaniſh writers for giving out, that by PACHA CAMAC was meant the Devil: And that the Devil was worſhipp'd in that temple (and indeed this the Spaniards made one pretence for invading and enſlaving that unhappy people). Whereas, ſays DE LA VEGA, had they underſtood the Indian language, the very name of PACHA CAMAC would have taught them otherwiſe; the two words of which it is compoſed ſignifying, the almighty God, who created and ſuſtains all things, and animates the univerſe.

The principal feſtivals of the Inca's.

I proceed, in the next place, to deſcribe the principal rites and ceremonies in the religion of the Inca's. The royal hiſtorian informs us, they had four grand feſtivals annually, beſides thoſe they celebrated every moon. The firſt of their great feaſts, call'd Raymi, was held in the month of June, immediately after the ſummer ſolſtice, which they did not only keep in honour of the Sun, that bleſs'd all creatures with its heat and light, but in commemoration of their firſt Inca, MANCA CAPAC, and COYA MAMA OCLO, his wife and ſiſter, whom the Inca's look'd upon as their firſt parents, deſcended immediately from the Sun, and ſent by him into the world to reform and poliſh mankind.

At this feſtival all the Viceroys, Generals, Governors, Caraca's, and Nobility, were aſſembled at the capital city of Cuſco: And if any of them were prevented coming thither by ſickneſs or the infirmities of old age, he ſent his ſon, his brother, or ſome near relation to ſupply his place.

The Emperor, or Inca, officiated at this feſtival as High Prieſt; for tho' there was another High Prieſt of the blood-royal, either uncle or brother of the Inca, to whom it belong'd at other times to officiate, yet this being the chief feaſt, the Inca himſelf perform'd that office.

The Nobility, at this time, were crown'd with garlands or coronets of gold, adorn'd with flowers and beautiful feathers, and their garments were in a manner plated with gold. Some appear'd in the ſkins of Lions, others in vizards and ridiculous habits, playing upon their country muſick; ſome acted the buffoons and madmen, while others ſhew'd feats of activity, and ſcrew'd themſelves into all manner of poſtures: The Governors of provinces carried the enſigns and colours of their ſeveral countries, and march'd at the head of their reſpective people.

They faſted three days, as a preparative to this feaſt, eating nothing but unbaked Maize and herbs, and drinking water. The faſt being ended, on the eve of the feaſt, the Prieſts prepar'd the Sheep, Lambs, and drink-offerings, which were to be offer'd the next day to the Sun, while the virgins or wives of the Sun were employ'd in kneading dough, and making bread of Maize or Indian-corn, for the Inca's. They alſo dreſs'd the reſt of the proviſion for the royal family at this ſolemnity; other women being employ'd to make bread, and dreſs fleſh for the multitude.

The ceremony of adoring the riſing Sun.

The morning being come, the Inca, accompany'd by his brethren and near relations, drawn up in order, according to their ſeniority, went in proceſſion at break of day to the market-place barefoot, where they remain'd looking attentively towards the Eaſt in expectation of the riſing Sun, which no ſooner appear'd but they fell down and ador'd the glorious planet with the moſt profound veneration, acknowledging him to be their god and father.

The Caraca's, vaſſal Princes, and Nobility, that were not of the blood-royal, aſſembled ſeparately in another ſquare, and perform'd the like ceremony; after which, the King riſing upon his feet (while the reſt remain'd in a poſture of devotion) took two great gold cups in his hands, fill'd with their common beverage made of Indian-corn, and invited all the Inca's, his relations, to partake with him, and pledge him in that liquor.

Then he pour'd the drink out of the bowl in his right-hand into a ſmall ſtone channel, which convey'd it to the temple; after which, having drank of the bowl in his left-hand, he diſtributed the remainder to his kindred Inca's, who waited with little gold and ſilver cups to receive the liquor.

The Caraca's and Nobility drank of another cup of the ſame kind of liquor, prepared by the wives of the Sun; but this was not eſteem'd ſo ſacred as that conſecrated by the Inca.

This ceremony being ended, the whole company advanced bare-foot to the gate of the temple, being about two hundred paces diſtant from the place where they ſtood; and the Inca and his relations entering the doors, adored the image of the Sun at the eaſt end of the temple, while the Caraca's, who were not indulg'd that privilege, worſhipp'd in the great court before the gate of the temple.

The Inca here offer'd the vaſes or golden bowls, with which he perform'd the ceremony of drinking, and the reſt of the royal family deliver'd theirs into the hands of the Prieſts. Then the Prieſts went out into the court, and receiv'd from the Caraca's and Governors of the reſpective provinces their offerings, conſiſting of gold and ſilver veſſels, and the figures of all manner of animals caſt of the ſame metals.

Sacrifices.

Theſe offerings being made, great droves of Sheep and Lambs were brought; out of which the Prieſts choſe a black Lamb, and having kill'd and open'd it, made their prognoſticks and divinations thereupon relating to peace and war, and other events, from the entrails of the beaſt; always turning the head of the animal towards the Eaſt when they kill'd it.

After the firſt Lamb, the reſt of the cattle provided were ſacrificed, and their hearts offer'd to the Sun; and their carcaſes were flead and burnt, with fire lighted by the Sun's rays, contracted by a piece of Chryſtal, or ſomething like a burning-glaſs, they never making uſe of common fire on theſe occaſions, unleſs the Sun was obſcur'd. Some of this fire was carried to the temple of the Sun, and to the cloiſter of the ſelect Virgins, to be preſerved the following year without extinction.

The ſacrifices being over, they return'd to the market-place, where the reſt of the cattle and proviſions were dreſs'd and eaten by the gueſts; the Prieſts diſtributing them firſt to the Inca's, and then to the Caraca's and their people in their order; and after they had done eating, great quantities of liquor were brought in.

Then the Emperor, being ſeated on a golden throne, raiſed on a pedeſtal of the ſame metal, order'd his relations, the Inca's, to drink in his name with the moſt celebrated Generals, Governors, and Nobility of the reſpective provinces, whoſe actions had render'd them famous in the empire.

The Inca's thereupon carried bowls of liquor from the Emperor to the perſons thus diſtinguiſh'd, telling them the Capa, or ſupreme Inca, invited them to drink with him, and they were come to drink with them in his name; whereupon the Generals and Caraca's, each of them taking a cup from the Inca's hands, lift up their eyes to the Sun, as returning thanks for the great favour done them by his offspring, and having drank, return'd the bowls back to the Inca's with the profoundeſt adoration.

Bowls of liquor alſo were carried by the Inca's to the reſt of the Lords, Caraca's, and great Officers; but to theſe they drank in their own names, and not in the name of the Emperor.

In return of this compliment, the principal Lords and Caraca's, filling their own bowls, approach'd the throne with the greateſt reverence, and in their order drank to the Emperor, who receiv'd it of them, and having drank what he ſaw fit, gave the reſt to the ſervants and officers that attended him; but it was reckon'd a peculiar mark of reſpect where the Emperor drank deep, and pledg'd any one of them heartily.

The reſt of the Caraca's and Noblemen drank to the royal family of the Inca's, who firſt drank to them in their own names, and then retiring to their reſpective ſtations, the muſick play'd, and their dances, maſquerades, and every other diverſion was practiſed, which were in uſe among the ſeveral nations of Peru. There were frequent pauſes and intervals, however, in which they drank very freely, and then return'd to their ſports again. This feſtival was continued in the ſame manner nine days ſucceſſively, only there were no offerings or ſacrifices after the firſt. The ſolemnity being ended, the Governors, Generals, and Caraca's took their leave of the Emperor, and return'd with their people to their reſpective countries.

Second feſtival.

A ſecond feſtival was kept every year on the conferring military honours (or knighthood, as the Spaniſh writers term it) great regard being had to thoſe who behav'd well in their country's ſervice. The principal marks or enſigns thoſe Knights were diſtinguiſh'd by, were large ear-rings, the Emperor himſelf boring their ears with golden nails.

Third feſtival.

Their third feſtival was in the Spring, when their corn firſt appear'd, on which occaſion Sheep and Lambs were ſacrificed, and they pray'd for ſeaſonable weather to bring the fruits of the earth to perfection, concluding the feſtival with drinking, ſinging, dancing, and other diverſions.

Fourth feſtival.

The fourth was celebrated on the new Moon after the Equinox in September, when they ador'd the Sun as it roſe, as at their grand feſtival; and pray'd him to avert all calamities, whether of war, plague, or famine; and armed men running through the ſtreets, were ſaid to drive away theſe calamities out of the city: Fires alſo were made in the ſtreets the ſucceeding nights, in order to purify them from all nocturnal evils; after which they ſpent the time in ſacrificing, feaſting, and dancing, every day during the firſt quarter of the Moon.

Monthly feaſts.

Their monthly feaſts were celebrated by the Prieſts within the temple, at which times ſacrifices of ſheep, lambs, fowls, and other animals, were made to the Sun, but no publick proceſſions: And as for human ſacrifices, the royal hiſtorian aſſures us, there were never any ſuch offer'd in the dominions of the Inca's; though ACOSTA, HERERA, and other Spaniſh writers have charged them with ſacrificing hundreds of children at their grand feſtivals.

The poſture of adoration.

I ſhould have obſerv'd, that the people fell down on their knees and elbows when they ador'd the Sun, covering their faces with their hands; and it is remarkable, that the Peruvians expreſs'd their veneration for the temple, and other holy places, by putting off their ſhoes, as the Chineſe, the people of the Eaſt-Indies, and other Aſiaticks do, though at the greateſt diſtance from them, and not by uncovering their heads, as the Europeans do at divine ſervice.

Convents of Nuns.

I have already mentioned their convents of ſelect Virgins, or Nuns, of which there were two kinds, viz. thoſe in the convent of the capital city of Cuſco, and thoſe belonging to the convents in the chief cities of the reſpective provinces.

The Nuns of Cuſco were all of the whole blood of the Inca's, dedicated to the Sun, and call'd the Wives of the Sun. They were admitted into the convent at eight years of age, and taught by the elder Nuns to work with their needles, to ſpin, and weave the garments offer'd to the ſun, and prepare meat and drink for the Inca. They alſo wove all the garments the Emperor and Empreſs wore at their ſolemn feſtivals. Theſe Virgins were ſuffer'd to have no interview or intercourſe with man or woman, after they enter'd this houſe, and none but the Empreſs was allow'd to viſit them. If they were engag'd in a love-intrigue, it was puniſh'd with death; and if any man violated the chaſtity of one of them, he and his whole family, father, mother, wife, children, and even his flocks, herds, houſes and lands, were utterly deſtroy'd: But theſe Nuns were never ſuffer'd to enter the temple of the Sun, or perform any manner of devotions to that planet, or any other god, as I can learn; much leſs did they aſſiſt, or ſerve the Prieſts in the temple, as ſome writers relate; their near relation to the Sun ſeems to have exempted them from any ſervices of this kind.

The ſelect Virgins in other provinces were either taken out of ſuch families as the Inca's had adopted, and given the privilege to bear the name of Inca's, or out of the families of the Caraca's and Nobility reſiding in the reſpective provinces; or ſuch as were eminent for their beauty and accompliſhments: Theſe were dedicated to the Inca, and called his wives, and he took them to his bed whenever he ſaw fit; ſo that theſe provincial nunneries were, in effect, but ſo many ſeraglio's, appropriated to the uſe of this grand Monarch, to which no other man might approach on pain of death, the loſs of his relations, and all that was dear to him; the penalty of violating one of theſe being the ſame as was inflicted on thoſe who debauched a virgin dedicated to the Sun himſelf.

Their notions of a future ſtate.

As to the notions the Peruvians had of a future ſtate, it is evident that they believ'd the ſoul ſurviv'd the body, by the Inca's conſtantly declaring they ſhould go to reſt, or into a ſtate of happineſs, provided for them by their god and father the Sun, when they left this world. And 'tis probable their ſubjects had the like notion, that their ſouls were immortal, and capable of happineſs or miſery after death: But when the Spaniſh Miſſionaries add, that they believed a reſurrection of the very ſame bodies, I doubt they impoſe upon us; for I queſtion whether any people ever believed the reſurrection of the body, 'till it was revealed by the Goſpel. They might, and did believe there was another ſtate, in which the ſoul ſhould exiſt; but the reſurrection of the ſame body is ſurely a doctrine peculiar to Chriſtians. I ſhould as ſoon believe, that the Peruvians held the doctrine of the Trinity, and every other article of the Catholick faith, as ACOSTA, and ſome other Spaniſh writers, aver (telling us, that the Devil had taught them to mimick every the minuteſt ceremony in the Chriſtian religion, and even all their Popiſh ſuperſtitions) as believe they had an aſſurance that the ſame body their ſouls animated in this world ſhould be raiſed again to life eternal;

CHAP. X.

nal: And what view the Spaniſh Miſſionaries had in ſuggeſting, that there was not a doctrine, rite or ceremony held or practiſed by the Romiſh church, but were found among the Peruvians, is not eaſy to conceive.

Oracles.

I muſt not diſmiſs the head of religion without taking ſome notice of the Peruvian oracles, mentioned by DE LA VEGA, ACOSTA, and other Spaniſh writers, and particularly the oracle of Rimac (now Lima, or King's-town).

Rimac.

The valley of Rimac, ſays DE LA VEGA, lies four leagues to the northward of Pacha Camac, and receiv'd its name from a certain idol of the figure of a man, that ſpoke, and anſwer'd queſtions like the oracle of APOLLO at Delphos.

This idol was ſeated in a magnificent temple, to which the great Lords of Peru either went in perſon, or enquir'd by their Ambaſſadors, of all the important affairs relating to their provinces. And the Inca's themſelves held this image in high veneration, and conſulted it after they conquer'd that part of the country. Roy. Comp. p. 234. In the ſame chapter DE LA VEGA makes a remarkable conceſſion in relation to the Peruvians worſhipping PACHA CAMAC, the almighty inviſible God, before the Inca's introduc'd the idolatrous worſhip of the Sun.

“The Kings of Peru, ſays that hiſtorian, did, “by the mere light of natural reaſon, attain the “knowledge of one God, the maker of all things, “who ſuſtain'd the univerſe, whom they call'd PACHA CAMAC: Which doctrine was more ancient than the time of the Inca's, and diſpers'd thro' “all their kingdoms, both before and after the “conqueſt. They believ'd that he was inviſible, “and therefore built no temples to him (except “that one in the valley of Pacha Camac) or offer'd him any ſacrifices, as they did to the Sun; “but ſhew'd, however, the profound veneration “they had for him in their hearts, by bowing their “heads, lifting up their eyes, and by other outward geſtures, whenever his ſacred name was “mentioned.” And as to what he charges them with in other places, namely, the worſhipping all manner of animals, and even inanimate creatures, if the truth of this may be depended on, yet may we offer the ſame excuſe for the Peruvians as has been made for the Egyptians, and other ancient pagans, viz. “That they only adored the infinite “wiſdom of God, manifeſted in the works of his “creation.”

CHAP. X.

Of the invaſion and conqueſt of Peru by the Spaniards.

The conqueſt of Peru.

IT has been related already, that VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA firſt diſcover'd the South-ſea in 1513, for which he was, by the Court of Spain, conſtituted Adelantado, or Lord-Lieutenant of the lands and iſlands he ſhould diſcover in thoſe ſeas; and that having fitted out ſome ſhips, he was ſo fortunate in the two following years to paſs the Equator, and come upon the coaſt of Paſſao, the northern limits of Peru, where he was fully inform'd of the vaſt riches of that country; but being recall'd, and put to death by PEDRARIAS, then Governor of Terra-Firma, who had a view towards reaping the benefit of the diſcoveries VASCO had made; he afterwards employ'd ſeveral Pilots and adventurers to purſue the ſame track VASCO had gone, and plant colonies in Peru; but ſo extremely difficult and hazardous was that coaſting voyage, from the Bay of Panama (from whence they ſet out) to Peru, before they were acquainted with the winds and currents, that all the people he employ'd were diſcouraged from proſecuting the diſcovery of that country, reporting that the voyage was impracticable, or rather impoſſible, becauſe the winds and currents ſat in the very teeth of thoſe that ſail'd from North to South-America. Whereupon PEDRARIAS deſiſted from that enterprize, deſpairing to overcome the difficulties that had been repreſented to him; and leaving the town of Old St. Mary's, on the Gulph of Darien, he built another town on the Bay of Panama, which bears the ſame name, and from thence he purſued his conqueſts to the north and weſt in the provinces of Veragua and Coſta Rica.

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Only two months in the year the winds are favourable on this coaſt, which the firſt adventurers did not know.

PEDRARIAS having thus entirely abandoned the enterprize on Peru, three bold Adventurers, viz. PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, and DE LUGNE, who then reſided in his new town of Panama, deſired his leave to attempt the further diſcovery and conqueſt of Peru at their own charges, which he readily granted, being of opinion it would come to nothing; and all that were acquainted with the former attempts that had been made, looked upon theſe Adventurers to be no better than fools and madmen: And though ſome have related that PEDRARIAS ſtipulated to have a ſhare in the profit of this adventure, if they made any, it does not appear that he ever claimed any part of their booty afterwards, or that any part of it was reſerved for him; only the King's fifth was laid by, the reſt the Adventurers ſhared amongſt themſelves; but of this hereafter. I now proceed to relate the beginnings and progreſs made by PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, and DE LUGNE, in the conqueſt of that vaſt empire of Peru, which they liv'd to accompliſh in a great meaſure, but never enjoyed the fruits of their labours. PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, and moſt of the Officers that were employed in this ſervice, periſhing by their own inteſtine diviſions, each of them being inſpired with an ambition of acquiring the ſole dominion of thoſe countries, to the excluſion of their Fellow-adventurers.

The three principal adventurers in this conqueſt.

Some account of Francis Pizarro.

FRANCIS PIZARRO, who makes the greateſt figure in this triumvirate of Adventurers, was a native of Truxillo in Spain, and the Spaniards will have him to be of a noble family; but if he was, he ſeems to have been pretty much reduc'd, and to have gone to the Weſt-Indies to recruit his broken fortunes. He ſerved firſt in the wars in the iſlands of Hiſpaniola and Cuba, and afterwards accompanied ALONZO DE OYEDA to the Gulph of Uraba, or Darien, in Terra-Firma Proper, to ſettle a Spaniſh colony there. OYEDA returning to Hiſpaniola for Recruits, left FRANCIS PIZARRO his Lieutenant in Darien; and not coming back within the time he appointed, the colony ſuffer'd incredible hardſhips; but by the conduct of PIZARRO they were moſt of them preſerv'd 'till ſhips arriv'd to their relief, which very much rais'd the reputation of this Captain.

He afterwards attended VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA, when he diſcover'd the South-ſea, ſerv'd under PEDRARIAS, when he fixed a colony at Panama; and was employed by that General in the ſubduing the province of Veragua, in which expeditions he acquired the reputation of a good Officer, and a fortune ſufficient to have ſatisfied any reaſonable man; but this increaſe of wealth did but increaſe his thirſt after more: And when he might have ſpent the remainder of his days in peace and plenty, he choſe, in the decline of life, being upwards of fifty, to enter upon the diſcovery of unknown regions; the difficulty whereof had baffled the attempts of ſeveral Adventurers, rather than ſit down and enjoy what he had already acquir'd.

Some account of Almagro.

DIEGO DE ALMAGRO, the ſecond of this triumvirate, was born at Almagro in Spain, a man of a mean and obſcure original, but of a genius equally enterprizing as the former, and who, in ſeveral expeditions in the Weſt-Indies, had amaſſed a great deal of wealth. Theſe two, reſiding at Panama, aſſociated themſelves with FERDINAND DE LUGNE, an Eccleſiaſtick of that town, richer than either of them, and who was Proprietor of the iſland of Tabago, in that bay. This Gentleman had been acquainted with VASCO NUNEZ, as well as the other two, and was pretty well aſſured that the voyage would anſwer their expectations, if they could overcome thoſe difficulties of contrary winds and currents that had diſcouraged others: And though people generally loſe their enterprizing genius as they grow into years, yet had avarice, ambition or curioſity ſuch an aſcendant over theſe three Gentlemen, that though they were all of them between fifty and threeſcore years of age, yet did they embark their fortunes, and two of them their perſons, in ſearch of thoſe mountains of gold they had received intelligence of.

Of de Lugne.

The contract of the Adventurers.

They enter'd into articles, 'tis ſaid, never to abandon each other for any hazards or diſappointments they might meet with in the enterprize, 'till they had made a conqueſt of Peru: And ſolemnly took their oaths in publick, for the confirmation of theſe articles, each of them being aſſigned a particular part in conducting and executing the ſcheme.

FRANCIS PIZARRO was to command the firſt party that went upon the diſcovery; ALMAGRO was to carry him Recruits, and reinforce him from time to time, and FERDINAND DE LUGNE was to remain at Panama, and lay in ammunition and proviſions to ſupport the enterprize; and whatever gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, or other effects ſhould be acquired, after the charges, and the Emperor's fifths were paid, were to be divided equally amongſt them.

The royal hiſtorian having proceeded thus far in his relation, makes ſome reflections on the great advantages that have reſulted from this confederacy of theſe three Spaniſh Gentlemen; as that the Chriſtian religion was firſt introduc'd into that great empire of Peru by their means: That arts and ſciences were firſt introduced there by them, in return for which, Spain, and the reſt of Europe, became poſſeſſed of an immenſe treaſure in gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones.

But if the numberleſs devaſtations and oppreſſions the miſerable Indians ſuffered by the uſurpations and tyrannies of the Spaniards, are conſidered, how many millions were cut off and entirely extirpated, and how many more enſlaved; if it be conſider'd, that with the Chriſtian religion they introduced the Inquiſition with all its terrors; and have ſo adulterated and corrupted the Chriſtian doctrines, faith and practice, and with them the morals of the Indians, that people poſſibly have loſt more than they have gain'd by the change.

And as to the benefits we recive by the importation of gold and ſilver from Peru, this, DE LA VEGA himſelf ſeems to be of opinion, does not countervail the miſchiefs they bring with them; as appears from his commentaries on that part of the hiſtory, p. 425.

Such, ſays this hiſtorian, as look on the riches of Peru with more than common eyes, are of opinion, that they have rather been hurtful than beneficial to mankind: For riches have been the cauſe of vice, and not of virtue, having inclin'd men to pride, ambition, gluttony and luxury; for enjoying an affluence of fortune, they have given themſelves up to ſloth and effeminacy, becoming neither uſeful members of ſociety in time of peace, nor fit for hardſhip and labour in time of war; but employing their whole thoughts and time in contriving new diſhes and liquors to gratify their appetites, and fantaſtical faſhions for their cloathing. And as the rents of the poor have been raiſed to maintain the luſts and riotous livings of great perſons, ſo have the poor been oppreſs'd and reduc'd to rags and famine, to ſupport the pride and luxury of their landlords. The truth is, ſays DE LA VEGA, the poor are become much more poor than formerly; for the quantity of money being increaſed, which is heap'd up in the coffers of the rich, hath enhanc'd the price of proviſions to that degree, that the poor ſtarve by the abundance of the rich; and tho' the rich have plenty of money, and might, out of their great ſtores, enlarge their charities and benevolence to their poorer neighbours, yet their alms, and the wages they allow the labouring men, do not anſwer the price of proviſions, which the plenty of money hath raiſed. From whence it is concluded, that the riches of the new world not having increaſed the proviſions neceſſary for the ſupport of human life, but rather ſerved to make them dear, to make men effeminate, and to enfeeble their conſtitutions and underſtandings, and introduce vicious habits and cuſtoms: The generality of mankind is become much worſe, and more diſcontented; and nations heretofore formidable, and dreaded by all the world, are now rendered mean, deſpicable and effeminate, by the corruption of riches, "which is more applicable to Spain than any other country, that people having declined ever ſince they have been maſters of the treaſures of Mexico and Peru; and no doubt DE LA VEGA had his eye principally upon the Spaniards when he made this reflection."

Pizarro embarks for Peru.

To return to our hiſtory. The three Partners having bought a ſhip, victuall'd and equipp'd her (or as ſome ſay, two ſhips) PIZARRO embark'd about the middle of November, 1525, with fourſcore men and four horſes (DE LA VEGA makes them 114 men) and ſetting ſail from Panama, ſailed to the Pearl-iſlands, in the middle of that bay, where he took in wood, water, and graſs for his horſes, and ſailed to Port Pinas, or Pineapple; upon the continent, on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the bay of Panama. Here PIZARRO went on ſhore with his ſoldiers, and endeavoured to penetrate into the country; but meeting with nothing but bogs, or mountains, overrun with wood and deluges of rain, as they approach'd the Equator; and the people having fled from their habitations, ſo that no proviſions were to be had: PIZARRO ran farther down the coaſt to the ſouthward, and then landing again, found the country no better, and loſt a great many of his men by ſickneſs, want of proviſions, or the hardſhips they ſuffer'd in their marches and counter-marches. Whereupon he ſent the ſhip to the iſles of Pearls for proviſions, and in the mean time was follow'd by ALMAGRO with two other ſhips, and a recruit of ſixty men and upwards. Theſe two Captains meeting upon this wretched, rainy, and unwholeſome coaſt, and landing their united forces, had ſome ſkirmiſhes with the natives, in which ALMAGRO loſt an eye; but happening, in ſome of their excurſions, to meet with a parcel of gold of the value of fourteen or fifteen thouſand crowns, they reſolved, notwithſtanding all the difficulties and hazards they underwent, to perſiſt in the enterprize; in which they were the more encouraged by the Pilot De Ruyz, who (while Pizarro remain'd with the ſoldiers on ſhore) ran down as far as Cape Paſſao, under the Equator, and taking ſome priſoners, was aſſured by them, that the treaſures of Peru were much beyond any thing that had hitherto been reported of them. Whereupon he return'd to Pizarro with the agreeable news: In the mean time, that General ſuffer'd incredible hardſhips in the abſence of Almagro, who was gone to Panama with the gold they had got, to procure another reinforcement of troops and proviſions. Almagro, at his return to Panama, found Pedrarias removed from his Government, and ſucceeded by Peter de los Rios, who permitted him to raiſe what men he could to reinforce Pizarro. Whereupon he embark'd again with forty ſoldiers more, ſome horſes, and arms, cloaths, ſhoes, proviſions, and medicines, and returned to Pizarro, whom he found in a very miſerable condition, great part of his men being ſick or dead. They removed therefore from that unhealthful part of the continent, and put their men on ſhore in the iſland of Gallo, where they remain'd fifteen days, and then return'd towards the continent again, running along the coaſt further to the ſouthward; however, they ſtill met with ſuch a drowned country, and bad weather, that it was once propoſed to return back to Panama: Even Pizarro's heart failed him; and the two Commanders, it ſeems, were upon the point of drawing their ſwords, ſo hot was the conteſt for and againſt proceeding in the enterprize; but at length it was agreed, that they ſhould go to the iſland of Gallo again, where Pizarro ſhould remain with the men 'till Almagro went to Panama for recruits: And great care was taken, that none of the men ſhould write home, and diſcover their wretched condition; for moſt of them had ſhewn an inclination to deſert the ſervice whenever they had an opportunity, and threaten'd to apply to the Governor of Panama to be recall'd from an expedition which had conſumed ſuch numbers of them; and, if proſecuted, would probably deſtroy the reſt. And notwithſtanding all the care their Commanders took, one of them found means to ſend a paper, ſubſcrib'd by moſt of the men, deſiring to be recalled, which was incloſed in a bottom of cotton-yarn, and thereby concealed from the notice of their Officers. This paper coming to the hands of the Governor of Panama, he was ſo far from ſuffering Almagro to levy any more recruits, that he ſent a ſhip, with a Commiſſary on board, to the iſland of Gallo, on purpoſe to bring back all the men that ſurvived. The Commiſſary arriving, Pizarro begg'd of him that he would however ſuffer as many of the men to remain with him as were willing to proceed in the enterprize; which the Commiſſary conſenting to, Pizarro drew a line with the point of his ſword, and haranguing his men, told them they were at liberty to return to Panama, if they thought fit; but it griev'd him that they ſhould now abandon the enterprize, when they were upon the point of reaping the reward of all their ſufferings. As for his part, he would periſh in the glorious undertaking, rather than deſert it; and thoſe that voluntarily remained with him ſhould ſhare with him the treaſures of which they had ſo near a proſpect, deſiring thoſe that were willing to proceed in the enterprize to come over the line he had drawn: But ſuch were the ſufferings of theſe poor wretches, that much the greateſt part of them forſook him; only thirteen men and a Mulatto came over the line, the reſt embarked and returned to Panama with the Commiſſary.

Comes to the iſland of Gallo.

Their diſtreſs. The Commanders fall out.

Pizarro deſerted by all his men, but thirteen and a ſlave.

Pizarro being thus left on the iſland of Gallo with only fourteen men, beſides ſome Peruvian men and women they had taken priſoners, remov'd to the neighbouring iſland of Gorgona, for the benefit of freſh water, and remained there 'till Almagro and Ruyz the Pilot came to him with refreſhments and ſome few volunteers that were ſtill willing to ſhare their fortunes; on whoſe arrival it was agreed to ſail further ſouthward; and having paſs'd the Equator, they came to an anchor in the bay of Guiaquil, near the iſlands of Puna and St. Clara, which lie in 3 degrees ſouth latitude, and going on ſhore in the iſland of St. Clara, they found ſeveral veſſels and utenſils of ſilver plate, with garments made of cotton and fine wool, which were offerings made to ſome idols in this iſland, where the natives of Puna came at certain ſeaſons to worſhip them; but there were no conſtant inhabitants on the iſland. It was with infinite labour and difficulty, that our Adventurers proceeded thus far to the ſouthward; they were forced to bear up both againſt winds and currents, that continually almoſt ſat againſt them on theſe ſhores, inſomuch that they ſpent two whole years in this voyage from the iſland of Gorgona, in 3 degrees of north latitude, to the bay of Guiaquil in 3 degrees of ſouthern latitude; a voyage that may be perform'd in leſs than a month, now we are acquainted with the currents, winds and ſeaſons upon the coaſts of Popayan and Peru.

He remains on the iſland of Gorgona.

Sails to Guiaquil.

Finds plate there.

Two years ſpent in this voyage.

While Pizarro and Almagro lay in the bay of Guiaquil, they took ſeveral great floats, or barklogs, with arm'd Indians on board, that were going from Tumbez, on the neighbouring continent, to invade the iſland of Puna, with which they were at war. From theſe Indians they learn'd that there was a great town and caſtle at Tumbez, a magnificent temple, a convent of ſelect Virgins, and abundance of gold and ſilver veſſels, and that the country abounded with corn and fruits. Whereupon Pizarro treated the Indians with great civility, and gave them their liberty to return to the continent with their floats; and let them know, by his Interpreters, that they came as friends, and did not deſign any manner of hurt or damage to the natives. Theſe Indians acquainting their Lord, the Cacique of Tumbez, with the wonders they had ſeen, viz. the ſhip, the guns, the habit and complexion of thoſe on board; and informing him, that the Spaniards came to viſit that coaſt in a friendly manner, the Cacique ſent a Nobleman, or Orejon, on board, with ſeveral barklogs loaden with proviſion; and to invite the Spaniards to come on ſhore, telling them they were welcome to whatever the country afforded. Whereupon one of the ſailors was ſent on ſhore with the Indians, and brought twenty butts of water on board with their floats: The Orejon, 'tis ſaid, enquired of Pizarro in the mean time, what it was he went in ſearch of, and what was the reaſon they had for ſome years been roving about the ſea near the Peruvian coaſt? Pizarro anſwered, They came from the moſt potent King of Spain, to require them to ſubmit to his dominion, and be inſtructed in the true religion, by which alone they could attain the joys of heaven. At which anſwer, 'tis ſaid, the Peruvian appear'd a little aſtoniſh'd, as he might well, to find the Spaniards making ſuch demands upon ſo ſhort an acquaintance, and when they were in no condition to compel the Indians to ſubmit to them; and indeed Pizarro ſeems to have been a man of more diſcretion than to have

Tumbez town and province.

They are hoſpitably receiv'd by the Peruvians.

requir'd

required the Peruvians to obey him when he was in ſuch low circumſtances; this could only inſpire them with a contempt of his perſon, and provoke them to uſe him ill. It is much more probable, that he continued to aſſure them of his friendſhip, ſince the ſame writers inform us, he ſent one of his company and a Negroe on ſhore with the Peruvian Nobleman, and a preſent of European animals, an ax, and ſome glittering trifles, with which the Cacique was extremely pleas'd: And as the Indians were ſurpriz'd to ſee ſo ſtrange a people, and ſuch animals and inſtruments as they brought with them, the Spaniard, that went on ſhore, was no leſs ſurpriz'd to find a fine palace, and a magnificent temple, and all manner of veſſels and utenſils form'd of gold or ſilver; and when the man return'd on board to **Pizarro**, he ſeemed unable to declare the vaſt treaſures he had ſeen, and the ſtrength and beauty of the caſtle where the Cacique reſided.

Peter de Candia goes on ſhore alone, and takes a view of Tumbez.

Pizarro, deſirous to be better acquainted with the truth of what the ſailor related, **Peter de Candia**, a man of good judgment, offer'd to go on ſhore and take a particular view of the place: And as he was of a ſtature beyond the common ſize, it was thought that his perſon would be the more admir'd, and give the Indians the greater opinion of the people that were come to viſit them: And to add to the aſtoniſhment of the natives, **Pizarro**, made him put on a complete ſuit of ſhining armour, a ſhield on his left-arm, a broad ſword by his ſide, and take a fuzee in his hand; and thus equipp'd, he was ſet on ſhore with a Negroe to attend him.

The Indians, as it was expected, were amazed to ſee a man ſo tall and of proportionable bulk, his body covered with glittering ſteel, and a long beard on his chin, and immediately fled from the ſhore to the caſtle on his landing. **Peter**, thereupon, with a grave countenance, and true Spaniſh pace, advanced towards the gates, and giving them to underſtand by ſigns that he had no hoſtile intentions, was conducted to the preſence of the Cacique, and received with great civility. The Spaniards, indeed, entertain us with an idle ſtory, endeavouring to make a miracle of the matter, and tell us, that the Indians not daring to engage this gigantick Champion themſelves, let out a Lion and a Tyger upon him; and that theſe animals loſing their natural fierceneſs, fawn'd upon him, which the Spaniards aſcribe to the ſanctity of the Croſs that **Peter** carried in one of his hands: But they all agree, that the Cacique entertain'd him with great hoſpitality, ſhew'd him the Inca's palace, the temple of the Sun, and the houſe of conſecrated Virgins; and afterwards ſent him on board with a handſome preſent of Indian-corn, ſheep, and fruits.

Peter de Candia, at his return, related that every thing exceeded what the ſailor had reported; that he ſaw Silver-ſmiths at work, in forming all manner of gold and ſilver utenſils; that the walls of the temple were wainſcotted with gold, and that the Virgins dedicated to the Sun were extremely beautiful, at which the Spaniards were tranſported with joy; but not being prepared to make themſelves maſters of the treaſures they underſtood were to be met with on ſhore at this time, **Pizarro** ſet ſail again, and run further down the coaſt to the latitude of 7 degrees ſouth, where Truxillo was afterwards founded, and diſcovered a very fruitful country; but then at the importunity of his men he returned back to Panama, being the latter end of the year 1527, in order to make preparations for the entire conqueſt of Peru.

Pizarro ſails to 7 degrees ſouth latitude, and returns to Panama for more forces.

Pizarro, having ſpent three years in ſearch of theſe happy countries, and after numberleſs hazards and hardſhips ſucceeded at laſt, and brought from thence ſpecimens of the wealth that abounded there, with ſome of the natives, Peruvian cattle, and fine cloth, the people were over-joy'd to ſee him, and very ready to liſt in his ſervice; but the Governor of Panama oppoſed it. Whereupon the three principal Adventurers, **Pizarro**, **Almagro** and **Lugne**, came to a reſolution, that **Pizarro** ſhould go over to Spain and procure an authority and recruits equal to ſo great an undertaking; particularly, that he ſhould ſollicit for himſelf the title of Governor, for **Almagro** that of Adelantado, or the King's Lieutenant, and for **Lugne** the Protectorſhip of the Peruvians, and the firſt biſhoprick in that country. **Pizarro** accordingly ſet ſail, and arriving in Spain, reſorted to the Court of the Emperor **Charles V.** which was then at Toledo: Here he met with a very gracious reception on his preſenting his imperial Majeſty with ſome Peruvians in their proper habits, two or three Peruvian ſheep, and ſeveral gold and ſilver veſſels and utenſils of the faſhion of that country. The Emperor was pleas'd to hear him relate the hardſhips and difficulties he and his comrades had met with in this three years voyage, and in the end recommended the overtures he made to the Council of the Indies, who, having made their report, **Pizarro** was authorized to proceed in the conqueſt of Peru, for the ſpace of two hundred leagues to the ſouthward of Tumbez, which lies at the bottom of the bay of Guiaquil, in 3 degrees ſouth latitude. He procured alſo the title of Governor and Captain-General to be conferred on him for life, with the offices of Adelantado, or Lord-Lieutenant, and of Alguazil Major, or Chief-Juſtice. He was alſo empowered to erect four caſtles in Peru, where he thought proper, and retain the government and inheritance of them to him and his poſterity: He obtain'd for **Ferdinando de Lugne**, that he ſhould be recommended to the Pope to be made Biſhop of Tumbez; and in the mean time, conſtituted Protector-General of the Peruvians. **Almagro** was conſtituted Governor of Tumbez, and a twentieth part of all the profits and revenues of the country, when conquered, were to go to **Pizarro** and **Almagro**, two thirds thereof to the former, and one third to the latter; and **Almagro** was made a Gentleman, and his baſtard ſon legitimate: The thirteen men that remained with **Pizarro** in his diſtreſs, on the iſland of Gallo, were made Gentlemen, if they were not ſo before, and thoſe that were gentlemen then were ordered to be knighted.

Pizarro goes to Spain for a commiſſion and recruits.

Theſe commiſſions and powers were executed at Toledo on the 26th of July, 1528; and ſix Dominican Friars were order'd to go over with **Pizarro**, as Miſſionaries to aſſiſt in the converſion of the Peruvians.

Pizarro, repairing to his native town of Truxillo, ſpent ſome months in raiſing men, and making proviſions for his voyage, which having effected, he embark'd at Seville with his four brothers, viz. **Ferdinand**, **John**, **Gonzalo** and **Francis**, in the month of January, 1530, and arrived at Nombre de Dios, on the coaſt of Terra-Firma, from whence he marched with his people to the city of Panama; but his ingroſſing all the honours and commands to himſelf ſo diſguſted **Almagro**, that he refus'd to aſſiſt in the intended expedition 'till **Pizarro** promiſed to relinquiſh the title of Adelantado, and to give him an equal ſhare in whatever

Pizarro and Almagro fall out about the commiſſion Pizarro had obtain'd.

ever they ſhould acquire; and upon theſe conceſſions ALMAGRO promiſed to aſſiſt him as formerly, and ſmother'd his reſentment for the preſent, that the ſervice might not ſuffer; but they were never heartily reconciled, as will appear hereafter.

Pizarro embarks again for Peru, anno 1530.

He lands north of the Equator, and marches to Tumbez.

Loſes moſt of his men, but robs the Indians of a great deal of treaſure.

And ſends for recruits.

Finds the Peruvians engaged in a civil war.

At length PIZARRO embark'd at Panama in three ſhips, taking with him one hundred and eighty-five ſoldiers, thirty-ſeven horſes, and ſuch quantities of arms, ammunition and ſtores as might enable him to fix colonies on the Peruvian coaſt; but meeting with the like contrary winds he had done in the firſt voyage, and finding it very inconvenient, and indeed impracticable, to keep his horſes longer on board, he was obliged to land above an hundred leagues to the northward of Tumbez: And now thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to drive the naked Indians before him, he fell upon them, plunder'd their towns, and made many of them priſoners, without any manner of provocation; whereupon the reſt fled from the ſea-coaſts up into the country; and PIZARRO was afterwards ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and loſt ſo many men by ſickneſs, and hardſhips, and the fatiguing marches through bogs and thickets of mangroves in this exceſſive hot climate, that his forces were exceedingly diminiſhed, and he now, too late, perceiv'd his error, in not courting the natives, being in no condition to make a conqueſt of Peru with the forces he had left. He took moſt of the treaſure therefore he had plunder'd the Indians of, and ſent his ſhips back with it to Panama to raiſe more recruits, inviting at the ſame time ſome Adventurers from Nicaragua, and other parts of North-America, to come and join him, promiſing them a ſhare of the vaſt treaſures he was now aſſured of finding in Peru: And having, with infinite labour, march'd as far as Tumbez, in the bay of Guiaquil, over the mouths of abundance of rapid ſtreams, that fall into the South-Sea, under the Equator, he very fortunately found the Peruvians engaged in a civil war, one part of them adhering to their lawful Prince HUASCAR, and the other to ATAHNALPA, or ATABILIPA, the baſtard ſon of the preceding Emperor HUANA CAPAC, who had made ATABILIPA King of Quitto and the northern provinces of Peru in his life-time. This young Prince finding himſelf at the head of a great body of veteran Troops and experienc'd Officers, who had been engaged in that conqueſt, was not inſenſible of his ſtrength, and in a ſhort time after his father's death diſcover'd views of uſurping the whole empire; this occaſioned miſunderſtandings between him and his brother HUASCAR, the preſent Emperor, which at length ended in an open rupture, as has been already related. In this war, the inhabitants of the vale of Tumbez adher'd to their lawful Prince HUASCAR; and thoſe of the iſle of Puna, a large iſland in the bay of Guiaquil, conſiſting of twelve thouſand inhabitants and upwards, took part with the baſtard ATABILIPA, as their intereſt led them, carrying on at all times a very gainful trade for their ſalt and other productions of that iſland with the kingdom of Quitto, from whom they received woollen and cotton, cloathing, and other merchandize in return.

Pizarro joins the people of Tumbez, and reduces the iſland of Puna.

PIZARRO, as has been intimated already, finding himſelf not able, at this time, to attempt the conqueſt of the whole Empire, took part with the Tumbezenes, and joining their forces, invaded the iſland of Puna, which became an eaſy conqueſt; and having taken all the Caciques of the iſland priſoners, he delivered them into the hands of the Tumbez Generals, who immediately cut off their heads. He alſo releas'd ſeven or eight hundred Tumbezene priſoners, and ſent them home, by which he imagin'd he had ſo obliged his new allies, that they would not fail to aſſiſt him in his future conqueſts.

In the mean time, ALMAGRO having ſent PIZARRO a conſiderable reinforcement from Panama, and FERDINANDO DE SOTO and other Adventurers arriving with their troops from Nicaragua, he thought himſelf in a condition to carry on the war upon the continent, eſpecially as he had ſome reaſon to expect to be ſupported by the Tumbezenes. Accordingly, having provided a ſufficient number of floats, or barklogs, he tranſported his troops to Tumbez, in which he loſt ſome men in going on ſhore by the ſurf of the ſea, which runs very high upon that coaſt, and ſome of his people were attack'd and cut off by the natives, which was a ſurprize to him, as he took them to be his friends. The Spaniſh writers give various reaſons for this alteration in the conduct of the natives of Tumbez, who but a very little before profeſs'd themſelves their good allies and confederates. Some relate, that obſerving the Spaniards had enſlaved the natives of the iſland of Puna, and perfectly ſubverted their Religion and Government, demoliſhing their temples and every thing they held ſacred, they expected to be treated in the ſame manner by the Spaniards, and therefore thought fit to oppoſe their landing in their country.

Others inform us, that while the Spaniards were engaged in the reduction of Puna, a very great alteration happened in the face of affairs upon the continent: ATABILIPA, the baſtard, had defeated the forces of his brother HUASCAR the Emperor; cut in pieces moſt of the inhabitants of Tumbez, and the neighbouring provinces, for adhering to him; and the troops that oppoſed PIZARRO's landing in Tumbez, were thoſe detach'd by ATABILIPA to that province, on purpoſe to oppoſe the invaſion of the Spaniards.

Pizarro reduces Tumbez, and poſſeſſes himſelf of a vaſt treaſure.

St. Michael's, the firſt Spaniſh town and colony in Peru.

But whatever was the reaſon of the Peruvians oppoſing the deſcent of the Spaniards, it is evident, that they were put in ſuch confuſion by the Spaniſh horſe and artillery, that they fled as the Spaniards advanc'd, and after the ſlaughter of ſome thouſands of them, were forced to abandon the town and caſtle, and even the whole valley of Tumbez, leaving behind them all the gold and ſilver Plate, Emeralds, Pearls, and other rich ſpoils, which lay heap'd up in the temple of the Sun, and the Inca's palace; being ſo vaſt a treaſure, that the Spaniards could ſcarce believe their eyes, when they found themſelves ſo ſuddenly poſſeſs'd of it: And ſuch was the conſternation of ATABILIPA, and his whole Court, when the fugitives related what ſlaughter the thunderers ordnance made amongſt them, and how impoſſible it was to eſcape the Spaniſh horſes, to which animals their fears had added wings, that they concluded, if the Spaniards were not gods, they at firſt conjectured they were certainly devils, and that it was not poſſible for any human force to defend their country againſt them. Of which PIZARRO receiving intelligence, reſolv'd to take advantage of the terror they were in, and march immediately to find out ATABILIPA, while he remain'd under that deluſion; but he found it neceſſary to defer his march, 'till he had erected a ſlight fortreſs on the ſea-coaſt (to which he gave the name of St. Michael's) for receiving the recruits that he expected, and to ſerve him for a place of retreat and ſecurity, in caſe any unforeſeen accident ſhould happen.

This was the firſt Spaniſh colony planted in Peru, and here the firſt Chriſtian church was erected in the year 1531; and Father Reginald de Pedraga was conſtituted Protector of the Indians, Ferdinand de Luque being unable to execute that employment on account of his indiſpoſition.

Pizarro, whoſe buſineſs it was to foment the civil wars, and prevent the Peruvians uniting their forces againſt him, gave out that he was come in the name of the great King of Spain (like a true Spaniſh Knight Errant) to relieve the oppreſſed, and do juſtice to thoſe that were injured, which he ſoon found had the effect he expected; for the Emperor Huascar, having been depoſed and impriſoned by the baſtard Atabilipa, and all his friends and faithful ſubjects that had adhered to him, cruelly oppreſſed, they immediately ſent an embaſſy to Pizarro, that he would aſſiſt them in delivering their Prince from his captivity, and reſtore him to the throne of his anceſtors; to whom the Spaniſh General returned a favourable anſwer. And Atabilipa, who was yet ſcarce ſettled in the throne he had uſurped, apprehending he ſhould ſoon be driven from it again, if the Spaniards joined with the loyal party, endeavoured by all poſſible ways to gain the favour of Pizarro, ſending a meſſenger to excuſe the hoſtilities his forces had committed at his landing; and not only promiſing what ſatisfaction he ſhould demand, but aſſuring him he was ready to ſubmit to the commands of that great Prince from whom he came.

The Spaniſh Generals finding they were like to meet with little oppoſition from either ſide, but that both parties were ready to make them arbitrators of their differences, concluded they ſhould now ſoon be maſters of thoſe immenſe treaſures they underſtood were heaped up in the capital city of Cuſco, and of the gold and ſilver mines from whence they were drawn. They began their march therefore to Caxamalca, where they underſtood the Inca then was, in the year 1532, as ſoon as they had put the town of St. Michael into a poſture of defence; and carrying with them a train of artillery, which was drawn by the Indians preſs'd into their ſervice (there being no horſes or oxen, or any other cattle for draught, either in Mexico or Peru, when the Spaniards firſt arrived there) advanced by ſlow marches, ſending out parties to diſcover the country, and get intelligence as they went along.

Pizarro marches to Caxamalca.

The conſternation increaſing among the Peruvians, and the Spaniards approaching Caxamalca, Atabilipa, who looked upon the artificial thunder of the Spaniards as ſupernatural, and their wing'd horſes, as well as themſelves, to be of infernal, if not of heavenly, extraction, apprehended there was no ſafety for him but in his ſubmiſſion; and therefore ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Pizarro, by his brother Autachy; together with rich preſents of gold and ſilver plate, and emeralds, corn, fruit, Peruvian ſheep and goats, ſtrong liquor, veniſon, tame and wild fowl, fine cotton and woollen garments of various colours, and whatever his country afforded.

Autachy being admitted to the preſence of Pizarro, told him, he was ſent by the Inca Atabilipa to welcome him and the reſt of the ſons of their common god and father, the Sun, into that empire, deſiring he would accept the ſmall preſent he brought with him for the refreſhment of his troops in their march; telling him, that Inca was impatient to ſee his kindred, whom he underſtood to be of the like heavenly extraction, and to whom he promiſed all obedience. After which, the royal hiſtorian relates, that Autachy made the following formal ſpeech to Pizarro (which was put into Spaniſh by Philip, a young Peruvian he carried with him to Panama in the former voyage, on purpoſe to be inſtructed in that language) viz.

“ Inca Viracoche, thou progeny of the Sun,
“ ſince it hath been my fortune to be put on this
“ remarkable embaſſy, I preſume to entreat, you
“ would be graciouſly pleaſed to take my Sovereign,
“ the Inca Atahnalpa, into the number of
“ your friends, and contract a perpetual peace and
“ alliance with him; and that you would pardon
“ the injuries the Peruvians may, through igno-
“ rance of your divine original, have committed
“ againſt you, moderating that juſt vengeance,
“ your great god and father Viracoche might
“ juſtly have inflicted on our people: And having
“ ſaid this, he cauſed the preſent to be brought in
“ and ſet before the Spaniſh General.”

The ſubſtance of Pizarro's anſwer to that ſpeech, 'tis ſaid was, that the Spaniards were authoriz'd by their High Prieſt, the Pope, to convert the Peruvians from their idolatry to the Chriſtian religion; and that the great Emperor of the Chriſtians, Charles V. had empower'd them to enter into a league of friendſhip and perpetual peace with the Inca, and were order'd to offer no manner of violence to him, or his ſubjects, if theſe overtures were accepted.

The Peruvian Ambaſſador being diſmiſſed, Pizarro, to return the compliment, diſpatch'd his brother Hernando Pizarro, and Hernando de Soto, attended by about thirty horſe, and Philip the Interpreter, as Ambaſſadors to the Inca Atabilipa, who was then at one of his palaces in the neighbourhood of Caxamalca: The Inca being inform'd of their approach, ordered a detachment of his army to advance and meet the Spaniards on the way, and conduct them to his preſence. This body of Peruvians being come within a little diſtance of the Ambaſſadors, fell down and adored them; and having acquainted them, that the Inca waited their arrival with impatience, attended the Ambaſſadors to the palace; where, upon their alighting, they were conducted to the Inca, whom they found ſitting on a chair of gold, in the midſt of his Officers and Courtiers. The Emperor aroſe from his ſeat to receive them, and ſaid they were welcome to his dominions, and golden chairs were brought for the Ambaſſadors. After they were ſeated, the Inca looking ſtedfaſtly on them, ſaid to his Courtiers, Behold the very face, countenance, and habit, of our god Viracoche, in the ſame manner and form as our anceſtor the Inca Viracoche deſcrib'd him in his viſion; and immediately two royal Virgins brought in each of them two golden cups, filled with the liquor uſually drank by the Inca, and bowing, deliver'd one of the cups into the hands of Atabilipa, and another to Hernando Pizarro; and the Interpreter acquainted them, that the Inca deſired to drink with them, which, according to the cuſtom of their country, teſtified the reſpect he had for the Chriſtians, and did deſire to live in perpetual peace and friendſhip with them: Whereupon the Inca and Hernando drank, and gave away their cups; then the other Virgin deliver'd one of her cups into the hands of the Inca, and the other to Hernando Soto, who had the honour alſo to drink in like manner with the Emperor.

Then ſix boys and as many girls brought in green and dry fruits; and one of the Virgins, addreſſing herſelf to the Ambaſſadors, ſaid, Ye ſons of Capac Inca Viracocha, taſte of theſe things we offer, and it will extremely oblige us: Whereupon the Spaniards taſting of their fruits, were amaz'd, ſays the royal hiſtorian, to find ſo much civility and politeneſs among a people they had been taught to look upon as barbarous.

The collation being over, Hernando de Soto, according to the ſame author, made the following ſpeech to the Emperor.

Moſt ſerene Inca,

“You are to underſtand, that in this world there are two ſupreme Princes; one is the Pope, who is High Prieſt, and ſits in the place and tribunal of God; the other is the Emperor of the Romans, called Charles V. King of Spain, who having been informed of the blind ignorance in which the natives of theſe your kingdoms live, deſpiſing the true God, who is the Maker of heaven and earth, beſtowing the worſhip due unto him upon his creatures, and upon the Devil himſelf, who deceives and deludes them, have ſent their Governour and Captain-General, Don Francisco Pizarro, with his Companions, and ſome Prieſts, who are the Miniſters of God, to teach your Highneſs, and your ſubjects, the divine Truth, and his holy Law; and for this reaſon it is, that they have undertaken this long journey to your country; where having received inſtances of your bounty from your liberal hand, they entered yeſterday into Caxamalca, and this day they have ſent us to your Highneſs, with offers of peace and concord, which may endure for ever between us; that ſo receiving us under your protection, we may have leave to preach our Law, and that your ſubjects may hear and underſtand the Goſpel, which will be much to your honour, and conduce to the ſalvation of your ſouls.”

To which ſpeech the Inca returned the following anſwer.

The Inca's anſwer to the Ambaſſadors.

“I am much pleaſed, divine Lords, that you and your companions are in my days come into theſe remote countries, that ſo I might ſee thoſe propheſies and prognoſtications fulfilled, which our anceſtors have left us; though in reality my ſoul hath much more reaſon to be ſad, when I conſider, that the end of our empire approaches, of which, according to ancient predictions, your coming is a forerunner; and yet I cannot but ſay, that theſe times are bleſſed, in which our god Viracocha hath ſent ſuch happy gueſts, which ſhall transform the State of our Government into a better condition, of which change and alteration we have certain aſſurance, from the tradition of our anceſtors, and the words of the laſt teſtament of our father Huana Capac; for which reaſon, though we had certain intelligence of your entrance into our country, and the fortifications you made in it, and of the ſlaughter you committed in Puna, Tumbez, and other parts, yet neither I, nor my Captains, have entered into any conſultations, how, or in what manner, we might expel you from hence, becauſe we hold and believe, that you are the ſons of our great god Viracocha, and meſſengers of the Pacha Camac; for which cauſe, and in confirmation of what my father delivered to us, we have made it a law, and publiſhed it in Cuſco, that none ſhall dare to take up arms againſt you, or offend you; wherefore you may do with us as you pleaſe, it being glory ſufficient for us to die by your hands, whom we eſteem the divine meſſengers of God, by whom you muſt be ſent, conſidering the actions you have already performed: Only I deſire to be ſatisfied in one doubt: How comes it to paſs, as you ſay, that you come to treat of friendſhip, and a perpetual peace, in the name of the two before-mentioned Princes, and yet on the other ſide, without ſo much as any ſummons, or ſending to treat with us, or know our will and pleaſure towards you, you have committed ſuch outrages and ſlaughters in the countries through which you have paſſed? I conceive, that the two Princes which employed you have given you ſuch commiſſion to act with ſuch ſeverity againſt us, without any fault of ours: And I imagine, that the Pacha Camac hath ſo commanded them to proceed; wherefore I ſay again, do your pleaſure with us, only I beſeech you to have compaſſion upon my poor relations, whoſe death and misfortunes will grieve me more than my own.”

The Ambaſſadors were afterwards diſmiſs'd with large preſents of gold and ſilver plate; the Inca telling them, he would ſpeedily go to Caxamalca, and viſit the ſons of his god Viracocha, and meſſengers of the Pacha Camac. And accordingly, the next morning the Inca began his march towards the Chriſtians. Of which Pizarro having notice, made preparations to receive him, but far different from what the Inca expected: For he choſe out a large ſquare in Caxamalca for this interview, ſurrounded by a wall, in which there were but two gates, and ordered his horſe (being ſixty in number) to divide themſelves, and draw up in three ſquadrons behind ſome ruinous buildings out of view. Then he planted his artillery, ſo as it might do the greateſt execution: And on an eminence, in the middle of the ſquare, he ſtood at the head of his infantry, conſiſting of an hundred muſqueteers, croſs-bows and pikes, where he propoſed to meet the Inca, commanding his men, that as ſoon as ſeven or eight thouſand of the Inca's forces were enter'd the ſquare, they ſhould ſhut the gates, and ſuffer no more to come in; and that they ſhould all be ready to fall on, when he gave the ſignal.

He marches to meet the Chriſtians.

Pizarro's preparations to receive him.

The Inca ſeem'd to have ſome ſuſpicion of the miſchief that was intended him, and halted a league before he came to Caxamalca, ordering his Generals to encamp there. Whereupon Pizarro, fearing to be deprived of his prize, ſent ſeveral meſſengers to deſire him to haſten his march, pretending he expected him that day at a great entertainment he had provided: And the Inca, yielding to his preſſing invitations, marched forward, and entering the gates of the ſquare, put himſelf into the power of his cruel and treacherous enemies. As the Inca was advancing to the eminence where the Spaniſh foot was drawn up, Pizarro ſent Father Vincent Valverde to meet him, and ſummon him to ſubmit himſelf, and his dominions, to the Pope and the Emperor: Whereupon that Father went up to the chair, or couch, on which the Inca Atabilipa was carried, with a croſs in one hand, and a Bible (or Breviary) in the other; and, according to the royal hiſtorian, made the following ſpeech, viz. “It is neceſſary for you to know, moſt famous and powerful King, and alſo for all

The Inca ſuſpects Treachery.

He advances to Caxamalca.

Father Vincent's ſpeech to him.

your ſubjects, who are deſirous to learn the Catholick faith, that you and they both hear and believe the things which follow.

"Firſt, that God, who is three, and yet one, created heaven and earth, and all the things which are in this world. That he gives the reward of eternal life to thoſe that do well, and puniſhes the evil with everlaſting torments. That this God, at the beginning of the world, made man of the duſt of the earth, and breathed into him the breath of life, which we call the ſoul, which God made after his own image and likeneſs; by which it appears, that the whole man conſiſts of body, and a rational ſoul. From the firſt man, whom God call'd ADAM, all mankind, which are in this world, is deſcended, and from him we take the original and beginning of our nature. That this ADAM ſinned, by breaking the commandment of his Creator, and in him all men that have been born ſince his time are under ſin, and ſo ſhall be to the end of the world; for neither man nor woman is free from this original ſin, nor can be, excepting only our Lord JESUS, who being the Son of the only true God, deſcended from heaven, and was born from the Virgin MARY, that ſo he might free and redeem all mankind from the ſubjection of ſin; and finally, he died for our ſalvation on the Croſs, which was a piece of wood, in form of this which I hold in my hands; for which reaſon, we that are Chriſtians do adore and reverence it. This JESUS, by his own power, aroſe from the dead, and forty days after he aſcended into heaven, where he now ſits at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty; after which he left his Apoſtles upon the earth, who were his ſucceſſors, who by their words and admonition, and other holy means, might bring men to the knowledge and worſhip of God, and obſervation of his laws.

"Of theſe Apoſtles St. PETER was conſtituted the chief, as are alſo his ſucceſſors of all other ſucceeding Apoſtles, and of all Chriſtians; and as St. PETER was God's Vicar, or Vicegerent, ſo after him were all the Popes of Rome, who are endued with that ſupreme authority which God hath given them; and which they have, and do, and ſhall for ever exerciſe with much ſanctity and care, for propagation of the Goſpel, and guiding men according to the word of God.

"For which reaſon the Pope of Rome, who is the High Prieſt now living, having underſtood, that all the people and nations of theſe kingdoms, leaving the worſhip of the true Maker of all things, do brutiſhly worſhip idols, and the images of devils, and being willing to draw them to the knowledge of the true God, hath granted the conqueſt of theſe parts to CHARLES V. Emperor of the Romans, who is the moſt powerful King of Spain, and Monarch of all the earth; that ſo, he having brought the Kings and Lords, and people of theſe parts, under his ſubjection and dominion, and having deſtroy'd the rebellious and diſobedient, he may govern and rule theſe nations, and reduce them to the knowledge of God, and to the obedience of the church.

"And though our moſt potent King be employ'd in the government of his vaſt kingdoms and dominions, yet he received this grant of the Pope, and refuſed not the trouble for the good and for the ſalvation of theſe nations; and accordingly hath ſent his Captains and Soldiers to execute his commands, as he did for the conqueſt of thoſe great iſlands and countries which are adjoining to Mexico; and having ſubjected them by force of arms, hath reduced them to the acknowledgment of the true religion of JESUS CHRIST; for the ſame God hath commanded that ſo it ſhall be.

"For which reaſon, the Emperor CHARLES V. hath choſen for his Ambaſſador and Lieutenant, Don FRANCISCO DE PIZARRO, who is here preſent, that ſo the kingdoms of your Highneſs may receive all the benefits of religion; and that a firm peace and alliance may be concluded and eſtabliſhed between his Majeſty and your Highneſs, on condition, that your Highneſs, and all your kingdoms, become tributaries to the Emperor, thou mayſt become his ſubject, and delivering up your kingdoms, and all the adminiſtration and government thereof, thou ſhalt do as other Kings and Lords have already done, and have the ſame quarter and conditions with them: This is the firſt point. Now as to the ſecond, when this peace and alliance is eſtabliſhed, and thou haſt ſubmitted, either voluntarily or by conſtraint, then thou art to yield true and faithful obedience to the Pope, who is the High Prieſt; and thou art to receive and believe the faith of JESUS CHRIST our God. Thou art alſo to reject, and totally to abandon the abominable ſuperſtition of idols; which being done, we ſhall then make known unto you the ſanctity and truth of our law, and the falſity of yours; the invention and contrivance of which proceeded from the Devil. All which, O King, if thou wilt believe me, thou oughteſt to receive with readineſs and good-will, being a matter of great importance to thy ſelf, and to thy people; for if thou ſhouldſt deny and refuſe to obey, thou wilt be proſecuted with the fire and ſword of war, until we have conſtrained thee by force of arms to renounce thy religion; for willingly or unwillingly thou muſt receive our Catholick faith, and with ſurrender of thy kingdom pay a tribute to our Emperor; but in caſe thou ſhouldſt contend, and make reſiſtance with an obſtinate mind, be aſſured, that God will deliver thee up, as he did anciently PHARAOH, who, with his whole army, periſhed in the Red-ſea; and ſo ſhalt thou, and all thy Indians, periſh and be deſtroyed by our arms."

The ſpeech ill interpreted.

The Spaniſh writers ſeem to diſapprove this rough ſpeech of the Friar's, as too imperious and aſſuming, having no mixture of that ſweetneſs or real concern for the temporal or eternal happineſs of the poor Indians, as was ſuitable to a meſſenger of the Goſpel of peace: They lament alſo that it was ill interpreted by PHILIP the Peruvian, who did not well underſtand the language of that Court, and had no notion himſelf of the doctrines of the Chriſtian religion: Inſomuch, that when he came to ſpeak of the nature of the Trinity, as that God was three, and yet one, he ſaid, God was three and one, that was four. And when he came to mention the generation of mankind, and original ſin by ADAM's fall, inſtead of ſaying, That all the world ſinn'd in ADAM, he ſaid, All the world heap'd their ſins upon ADAM. Speaking of the divinity of CHRIST, he ſaid he was a great perſon who died for mankind, nor could he find words to expreſs the virginity and purity of the bleſſed Virgin.

Speaking of the power of the Emperor, and his ſending his forces to conquer the world, he expreſs'd it ſo as if he had been ſuperior to all powers in heaven and earth.

The Emperor ATABILIPA apprehending, by the concluſion of the Friar's ſpeech, that he was, by fair means or force, to renounce his ſovereignty, and become a tributary Prince by the commands of the Pope and the Emperor, and that the ſoldiers ſeemed to threaten him by brandiſhing their arms, he was extremely dejected, believing that the Spaniards, as God's inſtruments, were come to take vengeance on him and his people; and fetching a deep ſigh, repeated the word Atar, which is as much as if he had ſaid, moſt unhappy man! However, recollecting himſelf, he gave at length the following anſwer to Father VINCENT's ſpeech.

The Inca's anſwer to the Friar's ſpeech.

“Tho' you have deny'd me all the requeſts I made to your meſſengers, yet it would be a great ſatisfaction to me, to grant me the favour only to expreſs your ſelves by a more ſkilful and faithful interpreter, becauſe the manners and deſigns of men are better underſtood by diſcourſe, than by ſigns or actions; for tho' you may be men endued with extraordinary virtues and abilities, yet unleſs you make them appear to me by words and diſcourſe, I ſhall never be capable to underſtand them by outward ſigns and geſtures: For if there be a neceſſity of a common language between nations who deſire commerce and converſation together, much more is it requiſite between people ſo remote as we are. For indeed, to treat by Interpreters ignorant of both tongues, is like the inarticulate ſound of domeſtick animals; and ſuch, O man of God, ſeems this diſcourſe thou haſt made me by this Interpreter. And now, ſo far as I underſtand, methinks this diſcourſe ſeems very different to what your Embaſſadors lately propounded, for they treated of nothing elſe but peace and friendſhip; but now, all the words of this Indian are nothing but menaces of war, and death, and fire, and ſword, with the extirpation and baniſhment of the Inca's and their progeny; and that I muſt voluntarily, or by force, renounce a right to my kingdom, and become tributary to another. From whence I collect one of theſe two things; that either you or your Prince are tyrants, and rove about to plunder the world, and to diſpoſſeſs others of their kingdoms, killing and ſpoiling thoſe who owe you nothing, and have never offered you injury or violence; or otherwiſe, you are the Miniſters of God, called by us, PACHA CAMAC, whom he hath ſent to viſit us with vengeance and deſtruction. And if it be ſo, both I and my vaſſals do offer ourſelves to death, and to what puniſhment ſoever you will inflict upon us; not for fear, nor out of any dread we have of your menaces or arms, but in compliance with the commands enjoined us by my father HUANA CAPAC, at the time of his death, which was, that we ſhould ſerve and honour a nation with beards like yourſelves, which were to enter into theſe parts after his days, and of which he propheſied ſome years before your ſhips coaſted about our country, and whom he declared to be men of better laws, of more refined cuſtoms, more wiſe and more valiant than ourſelves.

“Wherefore, to fulfil the prophecy and teſtament of my father, we ſtile you Viracocha's, underſtanding thereby, that you are the Meſſengers of the great god Viracocha, whoſe will and pleaſure, juſt indignation, arms, and power, we are unable to reſiſt; and yet we are aſſur'd that he is all goodneſs and mercy; and for that reaſon you, who are his Miniſters and Executioners of his will, ought to abſtain from ſuch robberies, ſlaughter and violence as you have committed in Tumbez and the adjacent countries.

“In the next place, your Interpreter acquaints me of five great perſonages whom I am to acknowledge: The firſt is God, who is three and one, that is four, whom you call the Creator of the univerſe; which, perhaps, may be the ſame whom we call PACHA CAMAC, and Viracocha. The ſecond is the Father of all mankind, on whom all other men have heaped their ſins. The third you call JESUS CHRIST, who was the only perſon excepted who did not caſt his ſins on the firſt man, but that he died. The fourth you name is the Pope. The fifth is CHARLES, who, in compariſon with others, you call the moſt powerful Monarch of the univerſe, and the ſupreme Lord of all: But then, if CHARLES be the Prince, and the Lord of the world, what need was there for the Pope to give a new grant and another commiſſion to make war upon me, and uſurp my kingdoms? For conſequently the Pope muſt be a greater Prince than he, and the moſt powerful of any in the world. But I moſt admire at what you ſay, that I am obliged to pay tribute to CHARLES only, and not to others, the which you alledge without giving me any reaſon; and indeed I cannot conceive on what ſcore I am obliged to pay it; for if I were bound to pay tribute and ſervice to any, methinks it ſhould be to that God who, you ſay, created all things, and to that firſt man, who was the father of all mankind, and to that JESUS CHRIST who had no ſins to impute unto him: And in fine, if tribute were to be given, it ſhould rather be unto the Pope, who hath power and authority to diſpoſe of my kingdoms and my perſon; and if you ſay that I owe nothing unto any of theſe, I ſhould imagine that I owe much leſs to CHARLES, who was never Lord of theſe countries, nor ever ſaw them. And if the Pope's grant and conceſſion be obligatory to me, it were juſt and reaſonable to declare it to me, before you threaten me with war, and fire, and ſword, and death; for I am not ſo void of underſtanding and ſenſe, as not to obey the Pope, in caſe you can ſhew me a reaſon, and juſtice, and cauſe for it.

“Moreover, I deſire to be informed who that good man JESUS CHRIST was, who, you ſay, never laid his ſins on another, but that he died. I would gladly know, whether he died of a natural death, or by the hands of his enemies; and whether he was numbered amongſt the Gods before his death, or afterwards.

“And farther, I deſire to be informed, whether theſe five which you highly honour, are adored by you for Gods; for if it be ſo, you hold more for Gods than we, who acknowledge no other than the PACHA CAMAC, who is the ſupreme, and the Sun, who is inferior to him, and the Moon, who is his ſiſter and wife. In which doubtful queſtions I heartily deſire to be truly reſolved by ſome other more able and faithful Interpreter, that ſo I may be made more capable thereby to know and obey your will and commands.”

DE LA VEGA ſays, he had ſeen the ſpeech made by the Friar to the Inca, and we may be aſſur'd of its being genuine; but it is not poſſible he ſhould be ſo well aſſured what the Inca's anſwer was, there being no body preſent, I preſume, that could take it verbatim; however, he ſeems to be of opinion, that it was much of the tenour we find it in the Spaniſh writers.

But after all, what are theſe ſpeeches and ſummons's of the Spaniards to the Indians to change their religion but mere grimace? It is evident Pizarro's eyes were altogether fix'd upon the plunder, and he was prepared to maſſacre and cut the Peruvians in pieces, before he knew what anſwer would be given the Miſſionaries: He drew the unwary Indians into an ambuſcade, from whence it was impoſſible they ſhould eſcape, or carry off their Prince, on whoſe captivity he knew depended the fate of that empire; cloſely following the precedent Cortez had ſet him, in ſeizing Montezuma, Emperor of Mexico.

Had the Spaniards entertained chriſtian or pacifick views, they could not have expected that ignorant men, who never heard of the Chriſtian religion, ſhould immediately comprehend its doctrines, or obey its precepts, before they could poſſibly make any reflection on what was propoſed to them; and yet this was the conſtant practice of the Spaniards in that new world, to give the natives a ſhort ſummons, and if they refuſed to obey it, immediately to plunder and enſlave them. But to proceed:

The Spaniards, ſays De la Vega, weary of this long diſcourſe, began to advance and attack the Indians, and plunder them of their gold, ſilver, and jewels; for they had put on their richeſt ornaments that day to receive the embaſſy ſent them (as they believ'd) from the univerſal Monarch of the world; and ſome of the Spaniards climed a tower to ſeize one of the Peruvian idols, adorned with gold and precious ſtones, which outrage occaſioned a great noiſe and tumult among the Indians; but the Emperor called out to his people to be quiet, and make no reſiſtance whatever violences the Spaniards committed. Some writers ſay, that Friar Vincent encouraged the ſoldiers to attack the Indians, becauſe Atabilipa threw the Bible, or Breviary, upon the ground, which that Friar preſented him; but De la Vega aſſures us, this was not true; that the Friar indeed, being ſurpriſed at the ſudden cry of the Indians, as he was diſcourſing with the Inca, run away and dropp'd his book and the croſs upon the ground; but that he was ſo far from encouraging the ſoldiers to fall upon the Indians, that he called out to them to do no manner of violence: However, whether Father Vincent encouraged the ſlaughter of the Indians or not, or whether Pizarro acquainted him with his intentions, or concealed them from him, nothing is more evident than that this General drew the Indians within thoſe walls on purpoſe to maſſacre and plunder them, and make the Inca his priſoner; for the conference between the Inca and the Friar was ſcarce ended, before he made the appointed ſignal for the great guns to fire among the thickeſt of the Indians, and his horſe to attack and trample them under their feet, and the dogs to be let looſe at them, while he, at the head of his infantry, marched up to the golden chair, or throne, on which Atabilipa was carried, and made him priſoner. The poor Indians, 'tis ſaid, when they ſaw what the Chriſtians chiefly aim'd at, threw themſelves between the Spaniards and their Prince, to prevent his being taken, but not a man of them offer'd to lift up a weapon to defend himſelf, their Emperor having commanded the contrary: The poor people therefore were ſlaughtered like ſo many ſheep, 'till Pizarro having made his way through, or rather over the heaps of the ſlain, pull'd down the Emperor from his chair with his own hands, and took him priſoner, in which action he received a ſlight wound from one of his own ſoldiers that ſtruck at the Inca; and the General was the only Spaniard that was hurt, tho' five thouſand Peruvians were killed that day with their arms in their hands; which amounts to a demonſtration that the Peruvians made no reſiſtance: And that this brave action the Spaniards boaſt of ſo much, may more properly be ſtiled a barbarous butchery than a victory; and I cannot help thinking, that Cervantes had ſome of theſe Spaniſh heroes, that ſubdued the Weſt-Indies, in his eye, when he introduced that inimitable champion Don Quixot, arm'd cap-a-pee, charging a flock of ſheep with his launce. Let any one conſult the Spaniſh Hiſtoriographer, Antonio de Herera, Blas Valera, and the reſt of the Spaniſh authors who write of this conqueſt, and they will ſee I do their countrymen no wrong in this relation.

The Indians maſſacred, and their Inca made priſoner.

The treachery and cruelty of the Spaniards confeſſed by their own hiſtorians.

Herera informs us, that Pizarro, before Atabilipa and his Indians entered the ſquare, commanded his muſketeers to take poſt upon a ſignal given them; that the Captains Ferdinando Pizarro, Ferdinand de Soto, Sebastian de Balcazar, and Christopher de Mena, who commanded the cavalry, ſhould fall upon the Indians, and the foot ſhould do the like; and directed them, before the execution began, that they ſhould permit a certain number of the enemy (as they call'd them) to enter the gates, which they ſhould afterwards take ſpecial care to ſhut and ſecure: That Father Vincent having made his ſpeech to the Inca, told Pizarro he was treated with contempt; and that the tyrant demanded reſtitution of the gold and ſilver the Spaniards had plunder'd his ſubjects of.

Whereupon, ſays Herera, Pizarro did not think fit to loſe more time: "for he had before "reſolved what to do;" being a man that had ſerved twenty years in the Weſt-Indies, and knowing the victory depended on ſeizing the perſons of the Sovereigns: He lifted up the white Cloth, which was the appointed ſignal for executing the orders he had given, and thereupon Peter de Candia fir'd the great guns, and the muſketeers their pieces, to the amazement of the Indians, and the more ſo, becauſe it was unexpected: Then the drums beat, the trumpets ſounded, the horſe fell in three ſeveral ways among the Indians, while the infantry made a ſlaughter of them with their croſs-bows, pikes and ſwords: And Pizarro in perſon, with fifteen choſen men, marched up to the chair on which Atabilipa was carried, and killing thoſe that ſupported it, with many more that crowded to ſupply their places, after a very great ſlaughter of the Indians, ſeized the Inca, and pull'd him down from his chair; after which, the Peruvians fled, and were purſued by the Spaniards, who did not leave off killing them 'till the fugitives broke down part of the wall of the ſquare, by which means ſome of them eſcaped.

Blas Valera, whoſe father was in this action alſo, relates that five thouſand Indians were kill'd, (viz.) three thouſand five hundred by the ſword, and the reſt, who were for the moſt part old men, women and children, who came only to gaze, were trampled under foot by the horſe.

Lopez de Gomara, chap. 113, ſays, Notwithſtanding the Indians were arm'd, not a man lifted up his hand; probably, ſays he, the ſurprize was ſo ſudden, and their terror ſo great, occaſion'd by the ſound of trumpets, the roaring of the cannons, firing of the ſmall arms, the ruſhing of the horſe upon them, and the clattering of the Spaniſh armour, things unknown to that defenceleſs people, that they were confounded, and loſt the uſe of their reaſon; declaring that great numbers periſh'd with their arms in their hands, rather than they would fight and defend themſelves.

De la Vega indeed obſerves, that the Spaniſh Generals pretended the Indians were treacherous; that Atabilipa had formed a deſign to ſurprize the Spaniards, and put them all to the ſword; and that Father Vincent complained to the General they refuſed his invitation to become Chriſtians, and treated him and the Croſs with contempt, and thereupon incited the General to fall upon them.

But in theſe accounts, ſays De la Vega, the General and Captains were not ſincere: They endeavoured to put the beſt gloſs upon their actions, leaving out of the narrative they ſent to the Court of Spain, all their cruel and unjuſtifiable proceedings; and adding whatever had a fair appearance. “It being confirmed (ſays that hiſtorian) by ſeveral other writers, that Atabilipa commanded his ſubjects not to reſiſt the Spaniards:” For if the Inca had not commanded them not to fight, certainly, ſays he, they would never have endured to ſee their Prince overthrown and taken, having weapons in their hands: They would rather have all died in his defence, as many of them did in endeavouring to ſupport his chair, and not have ſuffered an hundred and ſixty Spaniards, whom they were able to have ſubdued with ſtones, to commit ſuch outrages. Whereas there was not one Spaniard either killed or wounded, unleſs Francis Pizarro the General, who received a little hurt in his hand by one of his own men, as he went to ſeize on Atabilipa. The truth is (ſays he) the Indians did not fight, becauſe they held every command of the Inca to be a part of their religion, and of the divine law, tho' it were to loſe their lives and eſtates: Indeed our author deſcribes it to a miraculous providence that the Inca ſhould give theſe orders; but theſe, and abundance of miracles more of the ſame ſtamp, which the Spaniards relate in their hiſtories of their invaſions and uſurpations in the Weſt-Indies, are but little credited probably by hereticks, whatever they may be by thoſe of their own perſuaſion.

The ſpoils of the field.

To proceed to the hiſtory. Pizarro having ſeized the Inca, and convey'd him to his own quarters, directed the ſpoils of the field to be collected and brought to him, which were exceeding great, conſiſting of large gold and ſilver veſſels, and utenſils, fine garments of various colours, jewels and ornaments belonging to the Inca, the royal family, and great officers. There were taken alſo ſeveral Ladies, wives of the Caciques and Orejons, and ſome of the Mamacona's, or conſecrated Virgins: And tho' all mankind muſt look upon this action as one of the moſt treacherous and barbarous maſſacres that ever was committed by Chriſtians, yet had Pizarro the confidence to command a ſolemn thankſgiving to God to be obſerved that very day, being the third of May, 1533, (the feſtival of the Exaltation of the Holy Croſs) and in that very field where the ground was cover'd with the dead bodies of the miſerable Indians they had thus murder'd and plunder'd. Next day he ſent out a detachment of his forces to plunder the Inca's camp, where he met with another rich booty; tho' 'tis ſaid the Peruvian Generals had carried off three thouſand loads (Porter's burdens) of gold and ſilver before the Spaniards arrived there; therefore, in order to induce the Indians not to carry off or conceal any more of their treaſures, he cauſed it to be proclaimed that their Inca was alive, and that they were at liberty to come and attend him, and perform their uſual ſervices. Whereupon ſeveral of the Indian Generals and great Officers returned to Caxamalca to attend their captive Sovereign; he alſo cauſed the Inca's women to be brought to him, and ſuffered him to be ſerved in the ſame manner he uſed to be before this misfortune; tho' he ſtill kept him in fetters, which made the Inca apprehenſive they would take away his life in the end, unleſs he could find ſome way to obtain his liberty: Having obſerved, therefore, the inſatiable thirſt of the Spaniards after gold and ſilver, he promiſed to give them as much of thoſe precious metals as a great room in the caſtle of Caxamalca would hold, for his freedom; and that the Spaniards might not doubt the performance of what he offer'd, he propoſed their ſending ſome Spaniſh officers with his people to Cuſco, to the temple of Pacha Camac, and other places, to bring the treaſures repoſited there to Caxamalca, and at the ſame time iſſued his orders, that the Spaniards who were diſpatched to theſe places ſhould be hoſpitably entertained in the countries through which they paſs'd, and receive all the aſſiſtance his ſubjects could give them.

The Inca offers vaſt treaſures for his liberty.

Almagro brings a great reinforcement to Peru.

In the mean time, James de Almagro having liſted an hundred and fifty men in his ſervice at Panama, embarked with them for Peru, to reinforce Pizarro; but was obliged, by contrary winds, to land at Cape Franciſco, to the northward of the Equator, where he was joined by another party of Spaniards that were going to ſhare Pizarro's fortunes, making together a body of between two and three hundred men; but being obliged to paſs ſo many moraſſes and mouths of rivers, and march through continual rains under the Equator, he loſt thirty or forty of his men, and fell ſick himſelf; however, ſurmounting all theſe diſtreſſes and difficulties, he arrived at length at the new Spaniſh colony of St. Michael's, near the Bay of Guiaquil, and there he underſtood that Pizarro had made the Emperor Atabilipa priſoner, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a vaſt treaſure. Whereupon, 'tis ſaid, Almagro conſulted with his Officers, whether they ſhould join Pizarro or go upon ſome further diſcoveries independent of him, if he refuſed to let them ſhare the treaſure he had got; and Almagro's Secretary, it ſeems, ſent Pizarro intelligence, that his maſter had no good intentions towards him: But Pizarro, either believing that he ſhould not be able to keep ſo large an empire as Peru in ſubjection with the few troops that were with him, or that Almagro having more forces than he commanded, might join a party of the Indians and take his booty from him, and ſet up for himſelf, ſent very obliging meſſages to Almagro, inviting him to advance and join him, and at the ſame time acquainted him with the arts that were uſed to ſet them at variance, and thereby ruin their enterprize on Peru, which was not to be carried on but by their united forces and endeavours; and particularly he acquainted Almagro with the treachery of his Secretary, who thereupon ordered him to be hang'd up, and immediately began his march towards Caxamalca.

The Inca Atabilipa receiving advice that another body of Spaniards was arrived upon the coaſt, began to reflect that this would not probably be to his advantage; for Pizarro would now no longer be under a neceſſity of carrying matters fair with him, being enabled by this reinforcement, to maintain his conqueſts by pure force: He haſten'd therefore the bringing in the treaſure he had offer'd for his ranſom, that he might obtain his liberty before Pizarro was joined by Almagro; but another accident happened about the ſame time, which he apprehended would be ſtill more fatal to him. The three Spaniſh officers that were ſent with his people to Cuſco happening to paſs through the town where Huascar his brother, the lawful Emperor, was priſoner, went to ſee him, and acquainting Huascar with what Atabilipa had offered for his ranſom, that Prince acquainted them how unjuſtly he had been depos'd and impriſoned by Atabilipa, his baſtard brother, who had no right to the empire or the treaſures he had promis'd: And as he underſtood one principal deſign of this expedition of the Spaniards was "to relieve the diſtreſſed, and to do juſtice to thoſe that were oppreſs'd," he did not boubt but they would releaſe him from his captivity, and reſtore him to his throne; which he ſhould not only gratefully acknowledge, but would furniſh them with much more treaſure than the Uſurper could poſſibly do; for his loyal ſubjects had buried moſt of their gold and ſilver plate after the battle wherein he was made priſoner, to conceal it from the rebels, but would readily produce it again, and pay it to the Spaniards for his ranſom, if he required it.

Pizarro's three meſſengers ſeem'd to liſten to theſe overtures, and promiſed the Inca Huascar that juſtice ſhould be done him; but left that Prince however in priſon, and continued their journey to Cuſco; and advice being immediately carried to Atabilipa of this conference between the Spaniſh officers and his brother, he ſoon ſaw that he ſhould be undone unleſs Huascar was diſpatched out of the way, knowing that the greateſt part of the Empire were ſtill in his intereſt; and as they would infallibly be ſupported by the Spaniards, to whom his brother had diſcover'd his treachery, and promiſed ſuch mountains of gold and ſilver, they would certainly ſacrifice him to their avarice, if they had no regard to the juſtice of his brother's cauſe.

But then reflecting, if he ſhould order his brother to be put to death, the Spaniards might make this a pretence for taking away his own life, he reſolved in the firſt place to ſound how Pizarro ſtood affected towards Huascar, which he did by feigning he had received intelligence that the officers who had his brother in their cuſtody had put him to death without his knowledge, for which the Uſurper expreſs'd a very great concern; but finding Pizarro was not moved at the relation, and that he only ſaid, This was the fortune of war, the lives of captives were at the conqueror's diſpoſal, Atabilipa diſpatched an expreſs for putting Huascar to death, and his orders were immediately executed; tho' it remains very uncertain in what manner he died; for ſome writers affirm he was burnt, and others he was drowned, and ſome that his body was cut in ſmall pieces, that his ſubjects might not pay thoſe honours to the corpſe of their deceaſed Inca as was uſual.

The Inca Huaſcar put to death by Atabilipa's orders.

However, the Peruvians mourned, and made great lamentations for him as ſoon as his death was known, crying to heaven for vengeance on his murderers, and entreated the Spaniards to revenge it on the cruel uſurper Atabilipa.

In the mean time, the three officers that were ſent to Cuſco being arrived there, were adored by that people as the true deſcendants of the Sun; but the Spaniards lament that they were men of mean parts and education, who knew not how to preſerve that reſpect and veneration the Peruvians had conceived of them, which was then ſo neceſſary to facilitate their future attempts. The Indians, we are told, ſoon perceiv'd they muſt deduce the original of the Spaniards from ſome baſer fountain than that of the Sun; and the eſteem and affection they at firſt entertained for the Chriſtians, on the mighty profeſſions they made of their juſtice and honour, was, on a ſudden, converted into dread and averſion: They were afflicted to find ſo vicious and profligate a race of men, who trampled on every thing that was ſacred, and whoſe avarice ſeem'd to exceed all bounds, ſhould become maſters of their country, and from that time meditated how they might throw off that intolerable yoke which they found the Spaniards were about to impoſe on them; however, they durſt not diſobey the commands of their Inca Atabilipa, but having amaſſed a conſiderable quantity of treaſure, they loaded it on the backs of their Tamenes, or Porters, and conveyed it to Caxamalca, with a view poſſibly of aſſerting their liberties to greater advantages, when they ſhould have procured the releaſe of the Inca.

The Peruvians loſe their eſteem for the Spaniards.

But the moſt valuable treaſure, conſiſting of gold, ſilver, and emeralds, being lodged in the temple of Pacha Camac, the inviſible God, as Pizarro was informed, he diſpatched his three brothers thither with the Peruvian officers Atabilipa deputed to fetch it to Caxamalca; but the Prieſts of Pacha Camac, receiving advice how the temple of Cuſco had been rifled by the Spaniards that went thither, to prevent the like misfortune, ſent away four hundred loads of gold, ſilver, and jewels, before the Pizarros arrived, which were buried in the earth, or carried to ſuch a diſtance that the Spaniards could never diſcover what became of them: However, Ferdinand Pizarro found as much plate in this temple as amounted to ninety thouſand crowns, beſides what the ſoldiers embezzel'd, and returned with it to Caxamalca.

The Marſhal Almagro being advanced by this time into the neighbourhood of Caxamalca, Pizarro the General went out to meet him and congratulate his arrival, received him with all the marks of affection and eſteem imaginable, and offer'd him ſuch a ſhare of the ſpoils as made him perfectly eaſy. But his ſoldiers, who expected to divide the booty with thoſe that ſerved under Pizarro were told, they were entitled to no part of it, as not having been preſent in the action when the Inca Atabilipa was made priſoner, which was near creating a mutiny amongſt them; but they were pretty well appeas'd when Pizarro agreed to diſtribute an hundred thouſand ducats among the men which came with Almagro; the reſt of the plunder, after the Emperor's fifth was deducted, was divided by Pizarro among his officers and ſoldiers in ſuch proportion as he ſaw fit, in which he pretended to have a great regard to the merit of the reſpective Adventurers: And 'tis ſaid, he at this time, after he had reſerved the Inca's golden chair to himſelf, diſtributed as much gold and ſilver plate amongſt the ſoldiers as amounted to 1500000 crowns and upwards, which, conſidering the value of gold and ſilver at that time, was more than fifteen millions at this day.

The ſoldiers being poſſeſſed of this prodigious wealth, fell into all manner of exceſſes, raiſing the price of things to a very great rate, by offering any ſums to gratify their appetites or fancies, and never was gaming at a higher pitch; which, 'tis ſaid, their officers conniv'd at, or rather encouraged, that the ſoldiers, having loſt their money, and becoming dependant on them again, might be more under command.

mand. And now Pizarro thought it a proper time to ſend over the fifth part of the treaſure to the Emperor, as he had ſtipulated, and with it his brother Ferdinando Pizarro, to ſollicit for ſuch reinforcements as might eſtabliſh the dominion of the Spaniards in Peru; and to petition that his government might be extended ſtill further to the ſouthward; (the General having probably heard by this time, that the chief ſilver mines lay farther ſouth than 200 leagues, beyond which his patent did not extend). The Marſhal Almagro alſo employ'd his agents to repreſent to the Court of Spain with what expence and application he had ſent and carried reinforcements, and ſupplied the General with ammunition and proviſions from time to time, to enable him to make his conqueſt, and to deſire that all that part of South-America which lay to the ſouthward of the lands granted to Pizarro, might be put under his government: And with theſe agents, ſent by the General and the Marſhal, return'd ſeveral Adventurers, to the number of fifty or threeſcore, who having obtain'd thirty or forty thouſand ducats a-piece for their reſpective ſhares of the ſpoils, were perfectly ſatisfied with it, and choſe to enjoy what they had got the remainder of their lives in their own country, rather than undergo more hazards and difficulties to increaſe their fortunes. Theſe men knew how to ſet ſome bounds to their deſires; but as for the Generals and many more of thoſe that remain'd in Peru (who were about four hundred men) it appears nothing was capable of ſatisfying their avarice and ambition; moſt of them periſhed in the purſuit of wealth and unbounded power, after they were poſſeſſed of more than would have made moſt men happy, or at leaſt eaſy in their circumſtances. But to proceed:

Miracles pretended to.

De la Vega and the reſt of the Spaniſh hiſtorians relate abundance of miracles that were wrought in their favour on their introducing Chriſtianity into Peru; and that their converſion of the Peruvians might reſemble the planting of the Chriſtian religion by the Apoſtles in this part of the world, they tell us, that all the idols and oracles of thoſe Pagans became dumb on the conſecration of the hoſt, as perform'd in the maſs; but ſurely heaven could never countenance ſuch cruelty, injuſtice and oppreſſion as was exercis'd by the Spaniards on that unhappy people. They compared the Indians indeed to the Egyptians; but who gave them authority to plunder and murder the Indians, and take their country from them? Can it be imagined that God would by miracles ſet his ſeal, as it were, to ſuch flagrant enormities, and countenance facts that none but infernal powers could approve? Was it thus the Apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians propagated Chriſtianity? Or did theſe Reformers copy after Mahomet, and plant their ſuperſtition in this new world by the ſword, the halter, and the bow-ſtring, and ſuch unparallel'd villanies as Mahomet would have bluſh'd to commit; of which their treatment of Atabilipa will ever remain a tragical inſtance.

A formal proceſs drawn up againſt Atabilipa.

Atabilipa, the royal priſoner, having offered Pizarro a prodigious treaſure for his liberty, and actually paid great part of it if not all (as ſome of their hiſtorians admit) Pizarro, notwithſtanding, determin'd to take away his life, pretending that he encourag'd the Indians to attempt his reſcue and cut off the Spaniards: And that he might juſtify his conduct in this proceeding, he cauſed a formal proceſs to be drawn up againſt him, conſiſting of the following articles, (viz.)

The articles.

I. That Huascar Inca being his eldeſt brother and lawful Sovereign, and himſelf a baſtard, he had cauſed Huascar to be depos'd and impriſoned, and afterwards uſurped his throne.

II. That he had cauſed his ſaid brother to be murder'd, ſince he became a priſoner to the Spaniards.

III. That the Aatbilipa was an idolater.

IV. That he cauſed his ſubjects to ſacrifice men and children.

V. That he had raiſed unjuſt wars, and been guilty of the blood of many people.

VI. That he kept a great many concubines.

VII. That he exacted taxes and tribute of the Peruvians ſince the Spaniards poſſeſſed his country, and conſumed and embezzel'd the publick treaſure.

VIII. That he had incited the Indians to rebel and make war againſt the Spaniards ſince he had been their priſoner.

The laſt article being chiefly inſiſted on, the Inca abſolutely denied that part of the charge, and complain'd of the treachery of Pizarro, who, after he had extorted ſuch a ranſom from him, now broke his faith, and would put him to death under a colour of law; and deſired he might be ſent over to Spain, and try'd before the Emperor: He urg'd that he had never offended the Spaniards, but greatly enrich'd them; and that they could not without great injuſtice take away his life. However, the Spaniards proceeded to examine witneſſes againſt him on theſe articles, whoſe teſtimony being interpreted by Philip the Peruvian, whom the Spaniards admit was an enemy to the Inca, and Pizarro and Almagro ſitting as his Judges, they made no difficulty to condemn him to be burnt; and Friar Vincent Valverde, 'tis ſaid, approved the ſentence under his hand, that it might give the greater ſatisfaction to the Court of Spain: The Friar alſo took great pains to induce the Inca to turn Chriſtian and receive baptiſm before he died, which he conſented to, 'tis ſaid, upon condition that the execution might be changed from burning to ſtrangling; and he was accordingly ſtrangled, the Friar having firſt given him abſolution, and aſſign'd him a ſeat in heaven, notwithſtanding the many crimes they had charg'd him with.

Atabilipa is condemned to be burnt.

He is baptized.

And afterwards ſtrangled.

Many of the Spaniards, it ſeems, proteſted againſt theſe proceedings, and the putting the Inca to death had almoſt occaſion'd a mutiny; but thoſe who were for ſaving him, finding themſelves the ſmaller number, and it being repreſented that their quarrels at this time would not only be fatal to themſelves, but be the loſs of Peru probably, they thought fit to acquieſce in the determination of the greater number.

Pizarro's apology for this proceeding.

But notwithſtanding I have no great opinion of Pizarro's juſtice or humanity, it would not be fair to conceal what his friends ſay in his favour, who tell us, that the Indians themſelves were really the occaſion of this Prince's death; that the party of Huascar were perpetually ſuggeſting, that the Spaniards could never expect to poſſeſs Peru quietly as long as he lived, and produced ſeveral witneſſes at the trial, who poſitively teſtified that Atabilipa was conſpiring to raiſe an army to deſtroy the Spaniards; and that the Peruvian Generals had actually aſſembled their troops in ſeveral parts of the empire, and particularly in Quitto, the province the Spaniards were now in, and which was moſt devoted to this Inca; and that if Pizarro had not cut him off, he would have hazarded the loſs of all his conqueſts. They relate alſo, that an amour between Philip the Interpreter,

terpreter, and one of the Inca's women, did not a little contribute to Atabilipa's ruin: For Philip deſpairing of enjoying his miſtreſs while the Inca liv'd, was perpetually bringing ſtories to Pizarro of the diſaffection of the Indians, and their conſpiracies to cut off the Spaniards, and reſcue their Prince out of priſon. They relate alſo, that Philip gave the worſt turn to the evidence he could, when he was called to interpret it, repreſenting things much worſe than they were, which induced the General to believe he was really in danger, and that he could not be ſafe while Atabilipa lived; and under ſuch a perſuaſion, he could not be blam'd for putting the Inca to death, who had forfeited the protection that was promis'd him, by his plots.

The anſwer to Pizarro's apology.

On the other hand it is anſwered, that admitting the charge had been true, the Inca might have been as well ſecur'd againſt his doing the Spaniards any miſchief, by ſending him over to the Emperor (who would have been a much more proper judge of his actions than Pizarro) as by putting him to death: And as to Atabilipa's being a uſurper, and having dethroned and murdered his brother and ſovereign, it is demanded, who gave Pizarro authority to judge and condemn a ſovereign Prince for theſe offences: Had Pizarro acted up to the character he aſſumed, of a protector and deliverer of the diſtreſſed, and reſcued and protected Huascar, the lawful Emperor, againſt the Uſurper; or, after the death of Huascar, had cauſed his lawful ſucceſſor to be proclaimed, and eſtabliſhed on his throne; either of them might have called Atabilipa to account for his uſurpation and tyranny, and done juſtice upon him; but Pizarro could have no better authority to judge and condemn this Prince, or even his ſubjects, than Pirates and Banditti have to take away the lives of the unhappy captives they make: And his doing it under colour of law, was but an aggravation of the offence. Had he put him to death as an enemy taken in war, without a formal trial, his inſolence had been more pardonable; but a man of Pizarro's rank to erect a tribunal for the trial of a King, was alone a moſt audacious uſurpation of ſovereign power, over a Prince that could have no dependance on him. There are ſome Spaniſh writers alſo that ſuggeſt, there was a great deal of pique and reſentment in the affair: That Atabilipa, who in a manner adored Pizarro at firſt as the General and Commander of theſe ſons of the Gods, obſerving his rapine and avarice, and other mean and ſordid actions, and that many of the private men that ſerved under him ſeemed to excel him in many reſpects, he began to looſe his eſteem for Pizarro, and not treat him with that profound reverence he did at firſt; particularly they relate, that Atabilipa, admiring nothing more than that faculty of writing and reading which he apprehended was natural to the Spaniards, and born with them, propoſed it to a ſoldier to write the word God (they ſo often repeated to him) upon his thumb-nail; and then calling another ſoldier to him, he demanded what thoſe characters ſignified; to which he anſwered God. Then he called a third, who gave him the ſame anſwer; but afterwards, demanding of Pizarro if he knew what it meant, he anſwered he could not tell, for it ſeems Pizarro could neither write nor read; at which anſwer the Inca was amaz'd. He thought it impoſſible their Commander could be ignorant of what moſt of his ſoldiers were well verſed in: This being directly the reverſe of what he had obſerved among his own people, where the qualifications of their Magiſtrates and Officers were uſually ſuperior to thoſe of the common people; nor did he reckon much amiſs when he applied this rule to the Chriſtians, who uſually make choice of men that are beſt qualified to ſupply the greateſt poſts: And this inſtance would incline men to believe, that Pizarro made but a mean figure in Europe, and was not of that quality the Spaniſh writers pretend he was; there being but few poſts a man could be qualified for, even in Spain, who could neither write nor read.

The articles preferred againſt the Inca ridiculous.

But whatever was the real occaſion of the Inca's death, ſome of the articles preferred againſt him were exceeding ridiculous; as that he was an idolater, and kept concubines, which was the caſe of moſt of the heathen world, and could be no crime in him 'till he was better inform'd: They alſo charged him with preſuming to receive the revenues of his empire, and meddling with the publick money, after they had ſet up their claim to his dominions: But whatever title Atabilipa might have to the empire, or the publick money, it is very certain the Spaniards could have no title to either; and if he deſerved death for poſſeſſing himſelf of them, much more the Spaniards who could have no right to them, either by inheritance or the conſent of the ſubject.

Pizarro, however, did not carry his reſentment ſo far, but after he had killed and taken poſſeſſion, he thought fit to treat the corpſe of the Inca with the reſpect due to a ſovereign Prince: He celebrated the Inca's funeral with great ſolemnity, and went into mourning for him; but he ſoon diſcovered how deteſtable this murder rendered him among the natives. The two factions immediately united againſt him, under Huana Capac, the brother and heir of Huascar, whom they proclaimed Emperor of Cuſco: Whereupon Pizarro proclaim'd Toparpa (a ſon of Atabilipa) Emperor, caus'd him to wear the imperial coronet, and to be treated with the ſame honours his father had been; iſſuing ſuch orders in his name, as might beſt ſerve the intereſt of the Spaniards; but this Inca died ſoon after: And now Pizarro, conjecturing that nothing could tend to eſtabliſh the Spaniſh dominion in Peru, more than his poſſeſſing himſelf of the capital city of Cuſco, he began his march thither with all his forces, conſiſting of near four hundred men, beſides confederate Indians.

Pizarro proclaims another Inca.

Marches towards Cuſco.

In the mean time Atauchi, brother to the late Emperor Atabilipa, having collected a great quantity of treaſure to purchaſe his brother's ranſom, brought it to Caxamalca; but finding Atabilipa murdered, and the Spaniards marched from thence, determined to be revenged of them; and joining his forces with ſome other Peruvian Generals, ſurprized the Spaniards upon their march to Cuſco, killed ſome of them, and made ſeveral priſoners, and amongſt the reſt Sancho de Cuellar, who had drawn up the proceſs againſt the late Inca Atabilipa, and attended his execution. With theſe priſoners the Indian Generals retired again to Caxamalca, where they ſtrangled Sancho the Spaniard, at the very ſame poſt where their Emperor was put to death; but underſtanding that Francis de Chaves, Ferdinando de Haro, and ſome of the reſt of their priſoners, had proteſted againſt the Inca's death, they reſolved to give them their lives and liberties, entering into the following articles of peace and friendſhip with the captive Spaniards, before they diſmiſſed them, viz. That neither party ſhould for the future offer any violence to the other; and particularly, that the Spaniards ſhould not attempt to depoſe Manco Capac, who had been proclaimed at Cuſco, and was the lawful heir of the Inca Huana Capac: That both ſides ſhould re-

Some of his men cut off, and made priſoners.

Sancho ſtrangled.

A treaty between the Spaniards and Indians.

leaſe their priſoners, and that the Spaniards ſhould not treat the Indians as ſlaves, but freemen: That the laws of their country ſhould be obſerved inviolably, when they were not repugnant to thoſe of Chriſtianity; and that this treaty ſhould be ratified by the Spaniſh General, and his Sovereign the Emperor of the Romans.

The Spaniards inſiſted, on their parts, that the Indians ſhould profeſs the Chriſtian religion; that a part of the country ſhould be aſſign'd them for their ſubſiſtence, and that they might retain the Indians as hired ſervants, tho' not as ſlaves: Which the Indians agreed to, and diſmiſſed their priſoners with rich preſents: But PIZARRO and ALMAGRO at firſt poſitively refus'd to ratify the articles, and would hear of nothing but an abſolute ſubmiſſion, and an entire ſurrender of their country and their perſons to the will of the Chriſtians, which occaſion'd long and bloody wars afterwards: Whereas the Spaniſh hiſtorians admit, they might have eſtabliſhed Chriſtianity in Peru without ſpilling a drop of blood, if the ambition and avarice of the Adventurers had not prevented it. The people were as well diſpoſed, they obſerve, to receive the Chriſtian faith, as could be wiſhed, and ready to have acknowledg'd the King of Spain their Sovereign; and that their Inca ſhould hold his dominions of him, if they might have been treated as ſubjects and freemen ought to be; and the Inca would have aſſign'd lands and revenues to the Spaniards, provided his ſubjects might have been allow'd to have had any property in the reſidue; but this would not ſatisfy the views of the rapacious Spaniards, they could not have plunder'd their temples and palaces, uſurp'd whole provinces, enſlaved the natives, and arrived at ſovereign power, if they had cultivated a friendſhip, and entered into an alliance with the natives. What zeal ſoever therefore the Spaniards might pretend for propagating the Chriſtian religion, it is evident wealth and power were the only deities theſe Adventurers ador'd, as has been already obſerved in the conduct of their brethren in Mexico. But to return to the hiſtory of Peru.

Cuſco abandoned by the Indians.

The General PIZARRO, continuing his march towards Cuſco, was again attack'd by ſeveral parties of the Indians, at ſome difficult paſſes in the mountains; but finding themſelves unable to reſiſt the fire-arms and horſes of the Chriſtians, they fled, after a feint reſiſtance, to the capital city; declaring, that it was in vain for any human force to oppoſe the Spaniards, who were arm'd with thunder and lightning, and could kill their enemies at ſo many hundred yards diſtance. Whereupon the people of Cuſco, without offering to defend their walls, or that impregnable caſtle already deſcrib'd, fled with their wives and children, and what was moſt valuable to them, to the woods and mountains; and PIZARRO entered the city without oppoſition in the month of October 1532, where he met with a prodigious booty, notwithſtanding the citizens had ſo much time to carry off their beſt goods and treaſure.

The Spaniards enter Cuſco.

Some account of their plundering that capital.

GOMARA, a Spaniſh writer, relates, "That the next day after the Spaniards enter'd Cuſco, they fell to work, ſome to unrip the gold and ſilver from the walls of the temple; others to dig up the jewels and veſſels of plate, which were buried with the dead; others pillaged and rifled the idols, and ſack'd the houſes, and the fortreſs, where ſtill great quantities of gold and ſilver were preſerved, which had been there amaſs'd and laid up by HUANA CAPAC. In ſhort, there was more gold and ſilver found in this city, and in the parts about it, than was produced at Caxamalca by the ranſom of ATABILIPA. However, the particular ſhare belonging to every individual perſon, did not amount to ſo much as the former dividend, by reaſon that the number was greater which was to partake thereof; nor was the fame of this action ſo loud as the firſt, which publiſh'd the triumph of riches, with the impriſonment of a King. A certain Spaniard entering into a vault, found there an entire tomb of ſilver, ſo thick and maſſy that it was worth fifty thouſand pieces of eight, or crowns; others had the fortune to find ſuch as were of leſs value; for it was the cuſtom of rich men of thoſe countries to be buried in this manner up and down the fields, and there be laid in ſtate, like idols. Nor were the Spaniards contented with this prize, but ſtill thirſting after greater riches, were hot in the purſuit of the treaſures of HUANA CAPAC, and of others hidden by the ancient Kings of Cuſco; but neither then, nor afterwards, were all thoſe treaſures diſcovered, tho' they tortured the poor Indians to make them diſcover the places where their Great men were interred.

"It is certain, ſays GOMARA, that for the ſpace of ſeven or eight years after the Spaniards had remained in quiet poſſeſſion of that empire, ſeveral treaſures were diſcovered both within and without the city; and particularly within the precincts of that palace call'd Amuruchancha, which, upon the diviſion made, fell to the lot of ANTONIO ALTAMIRANO; where it happened that a horſe, galloping round a court-yard of that Palace, ſtruck one of his feet into a hole, which they ſuppoſed at firſt to be ſome old ſink, or drain for water from the houſe; but looking more narrowly, they found the hole opening to a jar of gold, weighing above two hundred pounds weight; for the Indians make greater or leſs of theſe as their occaſions require, uſing them to boil their drink and liquor in. With this great jar they found others of gold and ſilver; and tho' they were not ſo large, yet they were valued at about eighty thouſand ducats. Moreover, in the convent of the Select Virgins, and particularly in that part which fell to the ſhare of PEDRO DEL BARCO, and afterwards came to the poſſeſſion of HERNANDO DE SEGOVIA, who was an Apothecary, and with whom I had an acquaintance; this HERNANDO altering his houſe, and removing ſome part of the foundation, found a treaſure of ſeventy-two thouſand ducats, with which, and with above twenty thouſand ducats more, which he had gain'd by his practice, he returned into Spain, where I ſaw him at Seville; where in a few days after his arrival he died for mere grief and ſorrow that he had left Cuſco, as ſeveral others had done, whom I knew in the ſame condition."

A ducat is about a noble.

PIZARRO having thus poſſeſſed himſelf of the capital city of Peru, from whence the Inca MANCO CAPAC and the greateſt part of the inhabitants were fled, thought fit to invite them to return to their dwellings; apprehending, if they were made deſperate, that the whole Power of Peru would aſſemble againſt him, and might reduce him to great ſtraits, by cutting off his proviſions, tho' they durſt not meet him fairly in the field. The Indians accepting PIZARRO's invitation, returned to their houſes in Cuſco, and even the Inca made ſome overtures to him, intimating that he ſhould be content to embrace the Chriſtian religion, and hold his dominions of the Emperor of the Romans, provided that neither he nor his ſubjects ſhould be moleſted for the future in their perſons or eſtates: And being encouraged by PIZARRO to believe he ſhould have the terms he demanded, A peace between Pizarro and the Inca Manco Capac.

demanded, the Inca came in perſon to Cuſco, and had an interview with the Spaniſh General, who cauſed him to be crown'd and inveſted in the empire, by binding the royal wreath, or coronet, about his head, and proclaiming him Inca in the ſame manner his ſucceſſors uſed to be inaugurated into that dignity, and aſſur'd the Inca he would ſtrictly obſerve the capitulation made by FRANCIS DE CHEVES, and the reſt of the Spaniſh priſoners with his people.

Theſe pacific meaſures the Spaniards found themſelves under a neceſſity of taking at this time, not only becauſe they ſaw all the ſouthern provinces of Peru aſſembling againſt them under the Inca MANCO CAPAC, but becauſe RUMMINAVI, QUISQUIS, and other Peruvian Generals had aſſembled a very great army in the northern provinces, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of Quitto, which obliged him to ſend a conſiderable detachment of his forces under the command of SEBASTIAN BELALCAZAR, to reinforce the new colony at St. Michael's, and to make head againſt the Peruvian Generals in Quitto.

Don Pedro de Alvarado lands in Peru.

BELALCAZAR thereupon marching into Quitto, made himſelf maſter of the capital city, and was in a fair way of reducing the reſt, when advice was brought, that Don PEDRO DE ALVARADO was come upon the coaſt of Peru with a conſiderable fleet, and had landed ſeven or eight hundred men intending to take the government of Peru upon him, and expel PIZARRO and ALMAGRO from thence; at which news theſe two Adventurers were thunder-ſtruck, apprehending they ſhould be diſpoſſeſs'd of all the ſpoils they had taken, and perhaps ſent priſoners to Spain, to give an account of their conduct in murdering the late Inca ATABILIPA, and maſſacring his people; they continued therefore to cultivate a good underſtanding with the Indians of the ſouthern provinces, and treated the Inca and his ſubjects as their friends and allies, promiſing to perform punctually whatever they had promis'd, knowing how great an advantage it muſt be to have the country in their intereſt, if they were oblig'd to contend with ALVARADO for the poſſeſſion of it.

A detachment under Almagro ſent againſt him.

Alvarado one of the conquerors of Mexico.

He embarks for Peru. His hardſhips at ſea, and his fatiguing march afterwards.

The next precaution PIZARRO took, was to detach an hundred Spaniards under the command of his confederate ALMAGRO, towards the ſea-coaſt, to join with BELALCAZAR, and obſerve the motions of ALVARADO; for they were determin'd not to reſign eaſily what they had obtain'd with ſo much labour and hazard. And here it will be neceſſary to enquire who this ALVARADO was, and what title he had to aſſume the government of Peru. If the reader pleaſes to turn to chap. VII. pag. 195. of Mexico, he will obſerve that Don PEDRO DE ALVARADO was one of the principal Generals that accompanied CORTEZ in the conqueſt of Mexico, and obtain'd the government of Guatimala, one of the moſt conſiderable provinces of that empire. This Gentleman was become vaſtly rich by the ſpoils of the Mexicans, and his government in extent was little inferior to that of Spain; here he exerciſed an unlimitted command, treating the natives rather like ſlaves than ſubjects; but underſtanding there was greater plenty of gold and ſilver in Peru than was to be found in North-America, and his ambition and avarice increaſing with his acquiſitions, ſome ſay he obtained a commiſſion from the Emperor CHARLES V. to be Governor of ſo much of Peru as was not actually conquer'd by PIZARRO and ALMAGRO. Others relate, that Don ALVARADO undertook this expedition by his ſole authority, without the conſent of the Emperor, believing that as he was an elder General, and one of the firſt that was employ'd in the conqueſt of America, PIZARRO and ALMAGRO would have ſubmitted to him on his allowing them to ſhare that country with him; or if they ſhould refuſe, he determined to carry ſuch a force with him as ſhould compel them to ſhare it with him: But however that was, it is agreed, ALVARADO equipp'd a good fleet in the harbours of Guatimala on the South-ſea, where he embark'd ſeven or eight hundred men, moſt of them cavalry (and amongſt them ſeveral perſons of quality, and old officers that had ſerv'd in the conqueſt of Mexico, who were induc'd to engage in this enterprize, by the fame of the Commander, and the vaſt wealth they expected to find in Peru) and with theſe he ſet ſail from Guatimala for the coaſt of Peru, in the year 1535; in which voyage he endur'd very great hardſhips for want of proviſions, having been kept at ſea longer than they expected, by contrary winds; and he was at laſt forced to land at Cape St. Francis, one degree north of the Equator, and march over almoſt impaſſable bogs and mountains, where he loſt a great many of his men and horſes: However, he arrived at length near the Spaniſh colony of St. Michael's, having got a much greater body of troops left than were under the command of PIZARRO and ALMAGRO.

An enquiry into the truth of ſome of the particulars related here.

GOMARA and CARATE, two Spaniſh writers, relate ſome occurrences that happen'd in this march of ALVARADO's, that are ſcarce credible; and DE LA VEGA ſeems to atteſt the truth of them: As firſt, that ALVARADO and his men paſs'd over a mountain cover'd with ſnow, under the Equator, where ſixty of their number were frozen to death; of which I muſt ſuſpend my belief, becauſe I have no where ſeen or heard of ſnow, much leſs mountains covered with ſnow, under the Equator. I have indeed been as cold near the Equator, as in the frozen regions of Europe; but this has proceeded from the rains, and not from froſt or ſnow, when we have been forced to lie in the fields in the night-time during the rainy ſeaſon, with our wet cloaths on, our people have ſhook with extreme cold; perhaps we were more ſenſible of the coldneſs of the depending rains in that hot climate than in a cold country, as a man who goes into a river in the middle of the day in ſummer, is more ſenſible of the coldneſs of the water, than he that bathes in the evening: And ſome writers, poſſibly hearing ALVARADO's ſoldiers complaining of the cold they endur'd on the mountains near the Equator, concluded that could only proceed from the froſt and ſnow, and thought fit to give us their own conjectures, rather than the facts, as they heard them: Had they laid the ſcene near either of the Tropicks, inſtead of the Equator, I ſhould have made no ſcruple to believe them. We know that there are mountains cover'd with ſnow in the latitude of 22 and 23, when the Sun is in the oppoſite Tropic; but none of our travellers of late years pretend to have ſeen ſnow under the Equator.

Secondly, Another particular mentioned by the Spaniſh authors, who give an account of ALVARADO's march, is, that paſſing over a ſandy deſart ſeveral days journey, where there was no water, they ſhould infallibly have periſh'd, if they had not met with large groves of Bamboa canes, bigger than a man's leg, which between the joints were filled with good water, of which they had enough both for their horſes and themſelves: To which it is objected, that though we find Bamboa-canes of this bigneſs in ſeveral hot countries, we ſee none of them repleniſhed with water, as it is reported theſe Peruvian canes were: I am apt to believe therefore, that this alſo is a miſtake.

If it had been ſaid, that ALVARADO's men had met with groves of Coco-nut-trees, which are very common near the Equinoctial, and had quench'd their thirſt with the milk, or water, that is lodged in the inſide of the young Coco-nuts (of which each nut holds near a pint) the ſtory would have had nothing very improbable in it; but the changing the Coco-nut into a cane, is that which ſhocks my belief; and I am very well ſatisfied, many ſuch miſtakes are made by the writers of voyages and travels, eſpecially where they have their accounts at ſecond hand, which they muſt have in many inſtances; it being impoſſible for any man to ſee with his own eyes every thing the country affords which he travels through.

Articles between Alvarado and Almagro.

Alvarado returns to Mexico.

But to return to ALVARADO: Whatever were the hardſhips and loſſes he ſuffer'd in his march, ALMAGRO was in a terrible conſternation upon the advices he received of his approach, eſpecially when he underſtood he had ſurpriz'd a party of horſe ALMAGRO had ſent out to get intelligence of his motions, and made them priſoners; but the men returning to his camp ſoon after, and telling him that ALVARADO treated them handſomely, and ſet them at liberty, he began to entertain hopes that their reſpective pretenſions would be adjuſted by a treaty, without coming to an open rupture with them: And this he was confirm'd in, when ALVARADO was pleas'd to invite him to a conference; which ALMAGRO accepting, the following articles were agreed on between them, viz. that PIZARRO and ALMAGRO ſhould pay ALVARADO an hundred thouſand Peſo's (or Nobles;) that ſuch of the Officers and ſoldiers who came with ALVARADO, as deſir'd it, ſhould ſerve under PIZARRO in Peru, and be provided for as their own troops were: And that thereupon ALVARADO ſhould return to his government of Guatimala in Mexico; but being oblig'd to wait ſome time to receive the treaſure promiſed him ALVARADO propoſed to viſit PIZARRO at Cuſco, and take a view of that famous capital, of which he had heard ſuch ſurpriſing accounts; all which ALMAGRO took care to adviſe PIZARRO of; who apprehending that ALVARADO might alter his mind upon ſeeing the rich city of Cuſco, ſent him a compliment, that he would not give him the trouble of taking ſo long a journey, but would meet him in the valley of Pacha Camac, and bring the ſum with him ALMAGRO had promiſed; and accordingly, leaving Cuſco to the care of the Inca and his brothers, he ſet out with a party of horſe, and a detachment of Indians, and arrived at the valley of Pacha Camac, where he met with ALVARADO and ALMAGRO; and to ingratiate himſelf with the former, gave him the command of all the troops while he remain'd there, commanding all the officers to obey Don ALVARADO's orders, and acknowledge no other General while he continued in Peru; and was ſo much better than his word, that he paid ALVARADO twenty thouſand Peſo's more than he had ſtipulated, for the expences of his journey, beſides a great number of turquoiſes, emeralds, and veſſels of gold for that General's particular uſe: Whereupon ALVARADO returned to Mexico, entirely ſatisfied with his reception and the treaſure he had acquir'd; eſpecially when he ſaw all the gentlemen that had accompanied him in this enterprize well provided for: However, it is conjectur'd that he found PIZARRO and ALMAGRO better eſtabliſhed in Peru than he expected, or he would not have quitted that country ſo eaſily, which he had undergone ſuch hazards and expences to viſit.

Certain it is, PIZARRO and ALMAGRO reap'd great advantages by the troops ALVARADO brought with him. The Indians ſeeing ſo conſiderable a reinforcement arrive and join PIZARRO, and expecting more every day, deſpair'd of ever throwing off a foreign yoke, and generally ſubmitted to the Spaniards; ſo that ALVARADO richly deſerv'd all the money they had paid him. And poſſibly they would have advanced as much more, rather than he ſhould not return to Mexico; for though the troops he brought with him, as it happened, eſtabliſhed their conqueſt of Peru, the ſame troops were in a condition to have driven them from thence when ALVARADO arrived; or at leaſt, both ſides would probably have periſh'd in contending for the poſſeſſion of that country, and by that means the Peruvians would have recovered their liberties. But ſince ſo much has been ſaid of Don PEDRO DE ALVARADO, I ſhall take the liberty of relating what happened to him, after his return to his government of Guatimala; and it ſeems he was a Cavalier of ſuch an enterprizing or ambitious ſpirit, that he knew not how to live out of action. Tho' he was now grown old in war, and enjoy'd as much wealth and power as moſt Princes of his time; it having been propoſed by the Viceroy of Mexico, to make ſome conqueſts to the northward, our Hero, Don PEDRO DE ALVARADO, took upon him to command the army; and purſuing ſome Indians, that were retired to a Precipice, with a party of horſe, when he was advanced about half way up, it proved ſo ſteep, that one of his trooper-horſes (or, as others ſay, part of the rock) fell upon him, and carried him to the bottom, by which he was ſo bruiſed, that he died a day or two after. But to return to Peru.

Lima founded.

A piece of chronology.

Soon after the ſigning the treaty between PIZARRO and Don ALVARADO, ALMAGRO was detach'd with part of the troops that arrived with ALVARADO to Cuſco, whilſt PIZARRO applied himſelf to the building of towns, and ſettling colonies upon the coaſt: Particularly he founded the capital city of Lima, in 12 degrees and a half ſouth latitude, on the bank of a river, about ſix miles from the South-ſea, and as much from the iſland and harbour of Callao: This city, DE LA VEGA obſerves, was built in the year 1534, and not in the year 1530, as ſome writers relate: For ſays DE LA VEGA, all authors agree, that it was in the year 1525, when PIZARRO, ALMAGRO and DE LUGNE, did firſt enter into articles. Three years afterwards were ſpent in the diſcovery before they arriv'd at Tumbez (in 3 degrees ſouth latitude) the firſt time. Two years more paſſed in PIZARRO's return to Panama, and his voyage to and from Spain. In the year 1531, the Adventurers invaded the iſland of Puna and Tumbez on the continent. And in December, the ſame year, they took the Inca ATABILIPA priſoner; and in March following, anno 1532, the Inca was put to death. In October, the ſame year, PIZARRO and ALMAGRO took poſſeſſion of the capital city of Cuſco, where they reſided 'till April 1533, when advice came of the arrival of ALVARADO upon the coaſt, and ALMAGRO was detach'd with an hundred men to obſerve his motions. And in September, the ſame year, was the interview between PIZARRO and ALVARADO, when PIZARRO paid that General the money he had promiſed him: And in the beginning of the year 1534, viz. the 6th of January, 1533, being Twelfth-day in the Catholic account, but the 28th of December, 1533, according to our account, the city of Lima was built; to which Pizarro gave the name of Cividad de les Reyes; or, The City of Kings; becauſe on that day, the Kings or Princes of the Eaſt made their preſents to our Saviour; but this name is now diſuſed, and the city is call'd by the name of Lima, from the valley wherein it ſtands; the Indians calling the valley Rimac, which the Spaniards corruptly call Lima. However, to commemorate the day, Pizarro order'd the arms of the city to be three Crowns, with a Star ſhining over them. It was built, as has been already obſerved, after the Spaniſh model, a large ſquare in the middle, and wide ſtreight ſtreets centering in the ſquare, ſo that from every corner of the ſtreets the whole town and neighbouring fields may be ſeen. On the north lay the river, from whence canals were cut for watering their lands, and ſupplying the houſes with water. The city being laid out, Pizarro divided the country about it among his Officers and Soldiers, and other Spaniſh Adventurers that came to reſide in it, with the native Indians upon thoſe lands, who held what the Spaniards were pleaſed to allow them by the baſeſt tenures of villainage, viz. to cultivate, dung, and manure their lands, grounds, carry burthens, and perform other vile offices in their fields or houſes. And when any Spaniards purchaſed any of theſe lands of another, the Indians upon ſuch lands were transferred with them, as trees, deer and fiſh are with us, upon conveying away an eſtate; ſo that all the natives became abſolute ſlaves to the Spaniards, and were uſed accordingly, many of them periſhing in the inſupportable drudgery they impoſed on them: Indeed, part of the Peruvians were in a manner ſlaves to their Emperors and Caraca's (Lords of the ſoil) before, being obliged to carry burthens, and draw carriages like horſes, when they were commanded; but then that ſervice was far from being ſo grievous as the ſervice the Spaniards exacted from them. For firſt, they ſerv'd their native Lords by turns certain days in the year, and were never obliged to work more than five or ſix hours in a day. They had alſo food and raiment delivered to them by their Lords, and were always taken care of by them when they were ſick, old and infirm; whereas the Spaniards had no compaſſion on them, but made them work in the mines, fiſh for pearls, build houſes and ſhips, carry burthens, and manure their fields, exacting their labour with ſuch rigour, and allowing them ſo little food, that they periſhed by hundreds and thouſands, and the country in a few years was almoſt depopulated: Neither did the Spaniards make much diſtinction between thoſe that were freemen, and thoſe that were ſlaves and villains, but put them all to the like drudgeries; and if the Nobility and Gentry were diſtinguiſhed by any thing, it was by tortures, to make them diſcover where their treaſures were hid; and when they could not produce what was expected from them, they frequently expired in torments. But to return to Pizarro: This General having built the city of Lima, and divided the country about it among part of his followers, he advanced further northward along the ſea-coaſts, and founded another city on a good harbour, in eight degrees, odd minutes, ſouth latitude, which he named Truxillo, from the city of that name in Spain, of which it is ſaid he was a native; and here alſo he made a diviſion of the lands and Indians upon them, in the country about it, among his Fellow-adventurers, or firſt Conquerors, as they were called, to whom he aſſigned that city and its diſtrict; and thus the Spaniards proceeded in every part of Peru, where they planted colonies of Europeans.

The cruel uſage of the Indians.

Truxillo founded.

Governments conferred on Pizarro and Almagro.

While Pizarro remained at his new city of Truxillo, advice came from Spain, that his brother Ferdinando had in a great meaſure ſucceeded in his negotiations at that Court; for whereas Don Francis Pizarro had petitioned his Imperial Majeſty to extend his government 200 leagues further ſouthward, to grant him the province of Atabillios in Peru, with the revenues thereof; the perpetual vaſſalage of twenty thouſand Indians, and the title of Marquis; his brother wrote word, that the Emperor had conferred on him the title of Marquis of that province, and enlarged his government conſiderably to the ſouthward; but as to the command he deſired over the Indians, he would inform himſelf of the cuſtoms of that country, and what damage or prejudice ſuch a conceſſion might prove, and then he would ſhew him all the grace and favour in that particular, as was conſiſtent with juſtice: And as to Almagro, the title of Marſhal of Peru was confirmed to him, and a government of two hundred leagues extent of country conferred on him, to the ſouthward of the country aſſigned to the Marquis Pizarro.

Almagro takes upon him the government of Cuſco.

Almagro reſiding at the city of Cuſco at this time, and receiving advice that the government of the country which lay ſouth of the Marquis's government was conferred on him; and obſerving that Cuſco was not within the limits aſſigned to Don Francis Pizarro, he immediately took upon him the title of Governor of Cuſco, and the diſtrict belonging to it, in his own name, and no more acted in ſubordination to the Marquis.

Which occaſions a war with the Pizarro's.

On the other hand, John and Gonzalo Pizarro, brothers to the Marquis, oppos'd this uſurpation of Almagro, as they call'd it; and their differences aroſe to that height, that they enter'd into a formal war with Almagro at Cuſco, and ſeveral were killed on both ſides; of which the Marquis receiving intelligence, cauſed himſelf to be carried in a hammock on the ſhoulders of the Indians to Cuſco, who relieving one another at proper ſtages, carried him thither with ſuch expedition, that he arrived at Cuſco before he was expected by either ſide: And repreſenting to both parties that theſe feuds would probably end in the deſtruction of themſelves and their enterprize, if they were not ſpeedily accommodated, he enter'd into a treaty with Almagro for adjuſting all their differences: And firſt he obſerved, that Almagro was miſtaken in his opinion that Cuſco was without the limits of his (the Marquis's) government, for the Emperor had made him a new grant of the country, which lay ſouth of that conferred on him by the firſt grant: The Marquis alſo ſuggeſted to Almagro, that the country which lay to the ſouthward of the diſtrict of Cuſco was richer in gold and ſilver than any that had been yet diſcover'd, of which he was contented Don Almagro ſhould take the government upon him; and that he ſhould march at the head of beſt part of their united forces, and poſſeſs himſelf of it; and in the mean time he would apply to the Emperor to get him confirmed in that government, to which they gave the name of Toledo, extending it from the diſtrict of Cuſco to the country of Chili, which lies ſouth of Peru: The Marquis alſo ſtipulated, that if the Emperor did not think fit to confer that government on Almagro, he would divide that of Peru with him; with which overture Don Almagro and his party were then pretty well ſatisfied, and immediately made preparations for an expedition to the ſouth-

Their differences accommodated.

The Marquis perſuades Almagro to march to Chili.

ward. About the ſame time another detachment of Spaniards and Indians were ſent to reinforce Don BEL-ALCAZAR in Quitto, to enable him to finiſh the conqueſt of that province; and a third body march'd to the north-eaſt, to reduce ſome provinces bordering on the mountains of the Andes.

ALMAGRO began his march for Chili in the year 1535, at the head of five hundred Spaniards, and fifteen thouſand Indians, part of them armed and ſerving for his vanguard, and the reſt to carry his baggage and bring him in proviſions. The Inca, MANCO CAPAC, alſo ſent with him his brother the Inca PAULLA, and the High Prieſt VILLA OMA, that he might meet with no impediments in his march, but receive all poſſible aſſiſtance from the Indians ſubject to the Inca in the provinces thro' which he paſſed. The Spaniards alſo took a great many Negroe ſlaves along with them; and that all the officers and ſoldiers might be well equipped and provided for this long march, ALMAGRO lent them the value of two hundred thouſand crowns, taking only a note from the ſoldiers he lent any money to, for re-payment of it out of the ſpoils they expected in this expedition.

ALMAGRO advanced as far as the province of Charcas, two hundred leagues to the ſouthward of Cuſco, without meeting with any thing to obſtruct his deſigns, the country being all under the dominion of the Inca, and ſupplying him with proviſions as he went; but finding the Charcas a wretched barren country, and being ignorant of the rich mines it contained, he reſolved to proceed forward to the kingdom of Chili; tho' had he known the invaluable mines of Potoſi were ſituated in this barren country, he would certainly have ſet up his reſt here; for in this mountain was afterwards found more ſilver than any, or perhaps all the countries in the old world produced at that time.

The Indians informed ALMAGRO that there were two ways to approach the kingdom of Chili, both extremely difficult and hazardous: The firſt was over a branch of the mountains of the Andes, or Cordelera's, that at this time (being winter) were cover'd deep in ſnow, and ſo cold that no Indian could live on the tops of them (tho' this was much the ſhorteſt paſſage, if it could be performed;) the other way was over a ſandy deſart by the ſea-ſide, in which they ſhould be in danger of periſhing by the exceſſive heat and the ſcarcity of water; intimating, they were averſe to the journey either way, but moſt dreaded that over the mountains of the Andes: However, ALMAGRO reſolving to move forward, took the way of the mountains, as being the ſhorteſt, and more agreeable to the conſtitutions of his Europeans than the parching ſands; and having gather'd what proviſions the country afforded, and laid it on the ſhoulders of the Indian porters, he began to aſcend the hills; but had not advanced far before he found the ſnows ſo deep that they were forced to dig their way through them, the Indians dying by hundreds with the intenſe cold; the Spaniards alſo were almoſt ſtarved, and many of them periſhed with their horſes on thoſe mountains either by cold or want; and ſome of the men loſt their fingers and toes, who eſcaped with their lives. However, ALMAGRO himſelf, with between three and four hundred Spaniards, the Inca PAULLA, the High Prieſt, and about five thouſand Indians, reached the other ſide of the mountain, and came into a fine, temperate, and plentiful country; and at the command of the Inca PAULLA, the natives immediately brought all manner of proviſions and refreſhments into the camp: The people of Chili being informed that the Spaniards were Viracocha's deſcended from their god the Sun, and that their Inca MANCO CAPAC order'd they ſhould bring them all thoſe tributes they had laid up during the late civil wars between HUASCAR and ATABILIPA, they preſented the Spaniards with gold and ſilver veſſels to the value of two hundred thouſand ducats, or nobles; and not many days after, collected the value of three hundred thouſand more, and preſented to ALMAGRO; whereupon the Marſhal did not only give up and cancel all the bonds and notes his ſoldiers had given him, but diſtributed part of the treaſure amongſt them.

ALMAGRO having reſted and refreſhed his weary troops, propoſed to the Inca PAULLA the advancing farther into Chili, and ſubduing thoſe parts that were not ſubject to the Inca: To which he conſented; and aſſembling ſeveral thouſand Indians to reinforce the Marſhal, they marched with their united forces againſt the natives of the more ſouthern parts of Chili, with whom they had ſeveral ſmart encounters; but at length had the good fortune to reduce thoſe provinces under their ſubjection: And being joined about this time by RUIS DIAS and JOHN DE HARADA, with upwards of an hundred Spaniards more, would have extended their conqueſts much farther, if ALMAGRO had not taken a reſolution of returning to Peru, to take poſſeſſion of his government of Cuſco, which he was now aſſured belonged to him by virtue of the Emperor's commiſſion, which JOHN DE HARADA brought him when he joined the Marſhal with the recruits above-mentioned.

This commiſſion, it ſeems, conferred on ALMAGRO the government of ſuch provinces in Peru as lay ſouth of thoſe granted to PIZARRO, for the ſpace of two hundred leagues; and as Cuſco was above three hundred leagues ſouth of the Equator, which was the utmoſt extent of PIZARRO's government, ALMAGRO's friends were of opinion that Cuſco belonged to him; and that it ought not to be tamely parted with, being the capital city of the empire, and ſo well ſituated to command the ſouthern provinces. His Officers therefore were unanimous in their opinion, that they ſhould march back and poſſeſs themſelves of Cuſco, after which all the countries in the ſouth would fall under their dominion of courſe.

Almagro reſolves to return to Cuſco.

The reſolution therefore being taken of returning to Peru, the next thing to be conſidered was, which way they ſhould march; and both Spaniards and Indians had ſuffered ſo much in their paſſage over the mountains, that it was unanimouſly determined to take the way of the plain by the ſea-ſide; and to provide as well as poſſible againſt the want of water, Indians were ſent before to open and cleanſe the wells in the great deſart, that had been choak'd up with ſand during the civil wars, and to draw water for the Spaniards, which might ſtand ſome time in calabaſh-bowls and goat-ſkins, to ſettle and purify; for theſe waters, it ſeems, were thick and unwholſome, and ſcarce drinkable, when firſt drawn.

And as there was no enemy to be expected in this country, it was reſolved to march in ſmall parties over this deſart, that they might be more eaſily ſupply'd with water and proviſions in their march: However, with all theſe precautions, ſays my author, the hardſhips the Spaniards ſuffer'd in this ſcorching deſart, being upwards of two hundred miles extent, was little inferior to what they ſuſtain'd on the frozen mountains, of which the Spaniards give us many ſurprizing relations; particularly they tell us, that GEROMMO DE ALDErette, being Governor of Chili many years afterwards, and obſerving that thoſe mountains at certain ſeaſons of the year were clear of ſnow, made a journey over them in ſearch of the plate and rich baggage that had been loſt there when Almagro paſs'd it; and that they found there a Negroe leaning againſt a rock, holding a horſe by the reins, both of them having been frozen to death, and that they ſtood upon their feet, dried and ſtiff, as if their ſkins had been ſtuffed with ſtraw. But I muſt leave Almagro on his march over the great deſart, which lies between Chili and Peru, and obſerve what happenned in the mean time at Cuſco.

Manco Inca revolteth.

The Inca Manco Capac obſerving that the Marquis Pizarro only gave him the title of Inca, or Emperor, and that in reality he had very little command even in the capital city of Cuſco, where he reſided, put the Marquis in mind of his promiſe of reſtoring him to his empire, and performing the capitulations that had been agreed on between them; but Pizarro put him off from time to time, telling him he muſt wait with patience 'till he heard thoſe capitulations were ratified by his Sovereign the Emperor of the Romans, which he expected to receive every day by his brother Ferdinando, and was going to Lima, in hopes of meeting him there; deſiring that the Inca, during his abſence, would reſide in the caſtle, and not ſtir from thence. The Inca finding they would make him priſoner by force, if he did not voluntarily ſubmit to this confinement, diſguiſed his reſentment, and immediately went to the caſtle, declaring that he ſhould chearfully ſubmit to any thing that the Spaniards apprehended to be for their advantage, ſince they were pleaſed to acknowledge his title to the empire.

But the Indians were far from taking this impriſonment of their Inca patiently, they only waited for a favourable conjuncture to obtain his liberty, and revenge themſelves on the Spaniards, which was offered them not long after; for Ferdinando Pizarro returning from Spain with his brother's new commiſſion and the patent for the title of Marquis, brought ſome orders with him that were not acceptable to the Marquis or his people; particularly he informed them, that the Emperor expected they ſhould be accountable to him for all the treaſure they had received as the ranſom of Atabilipa, his Imperial Majeſty alone being entitled to it; or at leaſt that they ſhould raiſe him a good round ſum, and ſend over to Spain in lieu of it; but the Marquis and his Officers reply'd, This was neither reaſonable nor poſſible: As they had hazarded their lives, and made a conqueſt of the country at their own expence, without any charge to his Imperial Majeſty, they ought to reap the fruits of their labour; and beſides, that money had been long ſince ſpent in ſupporting the conqueſt, building towns, and planting colonies, to preſerve what they had gained, which would all redound to the honour and profit of his Majeſty, who by that means was confirmed and eſtabliſhed in the ſovereignty of that rich country: And Ferdinando Pizarro repreſenting that his Imperial Majeſty was in great diſtreſs for money, having exhauſted his treaſury in his wars againſt the Turks, his expedition to Tunis, &c. and that he had promiſed him a ſupply from Peru, which the Court of Spain were apprized abounded with gold and ſilver; the Marquis reply'd, It was not to be expected a country ſo lately conquer'd, and not yet ſettled, ſhould do more than maintain itſelf; and therefore he muſt not inſiſt on the ſoldiers refunding the ſpoils, but find out ſome other way to perform his promiſes to his Imperial Majeſty. Whereupon Ferdinando deſired his brother would confer on him the government of the capital city of Cuſco, and he did not doubt but he ſhould ſoon have it in his power to raiſe a ſum of money to gratify the court of Spain; which the Marquis conſenting to, his brother Ferdinando immediately repair'd to his government of Cuſco; where obſerving that ſeveral Officers had been greatly enriched by preſents Manco Inca had made them, in order to be kindly uſed, he apply'd himſelf alſo to the Inca, giving him to underſtand that he would be reſtored to his dominions, and all demands granted, if he could procure a conſiderable ſum for the Court of Spain; and ſuffered the Inca to come out of the caſtle to his palace in the city again, and to be treated with the honours of a ſovereign Prince: Whereupon the Inca ſent expreſſes to ſeveral parts of his dominions, directing them to bring him their uſual tribute of gold and ſilver plate, as the moſt probable means of delivering him out of the hands of the Spaniards. Accordingly a great deal of treaſure was brought in, which the Inca preſented to Ferdinando Pizarro, who ſtill entertained him with promiſes of reſtoring him to his empire, in hopes of drawing more treaſure from him: But the Inca finding he was ſtill in a manner a priſoner, and not ſuffered to ſtir out without a guard of Spaniards, concluded they intended him no good; but that as ſoon as they had ſqueezed what they could out of him, would put him to death, as they had done the Inca Atabilipa: He was perpetually meditating therefore how he might deceive the deceivers, and get out of the hands of his treacherous keepers; and at laſt hit upon the following ſtratagem. He informed Ferdinando Pizarro, that in the valley of Yuca, 2 or 3 leagues diſtant from Cuſco, where the Inca's bowels uſed to be interred when their bodies were embalmed, there were ſeveral rich tombs, and in one of them a ſtatue of ſolid gold of one of his anceſtors, as big as the life, which he believed he could find if he might be permitted to go thither with his uſual guard of Spaniards, for he could not direct any one to it without going in perſon. This being a prize which the Governor Ferdinando had ſet his heart upon, he conſented that the Inca ſhould go thither with a Spaniſh guard, having no ſuſpicion of a general conſpiracy to reſcue their Prince out of his hands; for neither the Inca or any of his ſubjects had yet diſcovered the leaſt uneaſineſs at the tyranny of the Spaniards, how inſupportable ſoever: But Manco Inca having ordered ſeveral thouſand Indians to rendezvous on the adjacent mountains on a day prefixed, and having obtained leave of the Governor to reſort to the valley of Yuca, and remain there till the evening, he found means to eſcape from his guard, and get to his forces in the mountains; and the night coming on, before morning he was conducted beyond the reach of the Spaniards, who, inſtead of getting the golden ſtatue they expected, loſt a much more valuable prize, and were within an ace of loſing all their conqueſts.

The Emperor demands great ſums of the Pizarro's.

Ferdinando Pizarro obtains a great deal of treaſure from the Inca.

The Inca eſcapes from the Spaniards.

The Inca being now at liberty, and having ſummoned a council of his Nobility and Generals, repreſented the treachery and perfidiouſneſs of the Spaniards, who performed none of their articles or capitulations, but had, on the contrary, impriſoned and laid him in irons in the caſtle of Cuſco. He ſaid, he had been long apprized of their falſeneſs and treachery, obſerving how they divided the lands of Peru among themſelves, both in the territories of Cuſco and Lima; from whence it was evident they had no intentions to reſtore his empire; and if he had diſſembled a compliance with their meaſures, it was only for the ſecurity of his perſon, and that he might one day be in a condition to aſſert his own and his country's rights: And as he was now determined to vindicate their liberties by force of arms, he deſired they would aſſiſt him with their advice at this great and important criſis, that the war with theſe cruel and ungrateful ſtrangers might be carried on to advantage, without whoſe expulſion they were now convinced they could never expect to enjoy any thing they had in quiet: If they ſuffered him or his ſubjects to live, they muſt be ſlaves to theſe uſurpers; a ſtate more to be dreaded than death itſelf. To which, it is ſaid, a leading man of the Council anſwer'd:

“It was never, Sir, the advice of your Council that your Majeſty ſhould put your royal perſon into the hands of ſtrangers, or truſt to them for the reſtitution of your empire: However, they were willing to comply and concur with your Majeſty's ſentiments, whom they found inclin'd to maintain that peace which was concerted with them by your brother Titu Atauchi, from which we can now expect little benefit, if we take our meaſures from the treatment of your brother Atabalipa; who having contracted for, and paid his ranſom, was afterwards put to death. And we muſt attribute it to the mercy and providence of the Pacha Camac, that they treated not your royal perſon (when in their power) in the ſame manner as they had done your brother. As to your reſtoration to the empire, there is little to be expected from a nation ſo entirely given over to avarice; for it is not to be imagined that thoſe that are greedy of the fruit ſhould reſtore the tree unto the true proprietor; but it is more probable they ſhould deſtroy, and put him and his out of the way, leſt they ſhould aſpire to that empire which they reſolve to enjoy. Wherefore, ſince the Spaniards themſelves have given juſt cauſe to ſuſpect and doubt the performance of their promiſes, your Majeſty ought immediately, without delay, to raiſe as many ſoldiers as poſſible, and make ſuch other proviſions as are neceſſary for war, wherein no time is to be loſt; for that they now being divided into ſeveral parties, may be more eaſily defeated than when united in one body: In the management of which deſign, we muſt agree to attack them all at the ſame time in ſeveral places, ſo that they may not be able to aſſiſt or ſuccour each other. We muſt alſo ſecure the paſſes, ſtop and hinder all intercourſe and correſpondence between them: And in regard your ſoldiers are ſo numerous, that their multitudes may eaſily overwhelm ſuch a handful as the Spaniards, and are able to throw the very mountains upon them, if your Majeſty ſo commands; nay, if they refuſe to grant them ſuccours only and proviſions, they muſt neceſſarily periſh with famine, being as it were beſieged by your ſubjects, who encompaſs them on all ſides: But this reſolution is to be ſpeedily executed, for the ſucceſs of the whole deſign depends thereupon; of which we need not doubt, if we conſider the juſtice of our cauſe.”

A general inſurrection of the Indians.

An inſurrection being thus reſolved on, expreſſes were diſpatched to every province of the empire, requiring the reſpective Governors and Officers to raiſe what forces they could, and in one day endeavour to ſurprize the Spaniards in their quarters; and three great armies were accordingly aſſembled in an inſtant, one whereof was intended to cut off Almagro and his forces in Chili; a ſecond inveſted the city of Lima; and the third, conſiſting of two hundred thouſand men, commanded by Manco Inca in perſon, attacked the city of Cuſco, took the caſtle, and drove the Spaniards into the grand ſquare in the middle of the town; but here the artillery, being pointed to the ſeveral ſtreets, mowed them down by hundreds and thouſands, and the horſe charging them while they were in this confuſion, the Indians were forced to retire to the caſtle, having firſt ſet fire to the greateſt part of the city and burnt it, except the temple of the Sun, the convent of Select Virgins, and ſome other publick buildings the Spaniards remain'd poſſeſs'd of: But notwithſtanding the Spaniſh horſe and artillery were always too hard for the Indians, yet as the latter were maſters of the open country, and could cut off their proviſions from time to time, the Spaniards muſt have been reduced in a ſhort time, if they had not been joined by great numbers of the common people of Peru, who being ſlaves to the reſt, adhered to the Spaniards in theſe wars; whereby they did not only obtain their freedom, and gain the ſuperiority of their maſters, but ſhared the plunder of their eſtates and fortunes with the Chriſtians; and without the aſſiſtance of theſe Indian ſlaves, the Spaniards could never have made a conqueſt of Peru, without employing a much greater force. But now liberty being proclaimed to all the vaſſal Indians that would join the Spaniards, they reſorted to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged in ſuch numbers, that the Inca's troops were entirely driven out of Cuſco again, and even out of the caſtle; in the ſtorming of which, however, John Pizarro, brother to the Marquis, loſt his life.

Cuſco beſieged.

The Indian ſlaves join the Spaniards.

Cuſco caſtle retaken by the Spaniards.

The bravery of an Indian.

The ſiege, or rather blockade, of Cuſco continu'd nine or ten months, in which the Indians were ſo remiſs, or ſo unable to reſiſt the Spaniards united with the vaſſals, that the Chriſtians made excurſions to a very great diſtance, and brought in ſeveral thouſand head of cattle, with all manner of proviſions; nor did the Inca ever think fit to make any farther attempts upon the city, but contented himſelf with ſurprizing ſome ſmall parties of the Spaniards now and then, from whom having taken their horſes and armour, and being inſtructed by ſome of their priſoners how to make uſe of them, the Peruvians were ſeen ſometimes charging the Chriſtians with their own weapons. De la Vega gives us an account of one brave Indian that fought three celebrated Spaniſh officers, armed cap-a-pee, ſucceſſively, and was too hard for every one of them ſingly: An Indian Captain (ſays the royal hiſtorian) poſting himſelf in the middle of the road which leads from Cuſco to Callao, attending the coming of a certain Cavalier (whom I knew) as he was making up to him on horſeback with a lance in his hand, the Indian with a fierce countenance, like an undaunted ſoldier, ſtood ready with his bow drawn to receive him; and at the ſame time that the Spaniard made a thruſt at him with his lance, he ſtruck the point of it down to the ground, and catching hold of it, forced it from his hands. Another gentleman of my acquaintance ſtanding by, and obſerving a ſingle combat between a Spaniard and an Indian, did not concern himſelf, becauſe they were one to one, until he ſaw that the Indian had wreſted the lance out of the hand of the Spaniard; and then he thought it time to take part with his companion, and ſo made at him with his lance; but the Indian bearing off the blow with what he had in his hands, wreſted alſo the ſpear from this Spaniard, and defended himſelf from both of them at the ſame time; their names I ſhall conceal out of reſpect to their poſterity; one of which was a ſcholar with me at the grammar-ſchool. Gonzalo Pizarro, who was engaged in another place, and had put his enemy to flight, happened to come in at the ſame time and be a ſpectator of this action, and ſeeing how matters paſſed, he cried out with a loud voice, Out, for ſhame! what, two to one! The Spaniards knowing the voice of Gonzalo Pizarro, made a ſtop, till he himſelf came up to make trial whether he could deal better with him than they had done: The Indian ſeeing another horſe-man come upon him, ſetting a foot on the firſt lance he had gained, with the other he encountered the third Cavalier, and almoſt threw his horſe back upon his haunches; but the Indian finding himſelf hardly beſet, quitted his lance, and catched hold of that in the hand of Pizarro, intending to wreſt it from him, as he had done from the others; but Pizarro keeping faſt hold thereof with his left-hand, drew his ſword with his right, to cut off the hands of the Indian; whereupon he let go the lance, and catched up the other which was under his feet. And now the two Cavaliers, which were ſpectators, thought it time to dally no longer, but to come in, and without compliment to kill the Indian; but Gonzalo Pizarro cried out againſt it, ſaying, It was pity ſo brave a man ſhould die; and that he deſerved rather honour and reward than death. The Indian obſerving, that the two other Cavaliers were reſtrained by the words of Pizarro, and that he had ſaved his life, he immediately threw away his lance, and in token of ſubmiſſion went to him and kiſſed his right leg, ſaying, Henceforth thou ſhalt be my Inca, and I will be thy ſervant; and for ever afterwards he ſerved him with great fidelity.

And it is certain, both in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, we meet with ſome brave fellows ſo dexterous at their weapons, that they will ſingly engage any of our men; and yet it is as certain, that a body of five hundred Europeans will drive ten thouſand Indians before them, only by obſerving a little order.

The Spaniards pretended miracles.

The Spaniards uſually aſcribe their ſucceſs in raiſing the ſiege of Cuſco to miracles. They tell us, that in ſome ſallies their champion St. Jago, or St. James, appeared on a white horſe fighting for them; and that at other times the bleſſed Virgin, with our Saviour in his arms, appeared over the Spaniſh quarters, and protected them from the flames, the fiery arrows were ſhot into the roofs of their houſes, that were compoſed of thatch and other combuſtible matter: But it is evident, that the Spaniſh horſe and artillery, with the revolt of the Indian ſlaves at this critical juncture, were abundantly ſufficient to defend that city againſt Manco Inca and his naked ſubjects, without the help of miracles. Indeed, we ever find the bigotted Spaniards aſcribing their ſucceſs both in Peru and Mexico to ſuch pretended miracles as theſe; inſinuating that heaven fought for them, and gave them poſſeſſion of the countries, as formerly God gave the land of Canaan to the Iſraelites. They would have us believe, that all their uſurpations, oppreſſions, and tyranny, thoſe innumerable murders and robberies they committed in theſe countries, were approved and countenanced by heaven. But ſurely heaven never wrought miracles in ſo vile a cauſe; however, for wiſe reaſons, providence might permit the cruel rapacious Spaniards to inſult and trample on the poor naked Indians, who never offended them. But to give ſome account of the ſucceſs of this inſurrection of the Indians in other places: The Marquis Pizarro, who was at his new city of Lima at this time, finding all communication and intercourſe on a ſudden cut off with the city of Cuſco, ſuſpected there was ſome miſchief intended, and was ſoon after informed by the Yanacuna's, or Indian ſlaves, in the Spaniſh intereſt, that Cuſco was actually inveſted, and that the Indian Generals were marching with another army to beſiege Lima. Whereupon he immediately diſpatched expreſſes to Panama, Mexico, Nicaragua and Hiſpaniola, for reinforcement of troops to prevent the loſs of Peru: He commanded alſo all the detachments he had ſent out to extend his conqueſts, to return and join him for the defence of Lima; and at the ſame time ordered a body of an hundred horſe, and foot, under the command of his couſin Diego Pizarro, to march towards Cuſco, and get intelligence in what condition his brothers, and the garriſon he had left in that capital, were.

Several parties of Spaniards cut off in the mountains.

The Indians permitted this detachment to march unmoleſted, till they advanced 60 or 70 leagues in their way to Cuſco; but having drawn them at length into a narrow paſſage between the rocks and mountains, they rolled down great Stones upon them, which ſo diſordered the Spaniards, that they were all killed or made priſoners by the Indians. Two or three parties more, that were ſent out ſucceſſively to get intelligence, met with the like miſfortune; inſomuch that it is ſaid, between three and four hundred Spaniards were cut off in this manner, beſides as many more who were diſperſed, at the mines, or at their plantations, about the country; imagining that the Indians would have tamely ſubmitted to their uſurpation, and never have made an attempt to recover their liberties, notwithſtanding the oppreſſions they ſuffered.

Lima beſieged.

Nor did the Indians only defend the paſſes in the mountains, but being fluſhed with this ſucceſs, advanced to the very walls of Lima; which they block'd up for a conſiderable time, tho' they could not take it. The Spaniſh horſe were always too hard for them, when they ſallied out into the plains about that city, and the artillery upon the walls obliged them in a ſhort time to remove to a great diſtance: However, they ſtill continued the blockade of Lima, where I ſhall leave them at preſent, and enquire after Almagro, whom we left in the ſandy deſart of Atacama, in his return from Chili.

Almagro on his return from Chili.

Manco Inca, it ſeems, had diſpatched expreſſes as far as Chili, to acquaint his ſubjects with his deſign of throwing off the Spaniſh yoke, requiring them to riſe, and fall upon thoſe foreigners, and endeavour to expel them. He acquainted alſo his brother Paulla, the High Prieſt, and the reſt of the Indians, who marched with Almagro into Chili, with his intentions; whereupon the High Prieſt left Almagro's camp privately, and returned to the Inca Manco Capac, who was then encamped before Cuſco. The High Prieſt was aſſiſted in his eſcape by Philip the Interpreter, who being about to follow him, was apprehended by Almagro, and put to death, and confeſſed at his execution, that his teſtimony againſt the Inca Atabilipa was falſe, and that he had given evidence againſt him, that he might enjoy one of that Inca's wives, with whom he had an intrigue.

As to Paulla, he always remained faithful to Almagro, in which poſſibly he had a view to his own intereſt; for Almagro no ſooner heard of the revolt of MANCO Inca, but he proclaim'd PAULLA Inca, or emperor of Peru, and cauſ'd his head to be bound with the imperial wreath or coronet: Whereupon PAULLA and the confederate Indians continued to eſpouſe ALMAGRO's cauſe, and return'd with him into Peru.

The ſiege of Cuſco rais'd on the return of Almagro.

When MANCO Inca heard of the approach of ALMAGRO, he thought fit to quit the ſiege of Cuſco, and retire with a ſmall part of his troops to the mountains of the Andes, ordering the reſt of his forces to diſperſe, and return to their dwellings; for as he was not able to drive the Spaniards out of Cuſco, when they were not two hundred men, he deſpair'd of doing it after they ſhould be joined by the five hundred Spaniards which ALMAGRO had under his command: Nay he determin'd, 'tis ſaid, at this time, to abandon the government, and lead a private life; for he heard his army before Lima alſo was repuls'd; that freſh ſupplies of Spaniards arriv'd there every day from Mexico and Panama; and that the Marquis PIZARRO was about to ſend another body of Spaniards to join with thoſe already in Cuſco: But had he known what feuds and diviſions there were among the Spaniſh generals, he would ſurely have ſuſpended that reſolution a little longer: And ſome of his Officers, 'tis ſaid, adviſed that prince to wait with patience, and foment thoſe diviſions among the Spaniards, for the weakeſt ſide would probably invite the Indians to their aſſiſtance, and give them an opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing their Inca upon his throne. To whom, 'tis ſaid, the Inca reply'd, he was not ignorant of the miſunderſtandings among the Spaniſh generals, but as long as they ſaw ſuch armies of Indians on foot, he was confident they would lay aſide their private quarrels, and all unite to maintain their footing in his dominions: And that the diſbanding his forces was the readieſt way to divide theſe rapacious foreigners, who would fall out about their plunder and the diviſion of the lands they had uſurp'd, when they imagin'd themſelves ſecure, and ſaw no enemy in the field; and when they had weaken'd their forces by civil diſſentions and encounters with each other, then the Indians might aſſemble again, and attack them with more ſucceſs than they could hope for at preſent; but upon whatever motives MANCO Inca proceeded, certain it is, he commanded all his ſubjects about this time to quit the ſieges of Cuſco and Lima, and return to their reſpective dwellings.

And now ALMAGRO being arriv'd before the walls of Cuſco, and finding the Indians drawn off, ſent a ſummons to Don FERDINANDO PIZARRO, the Spaniſh Governor, to deliver up that capital to him, as being included in that grant the Emperor CHARLES V. had made him: But FERDINANDO anſwer'd, he held that city by virtue of a commiſſion from his brother the Marquis, and ſhould not deliver it up to any man without his orders, eſpecially as he knew it to be within the limits of his brother's government; and immediately proceeded to put the place in a poſture of defence, in order to prevent a ſurprize; but part of the garriſon being friends to ALMAGRO, and holding a correſpondence with him, introduc'd his forces into the town at midnight; and FERDINANDO and GONZALO PIZARRO were ſurpriz'd in their beds, and made priſoners; whereby ALMAGRO became poſſeſs'd of Cuſco with little or no bloodſhed, and moſt of the troops which had ſerved the PIZARRO's enter'd into his pay.

Almagro ſurprizes Cuſco, and makes Ferdinando Pizarro priſoner.

In the mean time the Marquis PIZARRO hearing no news from his brothers at Cuſco, and concluding all the parties he had hitherto ſent to reinforce them had been cut off by the Indians, determin'd to ſend ſuch a body of troops thither, as ſhould be able to force their way thither againſt all the oppoſition the Indians could make; and having aſſembled five hundred Spaniſh horſe and foot, gave the command of them to Don ALONZO DE ALVARADO, with orders to march with all expedition to Cuſco. PETER DE LERMA was order'd alſo to march with this detachment as a private Captain of a troop of horſe, tho' he was an older officer than ALVARADO, and had done great ſervice in thoſe wars; which ſo diſguſted DE LERMA, that he from this time meditated the ruin of the enterprize, as is ſuppos'd by the Spaniſh writers.

Marquis Pizarro ſends Alonzo de Alvarado to the relief of Cuſco and his brothers.

ALONZO DE ALVARADO continuing his march with the utmoſt diligence, moſt of the Indians that were preſs'd to carry his baggage, amounting to upwards of five thouſand, periſh'd in the firſt part of the journey, either by the intolerable fatigue, being loaded and driven beyond their ſtrength, or ſtarv'd for want of food, of which their lords the Spaniards took but little care to provide them; inſomuch that ALVARADO was forced to halt, 'till he could preſs ſome thouſands more of the Indians to ſupply the places of thoſe he had loſt.

ALMAGRO receiving intelligence at Cuſco, that Don ALONZO DE ALVARADO was advancing towards that city, ſent ſome Spaniards of quality to him to repreſent, that Cuſco belong'd to his government, according to the diviſion the Emperor had made of Peru between him and the Marquis PIZARRO, and therefore adviſed him to retire to LIMA again, 'till he and the Marquis ſhould adjuſt the limits of their reſpective govenments: But ALVARADO was ſo far from entertaining any pacifick thoughts, that he made all the gentlemen priſoners that were ſent to treat with him. Whereupon ALVARADO took the field, conſtituting Don ORGONNEZ his Lieutenant-General; and having made a party of ALVARADO's horſe priſoners, underſtood by them that great part of his troops were better affected to him than they were to the PIZARRO's; particularly he underſtood that PETER DE LERMA, with a great many of his friends, would deſert ALVARADO the firſt opportunity.

He advanc'd, therefore, as far as the bridge of Abancay, on the other ſide whereof ALVARADO lay encamp'd; ſo that there was nothing but a ſmall river that parted their forces: They remain'd quiet however, without attempting to attack each other all day; but in the night-time ORGONNEZ fording the river at the head of ALMAGRO's horſe, put ALVARADO's forces into great confuſion, and giving PETER DE LERMA and the reſt of their friends by this means an opportunity to join them, ALMAGRO gain'd an eaſy victory with very little bloodſhed, making Don ALONZO DE ALVARADO his priſoner, with whom he return'd in triumph to Cuſco. This battle was fought on the 12th of July, 1537.

Almagro defeats Alonzo de Alvarado, and makes him priſoner.

ALMAGRO holding a council of war on his arrival at Cuſco, was adviſed by his General ORGONNEZ to improve his victory by marching immediately to Lima, and taking poſſeſſion of that city before the Marquis DE PIZARRO was re-inforc'd; for he had but a ſlender garriſon after the detachment he had made under the command of Don ALONZO DE ALVARADO to Cuſco. He alſo adviſed him to take off the heads of FERDINANDO PIZARRO and his brother GONZALO, men who had always expreſs'd the utmoſt malice and prejudice againſt him, and done him all manner of ill offices both in the Court of Spain and in Peru; and who would, he ſuggeſted, infallibly take his life if ever they had him in their power. He repreſented alſo, that as the Marquis PIZARRO was maſter of Lima and all the ports and ſhipping upon the coaſt, he would daily receive freſh forces and ſupplies from Mexico, Panama, and other places; whereas ALMAGRO not being maſter of one port or ſhip could receive no recruits, or indeed have any communication either with Europe or North-America, and conſequently muſt ſoon become much inferior to his rival the Marquis, if he did not lay hold of the preſent happy conjuncture, and open himſelf a way to the ſea.

Theſe overtures appear'd ſo reaſonable, that ALMAGRO at firſt reſolv'd to follow the advice of ORGONNEZ; but JAMES DE ALMAGRO, another of his Generals, on whoſe advice he uſually rely'd, having contracted a friendſhip with FERDINANDO PIZARRO during his impriſonment at Cuſco, diſſuaded ALMAGRO from putting the two PIZARRO's to death that were his priſoners; and ALMAGRO being himſelf, 'tis ſaid, averſe to the ſhedding of blood, and ſtill retaining ſome friendſhip for the Marquis their brother, refuſed to liſten to the advice ORGONNEZ had given him in that particular: Nor did he approve of attacking Lima, becauſe that undoubtedly belong'd to the Marquis by the Emperor's grant, and he muſt be deem'd a rebel to his Prince if he encroach'd on the territories his Imperial Majeſty had conferr'd on another.

Almagro marches to the ſea-coaſt.

However, it was generally agreed, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to open a communication with the ſea, that they might have ſome harbours where the recruits that were ſent them from North-America might land and join them, and from whence they might have a correſpondence both with Mexico and Old Spain: And accordingly ALMAGRO having aſſembled a body of five hundred Spaniſh horſe and foot, and being join'd by ſome thouſand confederate Indians, began his march towards the valley of Chinca on the ſea-coaſt, taking with him his priſoner FERDINANDO PIZARRO, but he left ALONZO PIZARRO and ALONZO DE ALVARADO priſoners in the city of Cuſco.

The Marquis makes overtures of accommodation to Almagro.

Almagro plants a colony near the ſea-coaſt.

The treachery of the Pizarro's.

In the mean time, the Marquis DE PIZARRO hear-hearing no news from ALONZO DE ALVARADO, and imagining the Indians might have poſſeſs'd themſelves of the paſſes in the mountains, and thereby cut off his communication with that General, march'd in perſon at the head of three or four hundred Spaniards towards the mountains to gain intelligence: And after ſome day march, receiv'd advice that the Indians had rais'd the ſiege of Cuſco; that ALMAGRO was return'd from Chili, had poſſeſs'd himſelf of that capital, and made his brothers FERDINANDO and ALONZO priſoners; and that his other brother JOHN PIZARRO was kill'd during the ſiege of Cuſco; and a day or two after, had news brought him of the defeat of DON ALONZO DE ALVARADO. Whereupon he thought fit to retire again to Lima, and fortify himſelf there, 'till he ſhould receive a reinforcement of troops, which he expected every day from North-America; and to divert ALMAGRO from taking advantage of his preſent weakneſs, and putting his brother to death, he diſpatch'd ſeveral Spaniards of quality to attend him, and offer him any terms he ſhould inſiſt upon to procure his brothers liberty; but according to ſome hiſtorians, he had no intention to obſerve any treaties with ALMAGRO any longer than he ſhould be in a condition to break them with advantage. Theſe Commiſſioners arriving in ALMAGRO's camp, he refuſed at firſt to be amuſed by any fallacious treaties; told them, he would order Commiſſioners to treat with thoſe of the Marquis on the frontiers of their reſpective governments; and continued his march as far as Naſca, within 40 leagues of Lima, where he heard that ALONZO DE PIZARRO, ALONZO DE ALVARADO, and a hundred Spaniſh priſoners more he left behind him had made their eſcape from Cuſco. Whereupon ORGONNEZ again preſs'd him to put FERDINANDO PIZARRO to death, but he ſtill refuſed it; and having planted a colony near the coaſt of the South-ſea, in the vale of Chinca, he ſent Commiſſioners to treat with the Marquis; but, either by the orders of the Marquis or without, theſe Commiſſioners were ſeiz'd and made priſoners by one of his Generals, and their diſpatches broke open; which being repreſented to the Marquis as a very great outrage, he denied his having any knowledge of it, order'd the Commiſſioners to be ſet at liberty, and their effects reſtor'd them, propoſing an interview with ALMAGRO in the field, with only twelve horſemen to attend each of them; which ALMAGRO agreeing to, contrary to the advice of his Generals, was very near falling into an ambuſcade that ALONZO PIZARRO had laid for him; of which receiving ſome notice, while he was at the conference with the Marquis, he made his eſcape with ſome difficulty.

The Marquis, however, pretended that he had no intention to ſurprize ALMAGRO, and that he had been miſ-inform'd, and Commiſſioners were agreed on to adjuſt their differences.

It ſeems, the Biſhop of Panama (or Terra-Firma Proper) had been appointed in the year 1536, by the Emperor, to go to Lima, and ſettle the limits between PIZARRO's and ALMAGRO's governments, being directed to aſſign PIZARRO all that part of Peru extending from the Equator to the Southward, two hundred and ſeventy leagues; and to ALMAGRO two hundred leagues more, to commence where PIZARRO's government ended; but PIZARRO apprehending that Cuſco belong'd to the diviſion which was allotted to ALMAGRO, kept him ignorant of the Emperor's grant, and perſuaded ALMAGRO to undertake the expedition to Chili above-mentioned; and when the biſhop arriv'd at Lima, diſſuaded him from taking that tedious journey to Cuſco to execute his commiſſion: Whereupon the Biſhop return'd to Panama without doing any thing; but ALMAGRO, on his return from Chili, finding how he had been abuſed by the PIZARRO's, who had uſurp'd part of his government, ſurpriz'd the city and caſtle of Cuſco, and made FERDINANDO and GONZALO PIZARRO priſoners, as has been related already.

Arbitrators being again choſen to ſettle the limits between the two Generals, and not being able to come to any agreement, Father BOVADILLA was made umpire of their difference, who thought fit to allot the capital city of Cuſco to the Marquis PIZARRO; againſt which award ALMAGRO appeal'd to the Council of the Indies, and reſolv'd to maintain by force what he was poſſeſs'd of, 'till he ſhould receive the determination of that Council.

The Marquis and Almagro agree upon terms.

Whereupon the Marquis, in order to procure his brother FERDINANDO's liberty, pretended he was content that both parties ſhould keep what they were poſſeſs'd of, 'till the court of Spain ſhould determine otherwiſe; and that he would furniſh ALMAGRO with a ſhip, by which he might ſend over his Commiſſioners to Spain to manage his cauſe there: And upon theſe terms ALMAGRO conſented to ſet FERDINANDO PIZARRO at liberty.

The Marquis having obtain'd what he wanted, viz. his brothers liberty, and a great ſupply of troops from North-America, ſent a Herald to ALMAGRO, requiring him to deliver up Cuſco to him, and

The Marquis breaks the agreement.

all his conqueſts in Peru, inſiſting that his (PIZARRO's) government extended from the Equator to the Straits of Magellan: And upon ALMAGRO's refuſing to reſign his government, immediately declar'd war againſt him, ſending his brothers FERDINANDO and GONZALO at the head of ſeven hundred Spaniſh horſe and foot to ſurprize the city of Cuſco in the abſence of ALMAGRO; of which that General receiving intelligence, march'd with the utmoſt diligence to reach that city before them; though, 'tis ſaid, his General ORGONNEZ again adviſed him to turn back and attack the city of Lima now the garriſon was ſo much diminiſh'd; obſerving, that if he once poſſeſs'd himſelf of that city, the recruits which came from North-America would all join his troops, and ſoon make him ſuperior to his competitor; of which ALMAGRO was ſufficiently convinced, but abſolutely refuſed to encroach upon that government which had been granted to the Marquis by his Sovereign. He continued therefore his march towards Cuſco; and being better acquainted with the country than the PIZARRO's, and his troops more uſed to that climate, got between the enemy and Cuſco, when advice was brought him that moſt of the Spaniards under the command of the PIZARRO's, being lately come from Spain, were fallen ſick in the mountains, and that if he would return back and fall upon 'em, they would very eaſily be defeated; and of this opinion was ORGONNEZ, and ſeveral other officers; but whether ALMAGRO did not credit this advice, or imagin'd he ſhould have a greater advantage of the enemy if they laid ſiege to Cuſco with ſo ſmall an army, he continued his march thither: And 'tis highly probable, the PIZARRO's would never have been able to have taken Cuſco, if ALMAGRO had remain'd within thoſe walls upon the defenſive, eſpecially as the PIZARRO's had no cannon with them, and the garriſon would have been almoſt as numerous as the beſiegers: But the officers under ALMAGRO confiding in the bravery and experience of their forces, wav'd all the advantages they had in their walls, and no ſooner heard the enemy approach'd, but they prevail'd on their old General ALMAGRO, contrary to his own opinion, to ſuffer them to march out and give the Pizarriſts battle; and ALMAGRO, being very old and infirm, was carried on a couch into the field, rather to ſee the battle than to command in it, having conſtituted ORGONNEZ his General.

The firſt overſight the Almagrians committed, 'tis ſaid, was in attacking the Pizarriſts when they were drawn up among the Salina's, or Salt-pits, where their horſe, in which they had the ſuperiority, could be of little or no uſe to them: They were much deceiv'd alſo, it ſeems, in the forces they were to engage, and in their arms; for they imagin'd they were moſt of them new rais'd undiſciplin'd men, and no better arm'd than themſelves; whereas they had been bred up in Flanders, the beſt ſchool of war in that age, and conſiſted chiefly of muſketeers, of which there were but very few in ALMAGRO's army. But the greateſt misfortune was, their General ORGONNEZ being wounded by a muſket-ſhot in the beginning of the battle, when he was engag'd with FERDINANDO PIZARRO, the enemy's General, and had unhors'd him, the perſonal courage of ORGONNEZ contributed much to the loſs of the day; for he was engag'd in this ſingle combat when he ſhould have been giving his orders, and commanding the army; and the Almagrians imagining he was dead, thought of nothing but a retreat: ALMAGRO himſelf fled to the caſtle of Cuſco, and the Pizarriſts entring the city pell-mell with the fugitives, the ſlaughter was very great; ORGONNEZ and PEDRO DE LERMA being cover'd with wounds, were kill'd after quarter given them, and a great many officers more upon private pique and reſentment, no wars being ſo cruel as thoſe between countrymen and exaſperated friends; but poor old ALMAGRO was taken priſoner, and reſerv'd to be murder'd by the forms of law.

Almagro defeated and made priſoner, and Cuſco taken by the Pizarriſts.

Almagro tried for his life.

After he had remain'd priſoner ſome months in Cuſco, the Lawyers were employ'd to draw up articles againſt the old General; the principal whereof were, That he had ſeiz'd on Cuſco by force; that he had enter'd into a ſecret treaty with the Inca; that he had encroach'd on the government granted to the Marquis by the Emperor; that he had broken his articles with the Marquis, and fought two battles with the Emperor's forces under the command of the Marquis, the one at the bridge of Abancay, and the other at the Salina's; and his enemies ſitting in judgment on him, he was capitally convicted and condemned to die, tho' he appeal'd to the Emperor, and apply'd in very moving terms to FERDINANDO PIZARRO to ſave his life: He bid him remember that he had ſpar'd his life, and ever refuſed to put to death any of his relations, on account of the friendſhip between him and the Marquis; that he would do well alſo to remember how inſtrumental he had been in enabling his brother to make thoſe conqueſts, and raiſing him to the honours he poſſeſs'd; deſired the PIZARRO's would conſider he was an old gouty man, who could not live many years, and ſuffer him therefore, after the innumerable hardſhips and hazards he had ſuſtain'd, to die a natural death; but the Pizarriſts looking upon their old companion and fellow-ſoldier as the only obſtacle to their glory and ambition, and believing by his death they ſhould obtain the ſole dominion of Peru without a rival, they were deaf to his entreaties, and having order'd him to be ſtrangled privately in priſon, they afterwards cauſed his head to be cut off on a ſcaffold in the great ſquare of Cuſco. His body lay all day expoſed almoſt naked on the ſcaffold, his friends not daring to bury him, leſt they ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of the mercileſs FERDINANDO PIZARRO, and his enemies not thinking it worth while to give themſelves any trouble about his funeral; but towards the evening, a poor Negroe, who had been ſlave to the deceas'd, brought a coarſe ſheet, and with the help of ſome Indians, who had been ſervants likewiſe to that General, wrapp'd up the corpſe, and carried it to the church of the Merceds, where the Friars buried him under the high-altar.

And put to death.

A character of Almagro.

This act of cruelty rais'd the PIZARRO's a great many enemies even amongſt their own people: They did not forbear to call them tyrants, and threaten revenge. The Indians wept, and lamented the loſs of him, declaring they had never been abuſed by this Commander. The mourning for him, 'tis ſaid, was almoſt univerſal both among Spaniards and Indians. He was ſixty-three (ſome ſay ſeventy-five) years of age, of a low ſtature, his countenance not very agreeable, eſpecially after he loſt his eye. He was brave and enterpriſing, the moſt patient of fatigue of any man living, of a ſweet diſpoſition, diſcreet, generous, and a friend to all good men; but as to his family, it is generally agreed, that he was a foundling, and ignorant who his parents were; neither was his education extraordinary, for he could neither write or read. He may juſtly therefore be ſtil'd the forger of his own fortunes, when under theſe diſadvantages he poſſeſs'd himſelf of more wealth and power than any private man ever did before him. He had one ſon by an Indian woman, when he dwelt at Panama, to whom he gave his own name, and made him joint heir of his fortunes with the Emperor his ſovereign CHARLES V. conſtituting JAMES DE ALVARADO guardian to his ſon: But notwithſtanding all theſe precautions to ſecure part of his wealth for his ſon, the Marquis detain'd the young ALMAGRO priſoner at Lima, and ſeiz'd the father's treaſure, together with his government.

The Pizarro's detach forces every way to enlarge their conqueſts.

But the PIZARRO's obſerving that this unjuſt and tyrannical conduct created them many enemies, and render'd them generally deteſted among the ſoldiery; in order to get rid of thoſe that ſeem'd leaſt affected to them, they made ſeveral detachments of their forces to enlarge their conqueſts; PEDRO DE VALDIVIA was commanded to invade Chili; PEDRO DE CANDIA was ſent to the weſtward to ſubdue the countries beyond the mountains of the Andes; PERA DE VERGARA was ſent againſt the Bracamores, and other Commanders to other diſtant parts: And to ſupport their intereſt at the Court of Spain, it was reſolv'd that FERDINANDO PIZARRO ſhould reſort thither, and carry a vaſt treaſure with him, to be apply'd as he ſhould judge moſt to their advantage; for JAMES DE ALVARADO, who was appointed guardian to young ALMAGRO, was already gone over to Spain, to petition the Emperor to do juſtice to his Ward.

Ferdinando Pizarro impriſon'd in Spain.

And notwithſtanding FERDINANDO PIZARRO brib'd almoſt every Grandee in the Court of Spain with the gold and ſilver of Peru, yet ſo notorious were the outrages, murders, and devaſtations that he and his brothers had committed, that his friends could not ſave him from being condemn'd and impriſon'd: And had not his proſecutor JAMES DE ALVARADO died ſuddenly, ſuppos'd to be poiſon'd by PIZARRO's agents, FERDINANDO had probably loſt his head: As it was, he remain'd three and twenty years a priſoner in the city of Medina del Campo before he obtain'd his liberty.

The Indians riſe in arms again.

But to return to Peru. The Indians obſerving the diviſions among the Spaniſh Generals, had recourſe to arms again: And tho' the Spaniards in Peru now amounted to two thouſand men and upwards, they found it more difficult to maintain their ground at this time, than they did at firſt, when their forces did not amount to four hundred men; for the terror the Indians were under at firſt from the fire-arms and horſes, which they had never ſeen before, was in a great meaſure worn off; and they had learn'd of the Spaniards to ride and handle their arms pretty dextrouſly; and having taken ſome horſes, were not afraid to fight the Spaniards at their own weapons: Nor did there want inſtances of ſome parties of Spaniards being defeated by them: And had not the Indian ſlaves and vaſſals ſtuck cloſe to the Spaniards, diſcover'd the paſſes and places of ſtrength, and from time to time brought them both proviſions and intelligence, probably PIZARRO would have been oblig'd to abandon his conqueſts at laſt.

Los Charcas and the mines of Potoſi reduc'd.

The moſt conſiderable acquiſition the PIZARRO's made after the death of ALMAGRO was the conqueſt of the Charcas, in which lay the invaluable mines of Potoſi, whoſe treaſures drew ſuch multitudes of Adventurers thither, that the Indians of that province were at length compell'd to ſubmit, and become ſlaves to the Spaniards: But they were not ſo ſucceſsful in Chili, that brave people diſputed the ground with the Spaniards by inches; nor could they ever make themſelves entirely maſters of it, as will be obſerv'd in the future hiſtory of that country; and even in the province of Los Charcas, GONZALO PIZARRO and his forces were ſo ſurrounded and diſtreſs'd by the Indians, that the Marquis was forced to march in perſon with the garriſon of Cuſco to his relief; and the Spaniards aſcrib'd the victory they obtain'd at that time to a miracle that was wrought in their favour.

La Plata founded, and the lands and Indians divided among the Spaniards.

The conqueſt of Los Charcas being finiſh'd, the Marquis founded the town of La Plata (ſo named from the neighbourhood of the mountain Porco, and other ſilver mines) and divided the city and country about it, with the Indians that inhabited it, among the conquerors. To his brother FERDINANDO PIZARRO, who was then in Spain, he allotted a very large ſhare; and to his brother GONZALO, another part of the country, in which ſome time after the ſilver mines of Potoſi were diſcover'd: FERDINANDO PIZARRO alſo had a ſhare in theſe mines, as a citizen of the city of La Plata; and a particular part of it being aſſign'd to his officers, they diſcover'd ſo rich a vein, that, 'tis ſaid, they digg'd from it the fineſt ſilver without any alloy.

This diviſion of the country was made in the year 1538 and 1539. And now the Marquis found himſelf poſſeſs'd of a territory ſeven or eight hundred leagues in length, viz. from the Equinoctial to the ſouth part of Los Charcas, in which were more rich mines than in all the world beſides; and yet was not his ambition or avarice ſatiſfy'd, but in an extreme old age he employ'd his brother GONZALO in the conqueſt of other Nations. GONZALO, who was now Governor of Quitto and all the northern provinces of Peru, was commanded to undertake an expeditition to the eaſtward, the Marquis being inform'd that thoſe countries not only afforded plenty of gold, but yielded ſpice very much reſembling cinnamon, and for that reaſon the country to the eaſtward of Quitto obtain'd the name of Canela, or the Cinnamon province.

GONZALO PIZARRO had not march'd many miles before he arriv'd at this country of Canela; he alſo met with ſome gold in the rivulets; but this province lying under (or near) the Equinoctial, he found it ſo wet and full of marſhes, woods and bogs, that he loſt moſt of his Spaniards, and four thouſand Indians he had preſs'd to carry his baggage, and reap'd very little benefit from this expedition, unleſs the diſcovery of the great river Amazon; on which having built a ſloop, and put all his treaſure and baggage on board, he ſent one of his officers, named ORELLANA, with ſixty men down the river, to make further diſcoveries, and then return to him; but ORELLANA, having ſail'd two hundred leagues farther down this river, and finding it very difficult to return againſt the ſtream, which was very rapid, ſail'd to the mouth of it, and then coaſting along to the northward, came to the Spaniſh iſland of the Trinity, from whence he embark'd for Spain; of whoſe voyage I ſhall give a more particular account when I come to deſcribe the country of the Amazons.

Orellana's voyage down the river Amazon.

As to GONZALO PIZARRO, their General, he having been compell'd by famine to eat up his horſes, loſt moſt of his men, and endur'd incredible hardſhips for two years and upwards; he return'd at length to Quitto, where he receiv'd advice of the misfortunes of his brother the Marquis, which I come in the next place to relate.

The Marquis oppreſſes the Almagrians.

The Marquis, in the abſence of his brothers, ſeem'd more intent on ſuppreſſing the party of ALMAGRO than any thing elſe. He made large remittances to the Court of Spain for that end, and would not ſuffer any of the officers or ſoldiers, that ſhew'd any affection to the family of ALMAGRO, to enjoy either lands or offices in Peru (theſe were uſually call'd Chili-men, becauſe they had attended the deceas'd ALMAGRO in the conqueſt of that country) and as to young ALMAGRO, he remain'd a priſoner at large in the city of Lima, but was never ſuffered to ſtir from thence. Thus the Almagrians being neither permitted to return to Spain, leſt they ſhould carry freſh complaints thither againſt the Marquis, nor to enjoy any thing in the Indies, they were diſpers'd all over the country to get a poor ſubſiſtence, or liv'd on the benevolence of their countrymen, 'till the cruel PIZARRO publiſh'd an edict, that no body ſhould relieve them; which ſoon reduc'd the Chili-men to a ſtarving condition, and inſpir'd them with thoughts of revenge, or rather put them upon deſperate meaſures to preſerve themſelves from ſtarving; which they could think of no better way to prevent, than by cutting off the Tyrant; and he, conſcious how much he was hated not only by the Chili-men, but alſo by his own people, for his oppreſſion and cruelty, ſeldom ſtirr'd out of the city, or even of his palace, without a ſtrong guard to protect him.

The Almagrians form a conſpiracy againſt the Marquis.

The Almagrians therefore, ſingly, or two or three at a time, reſorted privately to the capital city of Lima, where they did not want friends who conceal'd them in their houſes, 'till they found they amounted to two or three hundred men, all brave veteran ſoldiers, and ſeveral experienc'd officers amongſt them, who reſolv'd to attack the Marquis as he came to the great-church on Midſummer-day, 1541; but he having ſome intelligence of the deſign, did not go out of his palace that day; and the conſpirators, upon this diſappointment, had reſolved to wait for the arrival of VACA DE CASTRO, whom they underſtood the Emperor had ſent over to adjuſt all differences between the Pizarriſts and Almagrians; for advice came about this time, that VACA DE CASTRO was actually arriv'd upon the coaſt of Peru.

But the Almagrians being inform'd afterwards that their plot was diſcover'd, and they would ſuddenly be ſacrific'd to the fury of the Marquis, if they did not prevent it by ſome bold attempt, twelve of them (or as ſome ſay nineteen) met at the houſe of young ALMAGRO, which ſtood on one ſide of the great ſquare in Lima, on Sunday the 26th of June, at noon-day, and with their ſwords drawn march'd croſs the market-place to the palace of the Marquis PIZARRO, crying out, "Long live the "King! but let the Tyrant die." Nor were they oppos'd by any man, tho' there were not leſs than a thouſand people aſſembled in the ſquare; nay, not a man ſtirr'd to give the Marquis intelligence of it; inſomuch, that the conſpirators found the gates of the palace and all the doors open, and the firſt notice the Marquis had of their approach was by one of his pages, after the Almagrians had enter'd the houſe. Whereupon he order'd ſome doors to be ſhut, imagining he ſhould be able to defend himſelf 'till aſſiſtance came in; but Lieutenant-General FRANCIS DE CHAVES, who was then with the Marquis, neglecting to faſten the door, and believing it had been ſome ordinary tumult that would have been eaſily ſuppreſs'd by his preſence, went out, and meeting the conſpirators upon the great ſtair-caſe, demanded the reaſon of that inſolence, which they anſwer'd only by ſeveral mortal wounds they gave him; and ruſhing forward, the ſervants, and all the company that were with the Marquis, fled, except his brother-in-law Don FRANCIS DE ALCANTARA, and two of his pages, who defended the door-way of the drawing-room, whither the Marquis was retir'd for ſome time; but at length the conſpirators broke through, and kill'd the Marquis, his brother, and the two pages, who behav'd themſelves however very bravely, and deſperately wounded four of the Almagrians before they fell.

The Marquis is aſſaſſinated.

Young Almagro proclaim'd.

Then the conſpirators went out into the market-place again, declar'd the Tyrant was dead, and proclaim'd the young ALMAGRO Governor of Peru; for all the Almagrians immediately aſſembled, when the twelve attack'd the Marquis in his palace, ſecuring his guards, and preventing any aſſiſtance coming to him. They alſo ſecur'd all the horſes and arms in the city, and commanded all the inhabitants that refus'd to join them, not to ſtir out of their houſes without leave. They alſo plunder'd the houſes of the Marquis, of his brother FRANCIS DE ALCANTARA, of his Secretary PIZADO, and ſome others of the principal Pizarriſts, wherein they found an immenſe treaſure. In the Marquis's palace alone, 'tis ſaid, they found to the value of a million of crowns in gold and ſilver; but did not meddle with the reſt of the furniture, leaving it ſtanding for the uſe of the young ALMAGRO, whom they carried thither after they had proclaim'd their Governor.

Thus fell Don FRANCIS PIZARRO in the capital city of Lima, which he had founded ten or eleven years before, and was privately buried by his ſervants, by the young ALMAGRO's permiſſion, no perſon of any figure daring to attend his funeral, leſt it ſhould give offence to the prevailing party. And here the Spaniſh writers take an opportunity of drawing a parallel between thoſe two celebrated Adventurers Don FRANCIS PIZARRO and Don DIEGO DE ALMAGRO the elder, who reſembled each other in many particulars.

A parallel between Pizarro and Almagro.

And firſt they obſerve, that they were both baſely born, and had very mean education, neither of them being able to write or read. GOMARA relates, that FRANCIS PIZARRO was the ſon of GONZALO PIZARRO, a Captain in the province of Navarre; that his mother laid him in a church-porch, and he ſuck'd a ſow ſeveral days, 'till another nurſe was provided for him; that when he grew up, he was employ'd in keeping ſwine; and having loſt ſome of them one day, was afraid to return home, whereupon he went in the company of ſome ſtrollers to Seville, where he embark'd for the Indies; and here, it ſeems, he was inſtrumental in fixing a Spaniſh colony at Darien, attended VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA in the diſcovery of the South-ſea, and afterwards went with PEDRARIAS from St. Mary's of Darien to Panama; and in theſe expeditions having enrich'd himſelf, he took up his reſidence at the town of Panama, where ALMAGRO, who had raiſed his fortune in the ſame manner, likewiſe reſided; and here they entered into that memorable partnerſhip with DE LUGNE the Prieſt, which ended in the reduction of that vaſt empire of Peru, wherein they met with thoſe inexhauſtible mines of gold and ſilver that have been already deſcrib'd, and became the moſt powerful men, if not monarchs, that ever appear'd in that part of the world, and ſuperior in wealth to the richeſt Princes of Europe.

They carry the parallel farther, and obſerve, that both ALMAGRO and PIZARRO were well advanc'd in years before they undertook this enterprize; that neither of them ever married, but had children by their Indian concubines; particularly they relate, that one of the Marquis's concubines was the daughter of the Emperor HUANA CAPAC, and another the ſiſter or daughter of the Emperor ATABILIPA; the laſt of which was baptized, and call'd Donna BEATRICE.

They obſerve alſo, that though both theſe Adventurers were in their lives ſo immenſely rich, they left nothing behind them; and that they were both obſcurely buried by their ſervants. Give me leave to obſerve farther, that notwithſtanding all their failings and imperfections, they muſt be allowed to be poſſeſſed of ſome very great virtues; ſuch as courage, fortitude, patience and temperance, to a very great degree, or they had never made themſelves maſters of the treaſures of Peru. What men would have ſtruggled ſo many years againſt winds and ſeas, endured the extremities of heat and cold, travers'd countries almoſt impaſſable and impenetrable, and that when they were in a manner totally deſerted by their people, if they had not been endu'd with more than ordinary patience? Though it muſt be confeſſed, that this virtue ſeems in a manner common to the natives of Spain; and I am apt to think, ſcarce any other European nation would have perſiſted with that indefatigable induſtry in proſecuting theſe diſcoveries, and brought the Americans under their power, if the Spaniards had not done it. It is true, they had ſome advantage of the reſt of Europe in their ſituation, not only as they lay the fartheſt weſtward of any country in the old world, but that their climate had a nearer reſemblance to that of Peru, than the countries of their northern neighbours. They were alſo, at that time, the greateſt maritime powers in Europe; but ſtill I aſcribe their ſucceſs more to their natural patience and perſeverance, and their abſtemious way of life, than to all their other advantages.

There was one thing theſe two Conquerors, as the Spaniards ſtile them, too well agreed in, and that was, their ill uſage of the hoſpitable and defenceleſs Indians; who offering to ſubmit to them, and to become ſubject to the crown of Spain, were nevertheleſs treated as enemies and ſlaves, their country taken from them, and their perſons worn out and deſtroyed by cruel bondage; they were compelled to carry burthens, to draw their carriages, dig the mines, and put upon other rigorous and intolerable hardſhips; inſomuch, that they periſhed by thouſands and ten thouſands, and whole countries became in a manner depopulated; but ALMAGRO appearing the moſt compaſſionate of the two, obtain'd the character of a merciful Prince amongſt the Indians; though it ſeems no leſs than ten thouſand Indians, who carried his baggage, loſt their lives in his expedition to Chili: However it came to paſs, the life of a dog, or any brute animal, appears to have been more valued than that of an Indian; but this does not ſeem to be a fault peculiar to theſe two Adventurers, or even to the Spaniſh nation; for the whole Popiſh world at that time were taught, that Heathens and Hereticks deſerv'd no mercy, and indeed were not entitled to enjoy any thing in this world, but both their perſons and eſtates were the property of the firſt Chriſtian that could ſeize them, eſpecially if they were authoriz'd to do it by the Pope, whoſe Bull the Spaniards had in their favour: Inſomuch that the Chriſtian religion, which ſhould have inſpired theſe Adventurers with tenderneſs and compaſſion, or at leaſt have taught them juſtice in their commerce with the world, was made a pretence for their turning barbarians, and for all the outrages, cruelty and injuſtice that men could commit. Thus men firſt diveſt themſelves of their humanity, under pretence of zeal for religion, and then make that an excuſe for becoming wolves and tygers, or even worſe, devourers of their own ſpecies.

As for their generoſity, ALMAGRO is ſaid to be moſt eminent for this virtue: But what ſort of generoſity is that where a man only diſtributes the plunder of thoſe he has robbed and murdered, among the villains his accomplices?

But to give the Devil his due, before I conclude the character of theſe two Adventurers, it muſt be acknowledged, that they were diligent in building towns, planting colonies, and introducing the fruits, the huſbandry, the manufactures of Europe in Peru; we find the moſt conſiderable towns in South-America were founded, or at leaſt rebuilt by them, after the Spaniſh manner; ſuch as Lima, Quitto, Arequippa, Cuſco, La Plata, &c. But PIZARRO was much the more conſiderable Planter, having aſſumed the government of Peru to himſelf, while he ſent ALMAGRO upon that hazardous enterprize againſt Chili, in which he was in great danger of periſhing: Probably ALMAGRO was over-reached by PIZARRO, when he undertook that war. The Pizarriſts imagined they had then happily got rid of him, and ſhould never have ſeen him more: And tho' he had the good fortune to ſurvive, and get back to Cuſco, they never ceas'd plotting againſt him, till he fell a ſacrifice to their malice and ambition; which piece of barbarity was now retaliated upon them in kind, and the Marquis loſt his life by a conſpiracy of the Almagrians, as old ALMAGRO was deſtroyed by the Cabals of the the Pizarriſts; which brings me to reſume the thread of the Peruvian hiſtory.

Towns founded by Pizarro.

The Marquis was no ſooner dead, but Lima, Cuſco, and moſt of the principal towns, declar'd for Don DIEGO DE ALMAGRO, the natural ſon of old ALMAGRO. Some places however refuſ'd to acknowledge ALMAGRO's authority, but expected the coming of VACA DE CASTRO with the Emperor's commiſſion; in which they were encourag'd by PEDRO ALVARES HOLGUIN, and other Generals and Officers, friends to the Pizarriſts, who aſſembled a good body of troops, and took poſſeſſion of Cuſco again, which they gave out they would hold for the Emperor; and declared war againſt ALMAGRO. ALONZO DE ALVARADO aſſembled another body of troops between Lima and Quitto, and declared alſo for the Emperor; and theſe two Generals preparing to unite their forces, ALMAGRO marched out of Lima at the head of ſix hundred horſe and foot towards Cuſco, with an intent to retake Cuſco, or give battle to PEDRO DE HOLGUIN, before he ſhould be join'd by ALONZO DE ALVARADO.

The Pizarriſts aſſemble their forces, and declare war againſt young Almagro.

In the mean time, VACA DE CASTRO arriving in Quitto, and finding the Marquis was dead, declar'd himſelf Governor of Peru, by virtue of the Emperor's commiſſion, requiring the ſubmiſſion of all the Spaniſh towns, and conſtituting ſuch Governors and Officers as he ſaw fit; particularly he authoriz'd FRANCIS DE BARIONOVO and GEROMINO DE ALIAGA, to take upon them the government of the city of Lima, to whom the Mepthates immediately ſubmited, in the abſence of ALMAGRO, who was marched towards Cuſco, as hath been related; and VACA DE CASTRO ſoon after arrived in perſon at Lima, and was proclaimed Governor of Peru, having been joined in his march from Quitto by ALONZO DE ALVARADO and HOLGUIN, with their forces.

Vaca de Caſtro the Governor arrives in Peru.

Almagro poſſeſſes himſelf of Cuſco.

In the mean time Almagro continuing his march to Cuſco, took poſſeſſion of that city, and new modelled the Magiſtracy there: His next buſineſs was to furniſh himſelf with a train of artillery, which he caſt in the founderies there, copper being plentiful in that province: He alſo made great quantities of excellent gun-powder; and the famous Manco Inca, who always hated the Pizarro's for having impriſoned him and treated him with indignity, alſo joined the Almagrians with ſeveral thouſands of his Indians.

But Almagro was unfortunate in the loſs of his General John de Rada, who died on the march to Cuſco; for the command of the army being afterwards divided between Christopher de Sotela and Garcia de Alvarado, they quarrelled to ſuch a degree, that Garcia killed Sotela in the market-place of Cuſco, and had laid a deſign to aſſaſſinate Almagro himſelf, but was killed in the attempt.

Almagro afterwards conſtituted John Balsa the General of his forces, and Peter de Onate his Lieutenant-General; and receiving advice that the Governor Vaca de Castro was advancing towards Cuſco, he marched out of the capital at the head of ſeven hundred Spaniards and ſeveral thouſand Indians, with a good train of artillery, in order to give the Governor battle, if he could not obtain equitable conditions for himſelf and his friends; and receiving advice,that the Governor was not many leagues diſtant from him, he diſpatched Lopez de Ydiaquez and James Nunez to repreſent to him how eminently and ſucceſsfully his father had ſerved the Crown of Spain, and how unjuſtly and treacherouſly the Pizarro's had dealt with him in uſurping the government of Cuſco and New Toledo, which his Majeſty had conferred on him; that he was determined to ſerve the King with the ſame fidelity his father had done, and hoped the Governor would not eſpouſe the party of Pizarro's, whoſe oppreſſions and diſloyalty were ſo notorious.

The commanding Officers alſo ſent letters to Vaca de Castro, complaining of his partiality in rejecting their ſervices, as if they oppoſed their Sovereign, affirming that the King had not more loyal ſubjects in Peru than they were; and deſiring that all miſunderſtandings might be amicably adjuſted, that they might unite their forces in the ſervice of their King and country: And, laſtly, it was propoſed that Almagro might continue to command in Cuſco, the capital of Peru, Toledo being his father's government; and the Governor ſhould command in Lima, the capital of New Caſtile, till the King's pleaſure was known.

But Vaca de Castro, inſtead of treating above-board with Almagro, endeavour'd privately to corrupt his Officers, and induce them to deſert him; which Almagro diſcovering, both parties prepared for battle, and drew up their troops in the vale of Chupas: Theſe little armies were both compoſed of veteran officers and ſoldiers: The Governor had the advantage in point of numbers, his troops conſiſting of ſeven hundred Spaniards beſides Indians, and Almagro's of five hundred Spaniards; but then the latter had the advantage of a train of artillery and of the ground, and would probably have gained the victory, if all his officers had been true to him; for his artillery was ſo pointed, that the enemy could not approach his camp on any ſide without conſiderable loſs: However, to his amazement, when the great guns were fired they did no manner of execution, and the enemy advanced as if they had nothing to fear from the artillery; whereupon Almagro rode up to Pedro de Candia, who commanded the great guns, and ſuſpecting treachery, killed him with his own hands; and levelling one of the cannon himſelf, cut off a whole rank of the Governor's troops, putting them in ſome diſorder. But the enemy were now advanced too near his train of artillery to ſuffer from them, and his men had quitted the ground, where they were ſo advantageouſly drawn up to meet the enemy, which occaſioned the loſs of the battle, tho' it was fought with great obſtinacy till two hours within night; when Almagro finding his troops overpowered retired out of the field with Manco Inca, and three or four Spaniſh officers, intending to have taken refuge in the mountains with the Inca and his Indians, till he ſhould meet with a favourable opportunity of recovering his government; but taking Cuſco in his way, with a deſign to carry off his treaſure, and ſuch of his effects as would have been moſt uſeful to him in his exile, the very men in whoſe hands Almagro had put the government of that city, hearing he had loſt the battle, apprehended him, and delivered him up to the victorious Governor, to make their own peace with him; and young Almagro, who was not much above twenty years of age, was formally tried, condemned, and executed in the ſame place, and much in the ſame manner his father had been; and was afterwards buried by the Friars of the convent of Merced, in the ſame grave with his father, having obtained a much greater character for his humanity, parts and education, tho' his conduct and experience in war could not be ſuppoſed equal to his father's; and, indeed, it was unfortunate he was ſo young and unexperienced, and conſequently had ſo little influence and command of his troops, every officer almoſt imagining he merited the chief command in the army, and that Almagro was infinitely obliged to him for taking his part; while others were contriving to purchaſe their own peace by betraying their General: This is frequently the caſe of malecontents,they all aſpire to be commanders, and none think themſelves obliged to obey their ſuperior officers any further than they ſee fit, eſpecially where they find them young and unexperienced; and this being the caſe of Almagro, tho' he is allowed to have been a gallant man, we cannot much wonder at his ill ſucceſs: Nor had the Governor more compaſſion on the officers and ſoldiers than on their commander, giving ſcarce any quarter in the field, and hanging up thoſe few that were made priſoners; ſo that the party of Almagro was now totally extirpated, and never heard of more. Whereupon the Governor diſmiſſed moſt of his forces, and apply'd himſelf with all imaginable diligence to the regulating the Civil government, and particularly he ordered the Tambo's, or magazines upon the great roads to be ſtored with proviſions for the conveniency of travellers, prohibiting the Spaniards to quarter upon the Indians, as they had hitherto done in their journeys and expeditions, to the ruin of the natives where they came. He alſo endeavoured the converſion of the Indians to the Chriſtian faith, and prevailed with the Inca Paulla to be baptized, giving him the name of Christopher: He alſo erected ſchools in ſeveral towns, ordering the ſons of the Caciques and Caraca's to be educated there, and inſtructed in the principles of the Chriſtian religion: He commanded the Spaniards alſo to uſe their Indian ſervants with humanity, and not to oppreſs or abuſe any Indian whatever. Whereupon the Indians who had fled to the moun-

Almagro defeated at Chupas.

Taken and beheaded.

Vaca de Caſtro regulates the Civil government.

tains many of them, return'd and dwelt in Cuſco, Lima, and other Spaniſh towns, under the protection of the government. He alſo regulated the diſtribution of the lands and Indians which had been made very extravagantly, and reſtor'd many of the Indian lords their lands and vaſſals, checking the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery, and adviſing them to marry, and apply themſelves to traffick, or ſome honeſt employments, and not ſpend their whole time in gaming and exceſſes, and oppreſſing the poor Indians to maintain their extravagances, as was frequently the practice of the firſt Conquerors; by which he engag'd the affections of the Indians, but made himſelf a great many enemies among the Adventurers and military men, who came into Peru with no other view but to advance their fortunes, and live at diſcretion among the natives, whom they look'd upon as made only to be ſubſervient to their pleaſures. He alſo enquir'd into the conduct of the King's officers, whom he obſerv'd had amaſs'd together monſtrous eſtates, by oppreſſing the Indians and defrauding the Crown.

Gonzalo Pizarro becomes a malecontent.

GONZALO PIZARRO arriving at Cuſco while theſe regulations were making, found abundance of malecontents there, who being us'd to live at large, and treat the natives as their ſlaves, were not eaſily reſtrain'd from their former practices; and looking upon himſelf as very much wrong'd, by VACA DE CASTRO's aſſuming the government, which he apprehended belong'd to him as his brother's ſucceſſor, he aſſociated with the malecontents there, and, 'tis ſaid, had form'd a deſign of depoſing, if not aſſaſſinating, the governor at that time; of which VACA DE CASTRO having ſome intimation, order'd PIZARRO immediately to reſort to the province of Los Charcas, where his eſtate lay, and not ſtir from thence: And PIZARRO not being then in a condition to diſpute his commands, obey'd them, and the more readily as he underſtood there were ſeveral rich ſilver mines lately diſcover'd in thoſe lands, in the working and improving whereof GONZALO employ'd himſelf, 'till he found a better opportunity of putting his ambitious projects in execution, which happen'd not long after.

Complaints ſtill of the oppreſſions of the Indians.

Orders to redreſs their grievances.

Thus VACA DE CASTRO made ſome attempts towards relieving the poor Indians from the oppreſſions of his countrymen the Spaniards; but ſtill grievous complaints daily came over to Spain of their being deſtroy'd in the mines, and other rigorous ſervices; and particularly by their being remov'd out of their native air and climate, which occaſion'd the death of multitudes, while the women and children in thoſe countries from whence their huſbands and fathers were taken and carried to the mines, periſh'd by thouſands, having no care taken for their ſubſiſtence, inſomuch that it was truly repreſented to the court of Spain, that the Weſt-Indies would in a ſhort time be depopulated, if a ſtop was not put to theſe outrages: And thereupon the Emperor CHARLES the Vth cauſed certain orders to be drawn up, which he requir'd ſhould be ſtrictly obſerv'd in America under ſevere penalties: Some of the principal whereof were, "That the Indians ſhould not be compell'd to carry burthens, or dig in the mines, or be employ'd in buildings, or carried out of their reſpective countries, tho' they were really ſlaves: And that none ſhould wrongfully be made ſlaves, the maſter was oblig'd to carry his ſervants before a Magiſtrate, to be examin'd, before he ſhould uſe them as ſuch (for it ſeems, part of the Indians were ſlaves to the great Lords, or Caciques, before the Spaniſh conqueſt; and where an eſtate was allotted to a Spaniard, he became the proprietor of all the ſlaves upon it, as well as of the lands). It was alſo provided, that the Indians might be proprietors of gold and ſilver mines as well as the Spaniards, and be allow'd to ſell their goods in the markets for the beſt price they could get; and that every Spaniard, who had an eſtate, ſhould take care the Indians upon it were inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion. It was alſo ordain'd, that the Viſitors who were deputed to redreſs the grievances of the Indians, ſhould repair in perſon to their reſpective towns, and not ſend Commiſſioners thither, with a great many other regulations in favour of the Indians." The Emperor alſo reſolv'd to ſend over a Governor to Peru, who ſhould ſee theſe orders duly executed; and accordingly he made choice of BLASCO NUNEZ VELA, who arriv'd at Panama in the year 1544; and meeting with ſeveral Spaniards there, who had raiſed great ſums by the ſale of Indians to the mines in Peru, he order'd them to be proſecuted, and the money they had made by this kind of traffick to be ſeiz'd. He alſo releas'd all ſuch Indians as has been brought thither out of Peru, and oblig'd the Commanders of ſhips to carry them back again: And to ſet a good example when he arriv'd in Peru, he would not ſuffer his baggage to be carried by Indians, but on mules; and when he was inform'd there were not mules ſufficient, he order'd that ſuch Indians as were employ'd ſhould carry but moderate burthens, and be paid for their labour, with which the Indians were extremely pleaſed; but the Spaniards immediately took a prejudice againſt the Vice-roy for inſiſting on theſe regulations, and began to grow very mutinous, pretending their Indians were their property as much as any other part of their eſtates, and they might uſe them as they pleas'd; nor was it poſſible to work their mines, or to build and improve their plantations but by their labour, which they repreſented to the new Vice-roy, and deſired he would ſuſpend the execution of theſe ordinances; but the Vice-roy anſwer'd, they muſt petition the Court of Spain if they expected any alteration in them; and in the mean time, as he had promiſed his Majeſty, he was reſolved to ſee them put in execution; and when ſome of the Caciques, or Indian Lords, complain'd that their vaſſals had been taken away by the Spaniards, he order'd them to be ſet at liberty, telling the Caciques, that it was the King's pleaſure they ſhould be treated as ſubjects, and not as ſlaves.

A new Vice-roy ſent to Peru.

He endeavours to put the new regulations in execution.

This conduct ſo enrag'd the Spaniards, that moſt of the great towns appear'd ripe for an inſurrection; even the capital city of Lima made ſome difficulty to permit the Vice-roy to enter within their walls, and when they did think fit to receive him, were guilty of very rude and threatening language, and he found an inſcription in the room where he was about to ſit down to dinner, of the following tenor; "I will take the life of him who comes to take away my eſtate:" However, the perſon being diſcover'd who wrote it, he forgave him: But the diſaffection appear'd almoſt univerſal; the Spaniards being determined not to ſubmit to the new regulations, ſent Deputies from all the great towns to GONZALO PIZARRO at La Plata, deſiring he would be their protector, and deliver them from the oppreſſions of the Vice-roy, as they call'd them; and that they might have a pretence to aſſemble in arms, they declar'd war againſt MANCO Inca, who was aſſembling an army of Indians, as they gave out, to beſiege Cuſco again.

A conſpiracy againſt the Vice-roy.

Gonzalo Pizarro appears at the head of the male contents.

PIZARRO, pleas'd to find the Spaniards ſo well inclin'd to him, amaſs'd all the treaſure he could get at the mines of Potoſi, which were then newly open'd, and came to Cuſco; where having conſulted his friends, he beat his drums, and liſted two or three hundred Spaniards in his ſervice; and having conſtituted FRANCIS DE CARAVAL his Major-General, reſolved to march to Lima, under pretence of petitioning the Vice-roy in behalf of the principal towns, to ſuſpend the putting in execution the new regulations; and prevail'd on the Magiſtrates of Cuſco to conſtitute him Chief-Juſtice of Peru, by colour of which office he aſſum'd the civil government of the province, as well as the command of the militia.

Manco Inca kill'd

In the mean time MANCO Inca, who was always an enemy to the PIZARRO's, on account of their inſolent treatment of him when they had him in their power, ſent one of the Spaniards, who had fled to him for refuge after the defeat of ALMAGRO, to acquaint the Vice-roy that he was ready to take the field againſt GONZALO PIZARRO, and would ſerve the Court of Spain to the utmoſt of his power; with which meſſage the Vice-roy was extremely pleas'd, looking upon it as a great point gain'd to have the natives in his intereſt: But there happening a quarrel about this time between one of thoſe refugee Spaniards in the mountains and the Inca as they were playing at bowls, the Spaniard beat out the Inca's brains with a bowl; whereupon the Indians fell upon the remaining five Spaniards, and kill'd them every man. And now MANCO Inca being dead, the Vice-roy was deprived of that aſſiſtance he might have expected from thoſe Indians in the mountains, who had hitherto preſerv'd their liberties.

The Vice-roy impriſon'd, but eſcapes.

Pizarro uſurps the government of Peru.

The Vice-roy was ſtill more unfortunate in having a miſunderſtanding with the four Judges of the royal Court that came over from Spain with him to adminiſter the Civil government. Theſe gentlemen carry'd their reſentment ſo far, that they actually favour'd the cauſe of GONZALO PIZARRO; and when the Vice-roy would have raiſed forces againſt PIZARRO, they oppos'd it, and proceeded ſo far as to make the Vice-roy priſoner, who eſcap'd from them however to the city of Quitto, where he was join'd by ſome hundreds of loyal Spaniards: PIZARRO receiving advice that the Vice-roy had been forced to fly from Lima, immediately advanced thither with his army, where he put to death or impriſon'd all who were not in his intereſt, and prevail'd on the Judges to ſign a commiſſion, conſtituting him Governor of Peru. After which he diſpatch'd TEJADA the Judge moſt devoted to his cauſe, into Spain, to give a favourable account of his conduct, and repreſent that he was in a manner compell'd to take the chief command upon him, and had accepted it with no other view than to ſerve his Majeſty, and prevent a general revolt, which he ſuggeſted was very near affected by the Vice-roy's rigorous adminiſtration.

PIZARRO alſo proceeded to ſeize all the ſhips upon the coaſt, whereby he became maſter of the South-ſea, and put in new Governors and Magiſtrates in the chief towns, diſcarding ſome and hanging up others who had appear'd for the Vice-roy, making the civil powers ſubmit to the military, or acting without their concurrence whenever he ſaw fit: To maintain his forces, he exacted of the Spaniards a third part of all the rents or tributes they receiv'd from the vaſſal Indians; ſeiz'd the gold and ſilver belonging to the Crown, and apply'd it to the ſame uſes; and by his cruelty in murdering and deſtroying thoſe who appear'd to have any remains of loyalty left, it was evident he deſign'd to caſt off all dependance on the Crown of Spain, and become the ſole Sovereign of the empire of Peru.

Pizarro's Admiral inſults Panama, and takes all the ſhips in that bay.

Having conſtituted MACHIACO his Admiral, he commanded him to attack the city of Panama, and take all the ſhipping he found in that bay; which orders were punctually executed, and MACHIACO now commanded a fleet of twenty-ſix ſail. He had alſo a good number of land-men on board, and with theſe ſoldiers committed great outrages in the town of Panama, though the Governor had aſſembled ſix or ſeven hundred ſoldiers to defend that place.

He defeats and kills the Vice-roy. His General defeats the Royaliſts near La Plata.

In the mean time, PIZARRO having divided his land-forces, detach'd part of them under his General CARVAJAL, to the city of Plata, and the ſouthern provinces, where he underſtood CENTENO and ſome other loyal gentlemen had declar'd for the King, and cut off ſeveral of his adherents; and with the other part of his forces he purſued the Vice-roy to Quitto, who being join'd by BELALCAZAR, had collected a body of three or four hundred men, with whom he defended himſelf bravely againſt all the ſtratagems of PIZARRO for ſome time; but his officers proving treacherous, he was at length defeated and kill'd in an engagement, on the 19th of January 1546, near the walls of Quitto. PIZARRO's General, CARVAJAL, was no leſs ſucceſsful in the ſouthern provinces, diſperſing the Royaliſts there, and forcing CENTENO their General to fly the country; after which he plunder'd the city of La Plata, and put to death many of thoſe that had appear'd for the King. And now PIZARRO finding there were no enemies left in Peru that durſt oppoſe him, diſmiſs'd part of his forces, and return'd to Lima in triumph, looking upon himſelf as ſole monarch of South-America, and was flatter'd as ſuch by his party; whereupon he made HINOJOSA Admiral of the South-ſea, and commanded his fleet to ſail again to the bay of Panama, where the Admiral landed his men, and ſent a detachment croſs the Iſthmus, under the command of FERDINANDO MEXIA, and ſurpriz'd Nombre de Dios, ſo that HINOJOSA was in a manner maſter of the North and South-ſea, or at leaſt was in a condition to prevent any ſupplies being ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Royaliſts either from Old or New Spain.

His Admiral poſſeſſes himſelf of Panama and Nombre de Dios.

Pizarro applies to the Court of Spain.

PIZARRO, however, apprehenſive that the times might turn, thought it expedient to keep fair with the Court of Spain, and pretend at leaſt that he had no thoughts of throwing off his allegiance, and acting independently of his Sovereign: He diſpatch'd LAURENCE DE ALDANA therefore to Old Spain, as commiſſion'd from all the cities and towns of Peru, to petition that he (PIZARRO) might be continu'd their Governor, and that his Majeſty would ſend them a pardon for all that was paſt; on which conditions they promiſed to make good whatever had been expended of the King's treaſure, and to advance a conſiderable ſum as a free gift to his Majeſty.

The Spaniſh Miniſtry having been already acquainted with GONZALO PIZARRO's uſurpation, gave all Peru for loſt, 'till the arrival of ALDANA; for though it was propoſed in the Council of Spain to ſubdue that Uſurper by force, yet the difficulty of ſending an army into that remote part of the world ſufficient for ſuch an enterprize, made that advice look'd upon as impracticable. But laying hold of theſe overtures made them by PIZARRO and the chief towns of Peru, it was reſolved to ſend

The Preſident Gaſca ſent to Peru.

ſend over Gaſca, a ſubtil Lawyer, with the title only of Preſident of the royal Court; but with full powers to act as he ſhould judge moſt for the advantage of the government when he arrived there. This gentleman was authoriz'd to grant a general pardon to all delinquents, or to as many as he ſaw fit; to promiſe to repeal thoſe ordinances which prohibited their enſlaving the Indians, or levying money upon them; to confirm all men in their poſſeſſions, however wrongfully obtained; and to conſtitute PIZARRO himſelf Vice-roy of Peru, if that rich province could not be recovered to the Crown of Spain by any other means; for as ſome obſerved in the Council of Spain, “It were better “to let the Devil to be Vice-roy than the Crown “ſhould loſe ſo invaluable a prize as Peru appeared “to be about this time, when the inexhauſtible “mines of Potoſi were diſcovered:” And ſuch a confidence had the Court of Spain in the loyalty and dexterity of GASCA, that they did not only confer on him an unlimited authority in Peru, but all Vice-roys, Governors, Magiſtrates, Generals and Officers in America were commanded to ſupport him and obey his orders. He carried alſo letters of various kinds from his Majeſty to PIZARRO, to be ſent or ſuppreſs'd, as the Preſident ſhould judge proper on his arrival in America; in one of which the Emperor tells that Uſurper, that he ſtill confided in his loyalty, and was not offended at any of the meaſures he had taken.

The Court of Spain wheedle Pizarro.

The Preſident GASCA arriving at Cartagena, in Terra-Firma, received advice there that Nombre de Dios was poſſeſſed by a garriſon commanded by FERDINANDO MEXIA, whom HINOJOSA, PIZARRO's Admiral, had ſent thither. However, the Preſident proceeded in his voyage to Nombre de Dios, and ſo cunningly inſinuated himſelf into the good opinion of MEXIA, that he agreed to deſert PIZARRO's ſervice, and hold that place for his Sovereign the Emperor; and coming afterwards to Panama, on the 13th of Auguſt 1546, he prevailed on HINOJOSA the Admiral and the whole fleet to revolt from PIZARRO and declare for his Majeſty.

Pizarro's Admiral and fleet revolt to Gaſca.

Affairs ſucceeding thus far to the Preſident's wiſh, he diſpatch'd PANIAGUA, a gentleman of great penetration and addreſs, to Lima with a letter from the Emperor, and another from himſelf to PIZARRO.

The Emperor's letter to Pizarro.

The Emperor in his letter tells PIZARRO, that having been informed of the commotions that had happen'd in Peru by the late Vice-roy's putting the ordinances too rigorouſly in execution, and believing that whatever had been done by PIZARRO and his adherents was intended for his Majeſty's ſervice, he had diſpatch'd the Lieutenant GASCA, in quality of Preſident, with full power and inſtructions to put an end to the diviſions that had happen'd there, and to do whatever might contribute to the improvement of thoſe provinces and the welfare of his ſubjects, whether planters or natives, requiring PIZARRO to aſſiſt him in whatever the Preſident ſhould judge proper for his Majeſty's ſervice, concluding, that his Majeſty would ever remember the ſervices that he and his brother the Marquis had done to the advantage of their children and families.

Gaſca's letter to Pizarro.

The Preſident, in his letter to PIZARRO alſo, ſeems to lay the blame of the late inſurrections on the Vice-roy, and ſays, his Majeſty believed that their oppoſition to the Vice-roy did not proceed from any motive to diſobedience or diſſervice to his Majeſty, but merely from a principle of ſelf-preſervation, which induced them to oppoſe that ſeverity the Vice-roy uſed in the execution of the new laws: That the king had therefore ſent him to quiet the minds of the people by a revocation of thoſe laws, and to publiſh a general pardon for all offences of what kind ſoever: And, laſtly, to take the opinion and direction of the people of the country concerning the methods that were moſt likely to conduce to the advancement of religion, and the common good and welfare of the inhabitants. Wherefore he entreated PIZARRO that he would conſider theſe things, and like a gentleman and loyal ſubject, and with that affection and good will which he had ſhew'd for the welfare of his country, ſincerely yield obedience to his Majeſty, and comply with his commands, who had ſo favourably interpreted his actions, acquitting him of rebellion and diſloyalty.

Then he adviſes PIZARRO not to flatter himſelf with an opinion that he was ſo well eſtabliſhed as to be able to reſiſt the forces of ſo great a Prince as his Sovereign the Emperor was, who compell'd the Grand Signior to retire from Vienna when he was at the head of three hundred thouſand men, and had obtain'd ſo many memorable victories over the infidels and the reſt of his enemies.

When theſe letters were read in the Uſurper's Council, ſome were for receiving the Preſident and accepting the terms that were offer'd immediately, obſerving that the Court of Spain had granted every thing they demanded, as a revocation of the ordinances, a general pardon, and a confirmation of their eſtates and poſſeſſions. But others, inſpir'd with ambition, or dreading the vengeance they knew was due to their crimes, repreſented, that if the Preſident was once admitted, he would ſoon inſinuate himſelf into the affections of the people, and diſpoſe of them and their fortunes at pleaſure; and therefore urg'd that it was neither politick nor ſafe to admit the Preſident amongſt them. In the mean time PANIAGUA, GASCA's agent, found means to feel the pulſe of the principal citizens of Lima, who ſeem'd ready to deſert the Uſurper as ſoon as they had an opportunity. They were weary of his oppreſſions and arbitrary dominion, who had of late given the reins to his paſſions, putting ſeveral conſiderable men to death, ſeiz'd their poſſeſſions, and made free with their wives and daughters. Underſtanding therefore from PANIAGUA, that a pardon was offer'd them, and whatever elſe they had demanded, they found means to aſſure this agent that they were ready to return to their duty, notwithſtanding PIZARRO had threatened that agent to put him to death as ſoon as he arriv'd, if he tamper'd with any of the citizens: Nor was the revolt of the fleet, which PANIAGUA inform'd them of, one of the leaſt motives that induc'd them to make their ſubmiſſion to his Majeſty.

Gaſca's agent prepares the citizens of Lima for a revolt.

PIZARRO, ſtill ignorant of this general diſaffection, tho' it was a ſecret to very few beſides, reſolved not to admit the Preſident; but imagining his fleet at Panama to be ſtill faithful to him, order'd the admiral to provide a ſhip and ſend the Preſident back to Spain; however, he gave PANIAGUA a letter for him, when he return'd, of the following tenour.

Pizarro's anſwer to the Preſident Gaſca.

He deſir'd the Preſident to conſider him as a perſon naturally devoted to his Majeſty's ſervice, and to remember how he and his brothers had been theſe ſixteeen years employ'd in augmenting the territories and revenues of the Crown of Spain: That they had reduced countries of a vaſt extent, and abounding with more gold and ſilver than all the kingdoms of the world produc'd beſides, and this at their own charges, without putting his Majeſty to the expence of a ſingle crown, and without gaining any thing for themſelves but the reputation of ſerving their Prince and country; for whatever treaſure they had obtain'd was laid out in ſettling colonies, and ſupporting theſe conqueſts: They had not the inheritance of an acre of land aſſigned them (the Court of Spain granting only eſtates for lives to the Adventurers.) And notwithſtanding theſe neglects, they remained immoveable in their loyalty, and had no need to be put in mind of their duty to their Sovereign by arguments drawn from his power and ſucceſs againſt his enemies.

He proceeds to ſhew, that it was the rigorous and impolitick adminiſtration of the late Vice-roy that had been the occaſion of all the miſchiefs and diſturbances that had happened, and juſtifies his own uſurpation, by obſerving, that he was choſen Agent-General by all the cities and communities of that empire, and impower'd by the Judges of the royal Court to drive the Vice-roy from thence, having tranſacted nothing but by their warrant and concurrence.

PIZARRO alſo ſent ſeveral agents of conſiderable quality to the Court of Spain to juſtify his conduct, and get his command confirmed to him; but theſe all deſerted him, making their peace with the Preſident when they came to Panama, and accepting employments from him. Whereupon the Preſident commanded the Governors of the Mexican provinces, thoſe of St. Martha, Cartagena, New-Granada and Popayan, to levy forces with all expedition, and ſend to his aſſiſtance. He alſo order'd LAURENCE DE ALDANA to ſail with four ſtout ſhips to the coaſt of Peru, who landing ſmall parties in ſeveral places, were joined by great numbers of deſerters: And at the ſame time JAMES DE MORA aſſembled four or five hundred men in the inland parts of Peru, and declar'd for the King, appointing the general rendezvous of his Majeſty's forces to be at Caxamalca.

Pizarro deſerted by great numbers.

He prepares to defend his uſurpation

And now PIZARRO receiving advice of the revolt of his fleet and the approach of his enemies, apply'd himſelf with great diligence to raiſe forces in order to defend his uſurpation, and in a ſhort time muſter'd upwards of nine hundred men in the city of Lima only, all veteran troops well armed, and the horſe well mounted; nor was there a foot-ſoldier but had his pad to ride on, and ſlaves to attend him, ſo that his infantry might be looked upon as horſe or dragoons at leaſt, engaging either on foot or horſeback, as there was occaſion, and had a great advantage in marching with expedition from one part of the country to the other without much fatigue: Beſides the forces PIZARRO had in Lima, he ſent ſtrong detachments to Cuſco, La Plata, and other places, cauſing it to be publiſhed every where, that the Preſident GASCA had exceeded his commiſſion in levying forces againſt him; that the King had not impower'd the Preſident to take the government from him, but only to endeavour to eſtabliſh peace, and preſide in the royal Court; and that the people were no leſs concern'd than himſelf to oppoſe his encroachments; for if the Preſident prevail'd, they muſt expect to be plundered, and diſpoſſeſſed of all they had gained with ſo much labour and hazard, and perhaps meet with a halter inſtead of a reward.

He alſo order'd proceſs to be begun in the Courts of law againſt the Preſident, and againſt HINOJOSA the Admiral of the fleet, and all the Officers who had deſerted him, procuring them to be condemn'd to death and declar'd traitors by the Judges at Lima: But ſtill the deſertion continu'd, the people were well ſatisfy'd that the Preſident GASCA was ſufficiently authoriz'd to make war upon PIZARRO, and grant them ſuch conditions as he ſaw fit on their ſubmiſſion; and were not only weary of the Uſurper's tyrannical adminiſtration, but evidently foreſaw he would not be able to ſupport himſelf againſt the power of Spain, and that great diſaffection that was obſerv'd amongſt all ſorts of people in Peru.

Pizarro abandons Lima.

Aldana takes poſſeſſion of it for the Preſident.

LAWRENCE DE ALDANA being now arriv'd with his ſhips at the port of Callao, two leagues from Lima, PIZARRO's ſoldiers took frequent opportunities of deſerting to him; which induced the uſurper to abandon that city, and march to the ſouthward as far as Arequippa; of which ALDANA receiving advice, landed his men, and took poſſeſſion of the city of Lima for the King; ſoon after which the Preſident arrived upon the coaſt of Peru with the remainder of the fleet, and a good body of land-forces, and conſtituted the Admiral HINOJOSA General as well by land as ſea: But he did not think fit to take the field till he had aſſembled an army abundantly ſuperior to that of the enemy, and ſufficient to ſecure the reduction of that empire to the Crown of Spain. This Miniſter appears to have proceeded with abundance of caution and deliberation, and to have effected more by ſly inſinuation and artifice, than could poſſibly have been effected by open force, and at the ſame time kept at a diſtance from danger, never undertaking any thing, or advancing a ſingle ſtep, till he was morally ſure of ſucceſs.

Pizarro marches towards Cuſco.

Defeats Centeno.

Seizes the King's treaſure at the mines.

In the mean time GONZALO PIZARRO receiving advice that CENTENO had raiſed eight hundred or a thouſand men in the Charcas for the Crown, poſſeſſed himſelf of the cities of La Plata and Cuſco, and kept in awe all the ſouthern part of Peru with his forces; he marched towards Cuſco, with a deſign to give that General battle; and CENTENO being no leſs forward to engage, a battle was fought in the valley of Guarina, in October 1547, and PIZARRO obtaining a complete victory, moſt of CENTENO's ſoldiers, that were taken priſoners, liſted themſelves in the ſervice of the rebels; and ſome few days after, PIZARRO entered the city of Cuſco in triumph. From Cuſco PIZARRO ſent a detachment of his forces to take poſſeſſion of the city of La Plata, where they ſeiz'd ſix hundred thouſand crowns, and hang'd up ſeveral that were well affected to the royal cauſe; and at the ſame time his General CARVAJAL plunder'd the town of Arequippa and other places on the ſea-coaſt, whereby they amaſſed a prodigious treaſure.

The Preſident GASCA, receiving repeated advices of PIZARRO's ſucceſs, at length began his march towards Cuſco at the head of ſixteen hundred veteran Spaniards, and ſeveral thouſand Indians, attended by a fine train of artillery, and arrived in the valley of Sacſahnana, within four leagues of Cuſco, in the beginning of April 1548. Upon the approach of the royaliſts, it was debated in PIZARRO's council, whether he ſhould advance and fight the Preſident, or retreat? His General CARVAJAL, it ſeems, adviſed him to retire to certain inacceſſible mountains, a little to the ſouthward of Cuſco, where it would have been very difficult to attack him, and he would have ſav'd a rich country in his rear, that would have furniſhed him with plenty of proviſions: But PIZARRO inſiſted it was diſhonourable to retreat, and confiding in the goodneſs of his troops, marched out of Cuſco at the head of nine hundred men, to the valley of Sacſahnana, where he reſolved to give the enemy battle, but was deſerted by almoſt all his men on the day of battle, who laid hold on the pardon the Preſident GASCA had ordered to be proclaimed. They ſaw the roy-

Pizarro deſerted by all his forces.

royaliſts ſo much ſuperior to them, and ſo advantageouſly poſted, that there was very little proſpect of ſucceſs, and could not ſuppoſe they ſhould ever meet with ſuch another opportunity of ſecuring their lives and eſtates.

Surrenders himſelf a priſoner.

PIZARRO ſtood amazed for ſome time at this general deſertion, but at length thought fit to ſurrender to the firſt officer he met with. His Lieutenant-General CARVAJAL fled, and was made priſoner ſoon after; and both of them were carried in triumph by the Preſident into the city of Cuſco, which open'd her gates to the Conqueror.

Pizarro condemned.

Two or three days after, PIZARRO, CARVAJAL, and ſeveral other rebels were formally tried and convicted of their treaſon and rebellion againſt their Sovereign. PIZARRO was condemned to be beheaded, his houſes demoliſhed, and the ground ſow'd with ſalt, and a pillar was order'd to be erected with this inſcription, "Theſe were the dwellings of that traitor GONZALO PIZARRO." In purſuance of his ſentence, he was ſet upon a Mule, and led to the place of execution, carrying in his hands the image of the bleſſed Virgin, to whom he pray'd with great devotion, but in the way exchang'd this image for a crucifix, which a Prieſt gave him that attended him; on this he fixed his eyes till he came to the ſcaffold, where he made the following ſpeech to the ſoldiers and Spaniſh inhabitants.

GENTLEMEN,

His ſpeech at his execution.

"YE know that our family, my brothers and myſelf, have ſubdued this empire. Many of you are poſſeſſed of baronies and lands, which my brother the Marquis conferred on you, and many of you here preſent have received the like eſtates from me. There are alſo many of you owe me money, which I have freely lent you, and others have received conſiderable gifts and gratuities from me.

"I, for my part, die poor and deſtitute of every thing; not ſo much as the cloaths on my back are my own, but the fees of the executioner, for the ſervice he doth in cutting off my head; ſo that I have nothing to give for the good of my ſoul. Wherefore I beſeech you, gentlemen, as many of you as owe me money, beſtow the ſame on maſſes for my ſoul; for I have full aſſurance in GOD, that through the meritorious death and paſſion of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and with the aſſiſtance of your charity, all my ſins ſhall be pardon'd, and I ſhall be received to mercy."

He is beheaded.

Then kneeling down before the crucifix, which was placed on a table on the ſcaffold, the executioner came to bind a handkerchief about his eyes, but he ſaid that was unneceſſary, he had often look'd death in the face; and ſeeing the hangman draw his ſword to cut off his head, he ſaid, "Honeſt JACK, do thy office handſomely:" The fellow promiſing it ſhould be done according to his wiſh, took the priſoner by his beard with his left-hand, and with a back ſtroke, cut off his head at one blow, with the ſame eaſe (ſays my author) as he would have ſliced off the leaf of a lettice. DIEGO CENTENO paying the executioner for his cloaths, he was buried in them in the cloiſter of the Mercenarian Friars in Cuſco, in the ſame grave where DIEGO DE ALMAGRO the elder, and ALMAGRO the younger, his ſon, had both been buried upon charity, after they were executed in the ſame place. After the fury of the war was over, the Spaniſh cities of Peru cauſed maſſes to be ſaid for the ſoul of GONZALO PIZARRO, whoſe faults ſeemed all to have been buried in his grave, and only his conqueſts and heroick actions, remembered in the next generation. The Spaniards, who poſſeſs'd thoſe mountains of treaſure, and that extenſive country which the PIZARRO's conquered, could do no leſs than applaud their actions, and ſet them in the faireſt light; for if thoſe countries were unjuſtly obtain'd, they were as unjuſtly poſſeſs'd and enjoy'd by thoſe who ſucceeded the PIZARRO's. What title could the King of Spain give any of his ſubjects to the eſtates and perſons of the Indians? Their King, therefore, was the great uſurper and oppreſſor. The PIZARRO's truly obſerved, if conqueſt gave a right, they had the beſt title to Peru, who conquer'd it at their own expences, without putting the Crown of Spain to any charge. But in truth, neither the Kings of Spain, or the Adventurers, could have a better right to that country than what pirates or highwaymen have to their acquiſitions; however, nothing is more common in this world, than to ſee one uſurper and oppreſſor ſit in judgment upon another, and take upon him to diſpoſe of men's lives and fortunes, to which neither the Judge, or the perſon he condemns for ſeizing them have any right.

Some remarks of the uſurpations of the Spaniards in Peru.

PIZARRO was condemned for uſurping the government of Peru: But was not the King of Spain the greateſt uſurper, who unjuſtly countenanc'd the invading of that country, made advantage of all the wrongs and outrages the PIZARRO's had committed, and poſſeſſed himſelf of thoſe very ſpoils and territories which were raviſh'd from the Inca's and their ſubjects; and continue their unjuſt poſſeſſion by force and violence to this very day? But to proceed in the hiſtory.

The Spaniſh ſoldiers diſcontented.

The Preſident GASCA having made large promiſes to the officers and ſoldiers that aſſiſted him to reduce PIZARRO, was perpetually ſollicited to make them good after that war was at an end. His people expected that all the lands poſſeſſed by the adherents of PIZARRO ſhould have been divided among them; and this, no doubt, the Preſident intended to have done, if PIZARRO's troops had not deſerted him; but the Preſident had made equal promiſes, it ſeems, to thoſe who ſhould forſake PIZARRO and come over to him; and theſe by abandoning their General, had finiſhed the deſtruction of that uſurper without his running the hazard of a battle, ſo that the Preſident had ſcarce any lands to divide among the numerous claimants; however, he made a diſtribution of ſuch lands as were confiſcated, and left the inſtrument, allotting to every man his ſhare, ſeal'd up, when he returned to Lima, ordering the Archbiſhop of that province to repair to Cuſco and publiſh it; and the clergy were commanded to exhort the officers and ſoldiers in their ſermons to ſubmit to this partition, which was all that could poſſibly be done at this time. But the petitioners were ſo far from acquieſcing in this diviſion, that they began to grow very mutinous, till ſome of them were apprehended and made examples of, and others made eaſy by promiſes of a further partition in their favour. The moſt dangerous of all the pretenders was HERNANDEZ GIRON, whom the Preſident could find no means to ſatisfy, but by granting him a commiſſion to reſort to Cuſco and raiſe forces, in order to attempt new conqueſts; and this was thought to be a very deſperate remedy, to put arms into the hands of a man whoſe diſaffection and ambition was but too manifeſt: Nor was he long at Cuſco, before he gave the Government very great diſturbance, tho' he did not break out into actual rebellion till ſome time afterwards.

Several Commanders ſent upon new conqueſts.

charges, without putting his Majeſty to the expence of a ſingle crown, and without gaining any thing for themſelves but the reputation of ſerving their Prince and country; for whatever treaſure they had obtain'd was laid out in ſettling colonies, and ſupporting theſe conqueſts: They had not the inheritance of an acre of land aſſigned them (the Court of Spain granting only eſtates for lives to the Adventurers.) And notwithſtanding theſe neglects, they remained immoveable in their loyalty, and had no need to be put in mind of their duty to their Sovereign by arguments drawn from his power and ſucceſs againſt his enemies.

He proceeds to ſhew, that it was the rigorous and impolitick adminiſtration of the late Vice-roy that had been the occaſion of all the miſchiefs and diſturbances that had happened, and juſtifies his own uſurpation, by obſerving, that he was choſen Agent-General by all the cities and communities of that empire, and impower'd by the Judges of the royal Court to drive the Vice-roy from thence, having tranſacted nothing but by their warrant and concurrence.

PIZARRO alſo ſent ſeveral agents of conſiderable quality to the Court of Spain to juſtify his conduct, and get his command confirmed to him; but theſe all deſerted him, making their peace with the Preſident when they came to Panama, and accepting employments from him. Whereupon the Preſident commanded the Governors of the Mexican provinces, thoſe of St. Martha, Cartagena, New-Granada and Popayan, to levy forces with all expedition, and ſend to his aſſiſtance. He alſo order'd LAURENCE DE ALDANA to ſail with four ſtout ſhips to the coaſt of Peru, who landing ſmall parties in ſeveral places, were joined by great numbers of deſerters: And at the ſame time JAMES DE MORA aſſembled four or five hundred men in the inland parts of Peru, and declar'd for the King, appointing the general rendezvous of his Majeſty's forces to be at Caxamalca.

Pizarro deſerted by great numbers.

He prepares to defend his uſurpation

And now PIZARRO receiving advice of the revolt of his fleet and the approach of his enemies, apply'd himſelf with great diligence to raiſe forces in order to defend his uſurpation, and in a ſhort time muſter'd upwards of nine hundred men in the city of Lima only, all veteran troops well armed, and the horſe well mounted; nor was there a foot-ſoldier but had his pad to ride on, and ſlaves to attend him, ſo that his infantry might be looked upon as horſe or dragoons at leaſt, engaging either on foot or horſeback, as there was occaſion, and had a great advantage in marching with expedition from one part of the country to the other without much fatigue: Beſides the forces PIZARRO had in Lima, he ſent ſtrong detachments to Cuſco, La Plata, and other places, cauſing it to be publiſhed every where, that the Preſident GASCA had exceeded his commiſſion in levying forces againſt him; that the King had not impower'd the Preſident to take the government from him, but only to endeavour to eſtabliſh peace, and preſide in the royal Court; and that the people were no leſs concern'd than himſelf to oppoſe his encroachments; for if the Preſident prevail'd, they muſt expect to be plundered, and diſpoſſeſſed of all they had gained with ſo much labour and hazard, and perhaps meet with a halter inſtead of a reward.

He alſo order'd proceſs to be begun in the Courts of law againſt the Preſident, and againſt HINOJOSA the Admiral of the fleet, and all the Officers who had deſerted him, procuring them to be condemn'd to death and declar'd traitors by the Judges at Lima: But ſtill the deſertion continu'd, the people were well ſatisfy'd that the Preſident GASCA was ſufficiently authoriz'd to make war upon PIZARRO, and grant them ſuch conditions as he ſaw fit on their ſubmiſſion; and were not only weary of the Uſurper's tyrannical adminiſtration, but evidently foreſaw he would not be able to ſupport himſelf againſt the power of Spain, and that great diſaffection that was obſerv'd amongſt all ſorts of people in Peru.

Pizarro abandons Lima.

Aldana takes poſſeſſion of it for the Preſident.

LAWRENCE DE ALDANA being now arriv'd with his ſhips at the port of Callao, two leagues from Lima, PIZARRO's ſoldiers took frequent opportunities of deſerting to him; which induced the uſurper to abandon that city, and march to the ſouthward as far as Arequippa; of which ALDANA receiving advice, landed his men, and took poſſeſſion of the city of Lima for the King; ſoon after which the Preſident arrived upon the coaſt of Peru with the remainder of the fleet, and a good body of land-forces, and conſtituted the Admiral HINOJOSA General as well by land as ſea: But he did not think fit to take the field till he had aſſembled an army abundantly ſuperior to that of the enemy, and ſufficient to ſecure the reduction of that empire to the Crown of Spain. This Miniſter appears to have proceeded with abundance of caution and deliberation, and to have effected more by ſly inſinuation and artifice, than could poſſibly have been effected by open force, and at the ſame time kept at a diſtance from danger, never undertaking any thing, or advancing a ſingle ſtep, till he was morally ſure of ſucceſs.

Pizarro marches towards Cuſco.

Defeats Centeno.

Seizes the King's treaſure at the mines.

In the mean time GONZALO PIZARRO receiving advice that CENTENO had raiſed eight hundred or a thouſand men in the Charcas for the Crown, poſſeſſed himſelf of the cities of La Plata and Cuſco, and kept in awe all the ſouthern part of Peru with his forces; he marched towards Cuſco, with a deſign to give that General battle; and CENTENO being no leſs forward to engage, a battle was fought in the valley of Guarina, in October 1547, and PIZARRO obtaining a complete victory, moſt of CENTENO's ſoldiers, that were taken priſoners, liſted themſelves in the ſervice of the rebels; and ſome few days after, PIZARRO entered the city of Cuſco in triumph. From Cuſco PIZARRO ſent a detachment of his forces to take poſſeſſion of the city of La Plata, where they ſeiz'd ſix hundred thouſand crowns, and hang'd up ſeveral that were well affected to the royal cauſe; and at the ſame time his General CARVAJAL plunder'd the town of Arequippa and other places on the ſea-coaſt, whereby they amaſſed a prodigious treaſure.

The Preſident GASCA, receiving repeated advices of PIZARRO's ſucceſs, at length began his march towards Cuſco at the head of ſixteen hundred veteran Spaniards, and ſeveral thouſand Indians, attended by a fine train of artillery, and arrived in the valley of Sacſahnana, within four leagues of Cuſco, in the beginning of April 1548. Upon the approach of the royaliſts, it was debated in PIZARRO's council, whether he ſhould advance and fight the Preſident, or retreat? His General CARVAJAL, it ſeems, adviſed him to retire to certain inacceſſible mountains, a little to the ſouthward of Cuſco, where it would have been very difficult to attack him, and he would have ſav'd a rich country in his rear, that would have furniſhed him with plenty of proviſions: But PIZARRO inſiſted it was diſhonourable to retreat, and confiding in the goodneſs of his troops, marched out of Cuſco at the head of nine hundred men, to the valley of Sacſahnana, where he reſolved to give the enemy battle, but was deſerted by almoſt all his men on the day of battle, who laid hold on the pardon the Preſident GASCA had ordered to be proclaimed. They ſaw the roy-

Pizarro deſerted by all his forces.

royaliſts ſo much ſuperior to them, and ſo advantageouſly poſted, that there was very little proſpect of ſucceſs, and could not ſuppoſe they ſhould ever meet with ſuch another opportunity of ſecuring their lives and eſtates.

Surrenders himſelf a priſoner.

Pizarro ſtood amazed for ſome time at this general deſertion, but at length thought fit to ſurrender to the firſt officer he met with. His Lieutenant-General Carvajal fled, and was made priſoner ſoon after; and both of them were carried in triumph by the Preſident into the city of Cuſco, which open'd her gates to the Conqueror.

Pizarro condemned.

Two or three days after, Pizarro, Carvajal, and ſeveral other rebels were formally tried and convicted of their treaſon and rebellion againſt their Sovereign. Pizarro was condemned to be beheaded, his houſes demoliſhed, and the ground ſow'd with ſalt, and a pillar was order'd to be erected with this inſcription, "Theſe were the dwellings of that traitor Gonzalo Pizarro." In purſuance of his ſentence, he was ſet upon a Mule, and led to the place of execution, carrying in his hands the image of the bleſſed Virgin, to whom he pray'd with great devotion, but in the way exchang'd this image for a crucifix, which a Prieſt gave him that attended him; on this he fixed his eyes till he came to the ſcaffold, where he made the following ſpeech to the ſoldiers and Spaniſh inhabitants.

Gentlemen,

His ſpeech at his execution.

"Ye know that our family, my brothers and myſelf, have ſubdued this empire. Many of you are poſſeſſed of baronies and lands, which my brother the Marquis conferred on you, and many of you here preſent have received the like eſtates from me. There are alſo many of you owe me money, which I have freely lent you, and others have received conſiderable gifts and gratuities from me.

"I, for my part, die poor and deſtitute of every thing; not ſo much as the cloaths on my back are my own, but the fees of the executioner, for the ſervice he doth in cutting off my head; ſo that I have nothing to give for the good of my ſoul. Wherefore I beſeech you, gentlemen, as many of you as owe me money, beſtow the ſame on maſſes for my ſoul; for I have full aſſurance in God, that through the meritorious death and paſſion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and with the aſſiſtance of your charity, all my ſins ſhall be pardon'd, and I ſhall be received to mercy."

He is beheaded.

Then kneeling down before the crucifix, which was placed on a table on the ſcaffold, the executioner came to bind a handkerchief about his eyes, but he ſaid that was unneceſſary, he had often look'd death in the face; and ſeeing the hangman draw his ſword to cut off his head, he ſaid, "Honeſt Jack, do thy office handſomely:" The fellow promiſing it ſhould be done according to his wiſh, took the priſoner by his beard with his left-hand, and with a back ſtroke, cut off his head at one blow, with the ſame eaſe (ſays my author) as he would have ſliced off the leaf of a lettice. Diego Centeno paying the executioner for his cloaths, he was buried in them in the cloiſter of the Mercenarian Friars in Cuſco, in the ſame grave where Diego de Almagro the elder, and Almagro the younger, his ſon, had both been buried upon charity, after they were executed in the ſame place. After the fury of the war was over, the Spaniſh cities of Peru cauſed maſſes to be ſaid for the ſoul of Gonzalo Pizarro, whoſe faults ſeemed all to have been buried in his grave, and only his conqueſts and heroick actions, remembered in the next generation. The Spaniards, who poſſeſs'd thoſe mountains of treaſure, and that extenſive country which the Pizarro's conquered, could do no leſs than applaud their actions, and ſet them in the faireſt light; for if thoſe countries were unjuſtly obtain'd, they were as unjuſtly poſſeſs'd and enjoy'd by thoſe who ſucceeded the Pizarro's. What title could the King of Spain give any of his ſubjects to the eſtates and perſons of the Indians? Their King, therefore, was the great uſurper and oppreſſor. The Pizarro's truly obſerved, if conqueſt gave a right, they had the beſt title to Peru, who conquer'd it at their own expences, without putting the Crown of Spain to any charge. But in truth, neither the Kings of Spain, or the Adventurers, could have a better right to that country than what pirates or highwaymen have to their acquiſitions; however, nothing is more common in this world, than to ſee one uſurper and oppreſſor ſit in judgment upon another, and take upon him to diſpoſe of men's lives and fortunes, to which neither the Judge, or the perſon he condemns for ſeizing them have any right.

Some remarks of the uſurpations of the Spaniards in Peru.

Pizarro was condemned for uſurping the government of Peru: But was not the King of Spain the greateſt uſurper, who unjuſtly countenanc'd the invading of that country, made advantage of all the wrongs and outrages the Pizarro's had committed, and poſſeſſed himſelf of thoſe very ſpoils and territories which were raviſh'd from the Inca's and their ſubjects; and continue their unjuſt poſſeſſion by force and violence to this very day? But to proceed in the hiſtory.

The Spaniſh ſoldiers diſcontented.

The Preſident Gasca having made large promiſes to the officers and ſoldiers that aſſiſted him to reduce Pizarro, was perpetually ſollicited to make them good after that war was at an end. His people expected that all the lands poſſeſſed by the adherents of Pizarro ſhould have been divided among them; and this, no doubt, the Preſident intended to have done, if Pizarro's troops had not deſerted him; but the Preſident had made equal promiſes, it ſeems, to thoſe who ſhould forſake Pizarro and come over to him; and theſe by abandoning their General, had finiſhed the deſtruction of that uſurper without his running the hazard of a battle, ſo that the Preſident had ſcarce any lands to divide among the numerous claimants; however, he made a diſtribution of ſuch lands as were confiſcated, and left the inſtrument, allotting to every man his ſhare, ſeal'd up, when he returned to Lima, ordering the Archbiſhop of that province to repair to Cuſco and publiſh it; and the clergy were commanded to exhort the officers and ſoldiers in their ſermons to ſubmit to this partition, which was all that could poſſibly be done at this time. But the petitioners were ſo far from acquieſcing in this diviſion, that they began to grow very mutinous, till ſome of them were apprehended and made examples of, and others made eaſy by promiſes of a further partition in their favour.

Several Commanders ſent upon new conqueſts.

The moſt dangerous of all the pretenders was Hernandez Giron, whom the Preſident could find no means to ſatiſfy, but by granting him a commiſſion to reſort to Cuſco and raiſe forces, in order to attempt new conqueſts; and this was thought to be a very deſperate remedy, to put arms into the hands of a man whoſe diſaffection and ambition was but too manifeſt: Nor was he long at Cuſco, before he gave the Government very great diſturbance, tho' he did not break out into actual rebellion till ſome time afterwards.

Another detachment of troops was ſent under the command of the celebrated PETER DE VALDIVIA, to finiſh the conqueſt of Chili; under whom a great many of the diſaffected Spaniards liſted themſelves, in hopes of making their fortunes there, which they now deſpair'd of doing in Peru: And this ſeems to have been the conduct of moſt of the Governors of Peru, when they could not ſatisfy the pretenſions of the Spaniſh officers and ſoldiers (every one of which imagin'd he merited a province by his ſervices) to give them commiſſions to enter upon new conqueſts, which they aſſur'd them ſhould be ſhar'd among the Adventurers. The Preſident GASCA, however, found there were ſtill a great many that remained unſatisfy'd, even thoſe to whom he had aſſign'd lands and Indians that produced upwards of an hundred thouſand crowns a year were not contented, and he was compell'd to promiſe them a further diviſion to increaſe their ſhares, which he took care however, ſhould not be publiſh'd 'till he was gone to Europe, for fear of a tumult; and an order coming from Spain at the ſame time to releaſe the Indians from their perſonal ſervices, or rather ſlavery, he ſuppreſs'd that alſo for the ſame reaſon, 'till he left the country. And having fleec'd and plunder'd both Spaniards and Indians, 'till he had amaſs'd together two or three millions of crowns for his maſter the Emperor, he ſet ſail with it for the bay of Panama, well knowing that ſo vaſt a treaſure would cover all faults, and render his adminiſtration approv'd by the Court of Spain, tho' he ſuppreſs'd and oppos'd the repeated orders that were ſent over for giving the Indians their liberty.

Gaſca returns to Panama with a vaſt treaſure.

The Preſident arriving in the bay of Panama, did not think fit to make any ſtay in the city which gives name to that bay, but immediately croſs'd the iſthmus, and arriv'd at Nombre de Dios (which ſtood near Porto Bello) on the North-ſea, leaving moſt of the treaſure to be brought after him, and was very near loſing it; for FERDINAND and PETER DE CONTRERAS, the two ſons of PEDRARIAS, who reduc'd the province of Veragua, being turn'd out of their father's government, and diſpoſſeſs'd of all his lands, had a little before broke out into open rebellion: And having ſeiz'd ſeveral ſhips in the South-ſea at this time, attack'd Panama, where great part of the royal treaſure was lodg'd, and made themſelves maſters of it as well as of the town, and might with eaſe have carried it all off, but could not be ſatisfy'd without making the Preſident their priſoner. They ſent part of their forces therefore croſs the iſthmus in purſuit of the Preſident GASCA, who was now at Nombre de Dios on the North-ſea, of which the citizens of Panama taking the advantage, fell upon the remainder of the rebels forces that were left behind, cut moſt of them in pieces, and recovered the treaſure again. Upon advice whereof, the party that was ſent after the Preſident diſpers'd themſelves, very few of them making their eſcape back to Veragua; and the two brothers, FERDINAND and PETER DE CONTRERAS, were both of them kill'd; which put an end to this rebellion, that would otherwiſe probably have been fatal to Spain: For the rebels propoſed, after they had made themſelves maſters of both ſides the iſthmus of Darien, ſo that no relief could come over from Old Spain, to have aſſembled a fleet, and join'd the malecontents of Peru, whereby they might have reduc'd that province under their power, and perhaps laid the foundation of another empire; but their dividing their forces defeated all the hopeful projects they had form'd, and ended in the deſtruction of the two brothers and their followers; and the Preſident GASCA could not but bleſs himſelf, when he underſtood how narrowly he had eſcap'd with his treaſure, which he had the good fortune to recover and carry over ſafe to Spain, to the infinite joy of that Court, which was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for money to ſupport the various enterprizes the Emperor CHARLES the Vth, was engaged in at that time.

The Treaſure ſeiz'd by the rebels at Panama.

Gaſca recovers the treaſure again, and arrives with it in Spain.

I return now to Peru, where the Judges of the royal Court, in whom the adminiſtration was lodg'd, publiſh'd the ſecond partition the late Preſident had made of the lands, which gave as little ſatisfaction as the former. Theſe Judges alſo put in execution the decree of the Court of Spain for releaſing the Indians from perſonal ſervice, and would not ſuffer the poor natives to be preſs'd to dig in the mines, to carry burthens, or to do any other laborious work, but what they willingly agreed to do, and were paid for; which occaſion'd an inſurrection in Cuſco, and the diſſaffected made choice of HERNANDEZ, or HERNANDO GIRON, for their Chief, who was ſtill in that city, where he had rais'd two hundred men for the making of new conqueſts. This tumult was ſuppreſs'd with great difficulty, and GIRON ſent priſoner to Lima; but ſo general was the diſaffection, that the Judges did not think fit to puniſh this notorious officer, and in a ſhort time gave him his liberty again; even the General HINOJOSA was ſuppoſed to foment theſe diſorders, for he had an eſtate in the Charcas, where Potoſi and the beſt ſilver mines lie, of the value of two hundred thouſand crowns per ann. and theſe mines could not be work'd without Indians, for they had no Negroes, or but very few, in America, at that time.

Another inſurrection in Cuſco ſuppreſs'd.

The royal Court therefore, to bring over the General HINOJOSA to their party, made him Governor of the Charcas; and this for a time kept that part of the country quiet.

In the mean time, Don ANTONIO DE MENDOZA arriv'd in Peru, in quality of Vice-roy; whoſe adminiſtration was generally lik'd; but being of a weakly conſtitution, he did not live two years. What was moſt remarkable in his government was his ſending his ſon through all the provinces, to take a particular account of them; who brought back with him draughts of every place that was worth the taking, and eſpecially of the mountain of Potoſi with all its ſilver veins delineated, and an eſtimate of the treaſure that might annually be drawn from thence; with which draughts the Vice-roy ſent his ſon into Spain in the year 1552, and died ſoon after.

Mendoza made Vice-roy.

The royal Court, after the death of the Vice-roy, taking the adminiſtration of the government into their hands, and reviving the decree for releaſing the Indians from their perſonal ſervice, occaſion'd great diſturbances again; but no where more than in the Charcas, where Indians were ſo much wanted to work their mines: And here alſo were great numbers of diſaffected people and diſbanded ſoldiers aſſembled, upon a ſuppoſition that HINOJOSA would have ſet up for himſelf, having given out many dark and dubious ſpeeches (which were interpreted that way) while he remained at Lima. But this gentleman, being now made Governor of the country, and poſſeſs'd of one of the greateſt eſtates in it, had alter'd his mind, it ſeems, if ever he had any thoughts of diſturbing the Government formerly. He endeavoured therefore, by fair words, to divert the ſoldiers from their deſign; telling them, he expected a commiſſion every day to extend their conqueſts farther eaſtward, and then they would infallibly be provided for: But finding themſelves diſappointed from time to time, and that the General

(being

An inſurrection at the ſilver mines.

(being perfectly eaſy in his own fortunes) had now no intention of engaging with them, to bring about another revolution, they made choice of Don Sebastian Castilla for their Chief, and determined to aſſaſſinate Hinojosa; and tho' he had frequent intimations of the conſpiracy, and was entreated by his friends to take meaſures for the ſecurity of his perſon, he too much ſlighted their advice: He could not believe that the ſoldiers among whom he had been ſo popular, and who had hitherto appeared devoted to him, could ever enter into a conſpiracy to deſtroy him. He was alſo fearleſs in his temper, a plain open-hearted man, not apt to ſuſpect the worſt (or perhaps was ſo far of Cæsar's mind, that it was better to die once, than to be always terrify'd with the fears of death; or that it was time to die when his friends wiſh'd him dead). But however that was, he neither provided guards to defend his palace, or to attend him when he went abroad; and ten or twelve of the conſpirators entring his houſe one morning, ſoon after the gates were open, went directly to his apartment, where they found him in his morning-gown, and ſtabb'd him with their ſwords and daggers, without giving him time to ſend for his Confeſſor, which was all he aſk'd of them when he found they were reſolved to imbrue their hands in his blood.

The rebels aſſaſſinate Hinojoſa, the Governor of the Charcas.

The aſſaſſins afterwards went out into the market-place, where they found the reſt of their accomplices, and cry'd out, "The tyrant is dead, "long live the King!" They alſo murder'd ſeveral of the principal citizens, and plunder'd their houſes; then, beating their drums, required all the inhabitants to rendezvous in the market-place, and take up arms in their ſervice; declaring Don Sebastian their General, and Chief-Juſtice of the province. They alſo took upon them to appoint other officers and magiſtrates, both civil and military; but ſtill pretended all was done with an intent to ſerve the King.

They make Don Sebaſtian their General.

The conſpirators, within a day or two, made themſelves maſters of the town of Potoſi, where they ſeiz'd a million and a half of ſilver, which belong'd to the King or private perſons. They alſo ſent a detachment to ſurprize the city of Vera Paz, and murder the Marſhal Alvarado, who commanded there: But before this could be effected, a ſudden turn happen'd; part of the ſoldiers who had murder'd their General Hinojosa, believing they ſhould merit of the Government, and obtain not only their pardon but a reward, if they ſhould murder their new General Don Sebastian, and declare for the King, aſſaſſinated the unhappy wretch, and declared Vasco Godinez their General. Like the Romans, they frequently murder'd the very men they ſet up, and the reign of the man they elected ſometimes was not of a week's duration.

And afterwards murder him.

The rebels elect Vaſco Godinez their Chief.

Vasco Godinez compell'd the Magiſtrates and citizens of La Plata to conſtitute him Lord Chief-Juſtice as well as General of the Charcas (the ſilver country); under colour of which office he impriſon'd and put to death whom he pleas'd, and among the reſt cauſed many of thoſe to be murder'd who had aſſiſted him in aſſaſſinating the Governor Hinojosa; pretending now an extraordinary zeal for the King's ſervice, and that he had himſelf been forced into that rebellion: Nor did he ſpare his moſt intimate friends and accomplices, being induced to take off many of them, leſt they ſhould diſcover his complicated treaſons, and defeat him of thoſe rewards he expected for murdering Don Sebastian; for he had ſeiz'd on the great eſtate of the General Hinojosa, and expected the Government ſhould have confirm'd it to him, in conſideration of his merit, in declaring for the King againſt Don Sebastian.

Who murders a great many people.

The royal Court, being well appriz'd of the treachery and double-dealing of this wretch Godinez, in order to put a ſpeedy end to the inſurrection, dealt with the traitor in his own way: They pretended they were convinced of the ſervices he had done the Government in taking off that uſurper and rebel Don Sebastian, and declaring for his Majeſty; and cauſed it to be intimated to him, that they deſign'd to conſtitute him General of their forces, and aſſign him a very great eſtate in the Charcas; adviſing him to unite his forces with Don Alonzo de Alvarado (Governor of the city of La Paz) againſt the rebels. At the ſame time they privately made Don Alvarado Generaliſſimo and Governor of the Charcas, and commanded all that were well-affected to the King to obey his orders: Whereupon the General aſſembled a good body of troops, and began his march towards the city of La Plata, where Godinez expected him, flattering himſelf that Don Alvarado was coming to put him into poſſeſſion of thoſe eſtates and offices that were in a manner promiſed him by the Government: But the General no ſooner got him into his power, than he made Godinez and his accomplices priſoners, and proceeded to try and condemn them; and when Godinez was, to his great ſurprize, condemn'd and led to execution, the following proclamation was made before him, viz. "This man, having been a traitor to God, his "King, and his friends, is ſentenc'd to be hang'd, "drawn, and quarter'd:" And ſo many were involved in the ſame crimes, that, 'tis ſaid, many of the rebels were executed every day the ſucceeding month; when another inſurrection happening at Cuſco, (which I am next to give an account of) a ſtop was put to theſe executions, and a pardon publiſh'd, in order to prevent a general revolt of thoſe countries, which the Government began to be apprehenſive of.

General Alvarado ſurprizes Godinez, and puts him to death, with many more of the diſaffected.

The former rebellion of Sebastian Castilla and Vasco Godinez was fomented and encourag'd by ſome of the principal citizens of Cuſco, the mines of Potoſi, in which they had a large ſhare, remaining unwrought while the Indians were freed from their perſonal ſervice; but the moſt active among the diſaffected citizens was Hernandez Giron, already mention'd, who only waited to ſee what ſucceſs the inſurrections in the Charcas would have before he declared himſelf; and being inform'd, that General Alvarado kept a correſpondence with Giles Ramirez, Governor of Cuſco, and that they were concerting meaſures how to ſurprize him and his friends, he reſolved to be beforehand with them, and put it out of their power to hurt him.

Another rebellion by Hernandez Giron.

Giron therefore, ſummoning his friends together, let them know the danger they were all in; that General Alvarado threaten'd, as ſoon as he had lopp'd off the branches in the Charcas, he would ſtrike at the root of all theſe diſturbances, by extirpating the citizens of Cuſco, who incited and ſupported them: He exhorted them therefore, for their own preſervation, to come to ſome ſpeedy reſolution, and not tamely ſuffer themſelves to be maſſacred, under a colour of law, as their friends in the Charcas had been; eſpecially ſince it was the common cauſe of all the Spaniſh planters, who could make no advantage of their mines, or the reſt of their eſtates, if their Indians were taken from them; and conſequently they ſhould find them all ready to join with them, as ſoon as it was known they had taken up arms for a redreſs of theſe grievances.

As this aſſembly conſiſted either of citizens who were proprietors of the mines, or ſoldiers who were in expectation of making their fortunes by freſh commotions, there was very little perſuaſion neceſſary to induce them to join in the inſurrection: They agreed therefore to take the opportunity of a great wedding which was to be ſolemniz'd at Cuſco on the 13th of November 1553, to ſeize on the Governor and ſome of the principal Magiſtrates, who were invited to it; and accordingly HERNANDEZ GIRON, with ten or twelve of his accomplices, in armour, ruſh'd into the bridegroom's houſe on the evening of the wedding-day, where the Governor and threeſcore of the principal citizens were at ſupper; and ſome of the company thereupon riſing from the table in a great fright, GIRON bid them not ſtir or be afraid, for they were all engaged in the ſame conſpiracy; which ſpeech terrifying the Governor ſtill more, he ran away and hid himſelf in a remote part of the houſe among the women: Two or three other Magiſtrates were kill'd by the conſpirators on the ſpot; but the reſt of the company, whether in the plot or not, were ſuffer'd to return unmoleſted to their houſes.

The conſpirators, having continued their ſearch two or three hours, at length found the Governor hidden in the women's apartment; and carrying him to priſon afterwards, reſorted to their friends in the market-place, where they made proclamation for all men to aſſemble, and take up arms in defence of their liberties: Then they ſeiz'd upon the King's treaſure, and all the horſes and arms they could find; and having muſter'd about an hundred and fifty ſoldiers, they appointed officers to command them, and liſt more into their ſervice; the rebels declaring, that what they had undertaken was for the publick good, and in order to inform his Majeſty of their grievances, the royal Court rejecting all petitions of this kind.

And ſuch was the influence GIRON had over the Magiſtrates of the city, that (either for fear or favour) they conſtituted him Chief-Juſtice and Captain-General; and ſeveral other great towns, ſuch as Guamanga and Arequippa, congratulated him on his exaltation, and promiſed to ſupport him with their forces.

The royal Court, receiving advice of this formidable rebellion, immediately ſuſpended the execution of the decree for freeing the Indians from their perſonal ſervice, which they were ſenſible was the principal occaſion of theſe commotions, and conſtituted the Marſhal ALVARADO Captain-General of their forces againſt HERNANDEZ GIRON in the ſouthern parts of Peru; and the Archbiſhop of Lima, and SANTILLAN (one of the Judges of the royal Court) took upon them to command the forces that were aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Lima, from whence they prepared to march and attack the rebels at Cuſco: They alſo iſſued a proclamation, pardoning all thoſe who were engaged in the rebellions of PIZARRO and DON SEBASTIAN, to prevent their joining with HERNANDEZ GIRON, who was by this time become ſo ſtrong, that he march'd out of Cuſco towards Lima, with an intent to give the royaliſts battle.

GIRON, being advanced as far as the valley of Pachacamac, received intelligence that the enemy were not far from him, and prepared to engage them; but finding his men deſert in great numbers, he thought it prudent to retire farther off: Whereupon PAUL DE MENESES, one of the Generals of the royaliſts, was detach'd with an hundred and fifty horſe, to inſult his rear, and keep the rebels in play 'till the reſt of the army could come up; but MENESES was unfortunately defeated before the army could come to his aſſiſtance; and there afterwards happen'd ſuch diviſions among the Generals of the royaliſts, that GIRON had leiſure to augment his forces, and form a regiment of Negroes.

In the mean time, Marſhal ALVARADO, having aſſembled an army conſiſting of a thouſand Spaniards, and ten thouſand Indians, began his march from the Charcas; and advancing as far as Cuſco, took poſſeſſion of that capital for the King, in the abſence of HERNANDEZ GIRON, who was at this time in the plains of Naſca, on the ſea-coaſt, about fifty or threeſcore leagues to the northward of Lima.

The Marſhal did not make any long ſtay in Lima; but having augmented his European forces to twelve hundred men, by the ſeveral parties of royaliſts that came to join him in Cuſco, he march'd towards the ſea-coaſt, in ſearch of the rebels, who ſeeming to contemn and leſſen the number of the royaliſts, their General HERNANDEZ GIRON bid them not flatter or deceive themſelves but ſtand upon their guard, and behave themſelves like men whoſe fortunes depended on the points of their ſwords; for he aſſured them there were a thouſand veteran well-arm'd Spaniards, beſides Indians, advancing towards them from Lima, and a more numerous body under the command of Marſhal ALVARADO, approaching their camp from Cuſco: However, if he had but four hundred men, on whoſe valour and fidelity he could rely, he told them, he did not doubt but to come off victorious: and immediately began his march to poſſeſs himſelf of an advantageous camp near Chuquinca, on the road in which the enemy was marching; and ſuch was the ſituation of the poſt he had choſen among woods, rocks, and precipices, that he wiſhed for nothing more than that the royaliſts would attack him here: But their Generals, having view'd the ground (tho' their forces were treble the number of GIRON's) thought it was not practicable to engage him in this place; they determined therefore to ſurround the rock with their Indians, and cut off his proviſions on every ſide; by which means the rebels muſt have been obliged to ſurrender in a very ſhort time, or have been ſtarved. But an officer deſerting over from the rebels to the royaliſts, and informing them that GIRON intended to retire in the night, and that his men were in a miſerable condition, and by no means able to defend that poſt, if they were briſkly attack'd, the Marſhal alter'd his reſolution, and commanded his officers to prepare to give the enemy battle; and the attack was begun early the next morning, at the only two places it was poſſible to approach the rebels; at one of which the royaliſts were obliged to paſs a rapid river almoſt up to their necks; and the other paſs was ſo narrow, and encumber'd with rocks and buſhes, that forty men might defend it againſt ten thouſand. GIRON, the General of the rebels, had ſo judiciouſly drawn up his men to defend both theſe avenues, that the royaliſts were cut off as faſt as they advanced by the fire of the ſmall arms; and tho' they renew'd their attacks ſeveral times, and were led on by the Marſhal in perſon, they were at length totally defeated, and put into the utmoſt confuſion, two-thirds of the royaliſts being kill'd, or taken priſoners; and the reſt, with their General at the head of them, eſcaping with great difficulty out of the battle, left the plunder of their camp to the enemy, which was the

Giron defeats General Alvarado.

the richeſt that had been known, even in that rich country; the wealthieſt Merchants and Planters from the ſilver mines of the Charcas and Cuſco having taken the field with the Marſhal in moſt ſplendid equipages, and with numerous retinues of ſervants, all their arms, furniture and accoutrements being adorn'd with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, with which this part of Peru abounds.

HERNANDEZ GIRON, having obtained this important victory, remained five or ſix weeks in his impregnable camp, from whence he ſent out ſtrong parties to Cuſco, Arequippa, the city of Peace (or La Paz) and other great towns, which they plunder'd of an immenſe treaſure. He alſo liſted great numbers of the priſoners he had taken, and by other means augmented his forces to upwards of a thouſand Spaniards, beſides Indians and Negroes; and being ſenſible he ſtill wanted a train of artillery, to be upon the level with the royaliſts, he took ſeveral of the bells out of the churches of Cuſco, and with them he caſt ſix field-pieces, on which he engraved the word LIBERTY, the rebels motto; and then began his march towards that capital.

He converts the bells of Cuſco into great guns.

Miſerable was the condition both of Spaniards and Indians at this time; it was but a very little before that the royaliſts had done juſtice, as they call it; that is, plunder'd and murder'd the adherents of HERNANDEZ GIRON, and now that rebel retaliated the injury he conceived was done him, both upon Spaniards and Indians that had declared for the royal cauſe, and eſpecially on ſuch as had betray'd or deſerted him; and, as he was conſcious he had by theſe outrages exaſperated the citizens of Cuſco, he did not think fit to truſt himſelf amongſt them. The clergy were no leſs provok'd (by taking the bells out of their churches) than the citizens were by giving up the town to the plunder of his ſoldiers. Having therefore ſent for his wife and family, and all that he valued, out of Cuſco, he advanced to the delightful vale of Yuca, about two or three leagues from that city; where he refreſh'd his troops, and ſpent his time in rural ſports, 'till he receiv'd advice that the royaliſts (having increaſed their forces to two thouſand men, beſides Indians, and a fine train of artillery) were marching towards Cuſco; and then he thought fit to retire to a paſs about forty leagues to the ſouthward of that city, where he poſted his army, that it was impoſſible to force his camp; and at the ſame time had a plentiful country in his rear, which ſupply'd him with plenty of proviſions. By taking this paſs he alſo cover'd the province of Charcas, in which were the principal ſilver mines; ſo that he could never want treaſure to pay his troops while he remain'd there.

In this happy ſituation he waited for the enemy, expecting that their ſuperiority in numbers would have encouraged them to attack him, as they had done at Chuquinca; but they were grown wiſer by their misfortunes, and choſe to entrench themſelves in a plain not far from him, where their cavalry might be of uſe to them; for they had more horſe than the rebels. Thus the two armies lay looking upon one another for a conſiderable time, only ſome ſkirmiſhes happened between ſmall parties, in which it was obſerved the rebels had generally the advantage; and this encouraged HERNANDEZ GIRON to think of attacking the royaliſts, ſince there appear'd little likelihood of their advancing nearer him: He might reaſonably expect alſo, that the royal army would be daily increaſed by the arrival of freſh forces from Old or New Spain; and was under ſome apprehenſions, probably, that his people might deſert him, and make their peace with the Government, if he remained unactive much longer: He laid a deſign therefore to ſurpriſe the royaliſts in their camp, which ſeems to have been admirably well concerted; nor did his officers and ſoldiers want reſolution to have it put in execution, if the project had not been betray'd to the enemy by two deſerters the very evening before the attempt was made.

Giron attacks the camp of the royaliſts, but is forced to retire.

The moon going down about two o'clock, HERNANDEZ GIRON had order'd his regiment of Negroes, with fourſcore or an hundred Spaniards, to conduct and animate them to attack the enemy's camp in front, as ſoon as the moon was ſet, while he, with the reſt of his army, ſhould fall upon the rear; and he order'd his men to be cloath'd in white, that they might be able to diſtinguiſh each other in the dark: But the enemy (being acquainted with the ſcheme by the deſerters above-mention'd) march'd their army out of their trenches, and drew up upon a ſpot of ground, from whence they intended to have attacked them in their retreat, or when they were buſy in plundering their camp.

The Blacks very bravely attack'd the enemies trenches, and to their ſurprize enter'd them with little oppoſition, there being very few left to defend them; and theſe were order'd to retire on the approach of the enemy: Whereupon the Negroes fell to plundering the camp (as was expected) while the royaliſts attack'd GIRON, and the main body of his forces, before they came near the trenches. However, the rebels defended themſelves ſo well, that they made their retreat in pretty good order, and with very little loſs from the fire of the enemy; but ſuffer'd extreamly by the deſertion of two hundred of their company at the time the retreat was made. 'Tis probable, the deſerters apprehended their army was totally defeated, and that their General would never be able to make head againſt the royaliſts again; and therefore thought it prudent to ſave their lives by a timely ſurrender.

HERNANDEZ GIRON however (having muſter'd his men, and obſerved there were ſcarce any miſſing beſides the two hundred that had deſerted) ſtill thought himſelf in a condition to maintain his poſt againſt all the power of the royaliſts; but two or three days afterwards, THOMAS VASQUEZ, who had been one of the forwardeſt in promoting this rebellion, and one of the moſt popular men amongſt the malecontents, deſerting over to the enemy, with ten or twelve officers more, on whom GIRON principally relied, he was confounded, expecting every hour to be betray'd, and deliver'd up to his enemies: Therefore (without communicating his ſuſpicions to his wife, or any mortal) he fled by himſelf to the mountains in the night-time, leaving his forces to ſhift for themſelves. His departure was no ſooner known, but his Lieutenant-General, with an hundred more that were devoted to his ſervice, went in ſearch of him; but taking a different way, were all ſurprized by MENESES, one of the Generals, of the royaliſts, who hang'd up moſt of the officers upon the ſpot: But another of the rebel Generals, with great part of his forces, had the good fortune to go over in time to the royal camp, before the eſcape of GIRON was known, and were allow'd the benefit of the pardon that had been publiſh'd for the preſent; but many of theſe alſo were hang'd up afterwards for this very rebellion by a ſucceeding Vice-roy.

Giron deſerted.

Flies to the mountains.

As to GIRON himſelf, he wander'd about the mountains ſome weeks, with fourſcore or an hundred of his friends, who had found the way after him; but was at length taken priſoner and carried to Lima, where he was condemn'd and executed as a

Giron taken and executed.

The rebellion entirely ſuppreſs'd.

traitor; which put an end to the rebellion: And from this time (viz. from the month of November 1554, in the reign of Philip II.) the Spaniards may be ſaid to have been in the peaceable poſſeſſion of Peru; the ſubduing the firſt Adventurers, who endeavour'd to render themſelves independent of the Crown of Spain, having proved a much more difficult taſk than the conqueſt of the defenceleſs Indians. And tho' the Spaniards are by no means to be juſtified in their invaſions of this country, yet their laſt wars, which were carried on by them for reſtoring the natives to their liberty, and reſcuing them from the oppreſſions of the firſt planters, muſt be approved by all the world: Had they gone one ſtep farther, and reſtored the Inca's (the Sovereigns of that country) to their dominion, they had perform'd the moſt juſt, and conſequently the moſt glorious act that ever was recorded in hiſtory; but this was too great a piece of ſelf-denial to be expected, that they ſhould part with a country repleniſh'd with mountains of gold and ſilver, after they were once in poſſeſſion of it.

The Spaniards have alſo this to ſay for themſelves, that the Prince they found upon the throne (namely, Atabilipa) had no more right to that kingdom than themſelves; nay, that none of the Inca's could pretend any other right to any part of Peru, but what they had gain'd by unjuſt invaſions and uſurpations; and ſince it was next to an impoſſibility to diſcover who was the lawful Sovereign of any part of it, they who had gain'd the poſſeſſion of this country by the ſame forcible means the Peruvian Princes had done, did no body any wrong by maintaining their poſſeſſion. Some of the future Vice-roys, however, ſeem to have been of opinion, that the Inca's had a better right than the Kings of Spain, by their putting to death, or baniſhing to remote countries, all the blood of the Inca's, and even the iſſue of the Spaniſh officers who had match'd with any of the Princeſſes of that family; tho' I muſt do that juſtice to King Philip II. that he reprov'd and puniſh'd the Vice-roy that was guilty of that piece of barbarity, telling him, "He did not ſend him over to extirpate thoſe "Princes, but to protect them."

CHAP. XI.

Of their women, marriages, children, ſlaves and funerals; and of the navigation and ſhipping of the Peruvians.

Of the marriages of the Peruvians, &c.

HOWEVER it comes to paſs, we find great part of the world entertain a very high opinion of a ſingle life. This whimſey prevails in the new world as well as the old. Mexico and Peru have their cloiſter'd Virgins, to whom they pay uncommon honours; and there are others who devote themſelves to a ſingle life without confining their perſons to a convent; and theſe alſo, both ſexes have in great veneration. I have already mentioned the nunnery in the capital city of Cuſco, where there were five hundred Ladies of the royal blood, who neither went abroad, or were viſited by any of their relations, except the Queen: Theſe were called the wives of the Sun, and it was ſacrilege to touch them; but if any man was ſo prophane as to attempt their chaſtity, he drew upon himſelf and his whole family the ſevereſt puniſhments that could be inflicted; and even his houſes, lands, flocks and herds, and all that he had in the world were deſtroyed with him.

In every province alſo there was a convent of Nuns, conſiſting of the daughters of noblemen, and thoſe of the firſt quality, and theſe were not to be approached by any but the Inca; and as the former were call'd the wives of the Sun, theſe were ſtil'd the wives of the Inca, though he never ſaw them, or had any commerce with them; however, they had all a poſſibility of being his wives in a literal ſenſe, for he ſent for them to Court whenever he pleaſed, and took them to his bed; ſo that they ſeem to have been nurſeries for the royal Seraglio; the violating the chaſtity of one of theſe was as penal as an intrigue with one of the former. As to the marriages of the Peruvians, it appears that their Princes and Nobility were allow'd a plurality of wives and concubines; though their firſt King and Law-giver decreed, that no private man ſhould have more than one; their Kings thought it incumbent upon them to increaſe their families by all poſſible ways. In this they apprehended they fulfilled the commands of their father the Sun, and were benefactors to the world; but this does not conſiſt with the honours they paid to a ſtate of celibacy; for, by the ſame rule, thoſe that kept their virgin vows, and did what lay in them to put a ſtop to the propagation of their ſpecies, were to be honour'd, thoſe who endeavour'd to people the world ſhould have been deſpiſed, ſo inconſiſtent were they with themſelves; and full as inconſiſtent are we with ourſelves in this part of the world. We rejoice when a man is born, and we admire the virgin that vows there ſhall be no more born if ſhe can help it; but how theſe unnatural and impious vows came to be encouraged and approved either there or here, is not eaſy to conceive. To proceed in the account of their marriages.

The laws of Peru did not only permit, but command the Emperor to marry the eldeſt ſiſter of the whole blood; though it prohibited all other brothers and ſiſters to marry; however, they were all obliged to marry in their reſpective tribes or families like the Jews, and their marriages were ſolemnized by the chief magiſtrate of the province. Thoſe of the tribe or family of their Inca's or Kings were married by the King himſelf. Once a year, or once in two years at moſt, the King's officers were commanded to make a liſt of all the young men of his family above twenty years of age, and of all the virgins above eighteen, and bring them before him, when he match'd them as he ſaw fit, the ceremony being no more than this: The Inca, ſtanding between the couple that were to be married, call'd each of them by their names, and then joining their hands, ſent them home to the bridegroom's father's, where the wedding was kept for ſeveral days, with feaſting, muſick, dancing and drinking, as in this part of the world. I don't find there were any previous addreſſes, or that the parties had any knowlege of each other 'till they came before the Prince, or that he made any judgment how ſuitable the match was like to be, in any other reſpects than as to their perſons, their reſpective ages, and their quality. Here was no ſuch thing as courtſhip; no conſent demanded, either of the parties or their parents; but the Inca diſpoſed of both as he ſaw fit: And in the provinces of the empire at a diſtance from Cuſco, the vaſſal Princes perform'd the ceremony, as the Inca did in the capital city; but as to the King himſelf, and the Princes of the ſeveral provinces, they took what women they pleas'd for their wives and concubines, without any manner of ceremony.

Common women.

And if the common people were not allow'd more wives than one, they had a liberty however to entertain a commerce with other women (beſides their wives) who lived in poor huts in the fields, or in the ſuburbs of great towns, but were never ſuffer'd to dwell or appear among honeſt people, and were generally eſteem'd infamous. Theſe ſtews, according to De la Vega, were conniv'd at by the Government, to prevent greater inconveniencies, ſuch as adultery and ſodomy; and this it is that induces the Pope, 'tis ſaid, to indulge his ſubjects in the like liberties, whoſe conſtitutions are as warm as the Peruvians.

When any of the royal family of the Inca's married, the vaſſal Indians of that province immediately built houſes for the new-married people, which were furniſh'd by the fathers of the bride and bridegroom, and every one of their relations brought ſome preſent for the new-married couple, and came and rejoiced with them on the occaſion: And when any of the common people married, their neighbours were oblig'd to aſſiſt in the building their houſes, and raiſing a little plantation of fruits, roots and herbs; and every married man had a portion of food and cloathing aſſign'd him every year out of the royal magazines and ſtore-houſes, in proportion to the bigneſs of his family. None were ſuffer'd to ſtarve for want of neceſſaries, as they are in ſome Chriſtian countries; neither were any people ſuffer'd to live idly, but all were buſied in huſbandry, or ſome mechanick employment; and the wives of their Nobility and Gentry carried their work with them, even upon viſits; for the women ſpun and wove all their cloathing, tho' they had ſlaves and vaſſals who were oblig'd by their tenures to do every thing of that kind for them.

The laws of deſcent and inheritances.

As the Emperor or Inca was oblig'd to marry his eldeſt ſiſter, and if he had no iſſue by her, the next, and ſo on; and if he had iſſue by none of his ſiſters, to marry his next neareſt relation; ſo none but the eldeſt ſon of ſuch marriages could inherit the throne; and thus the crown deſcended to twelve Inca's ſucceſſively, 'till the laſt Inca, Atabilipa the baſtard, or rather the ſon of a foreign Princeſs, (viz. the Princeſs of Quitto) uſurp'd the throne and depoſed his brother Huascar.

If the Inca or Emperor had no ſon, he was ſucceeded by his eldeſt brother, or his next male relation; but De la Vega obſerves, that the Spaniſh hiſtorians were miſtaken, who related that the brother ſucceeded before the ſon of the deceas'd Emperor.

The laws of inheritance were not the ſame in every province. In ſome, the eldeſt ſon did not inherit unleſs he was the moſt deſerving; for the vaſſals had the choice of the ſucceſſion, provided they elected him out of the family of the Caraca's, or Lords of the diſtrict; and they were at liberty to take the youngeſt, or any other ſon they apprehended would make the beſt Governor, without any regard to their ſeniority: But in others the eldeſt ſon inherited, as with us; and if there were no ſons, the eſtate went to the eldeſt uncle. I don't find the daughters ever poſſeſs'd their lands or real eſtates.

Widows and orphans provided for.

The Peruvians, however, ſeem to have had a particular regard for widows and orphans: Their lands were plough'd and cultivated at the charge of the publick, and were preferr'd to the lands belonging to the temple of the Sun and thoſe of the Inca; but it was look'd upon as infamous for a widow to marry a ſecond huſband, eſpecially if ſhe had children, and as infamous for a man to marry ſuch a widow; ſo that ſuch matches were very rare, and the widows liv'd in great eſteem as long as they kept ſingle.

The management of their children.

Their children were weaned at two years of age, when they ſhav'd their heads and gave them their names, at which there was great feaſting and rejoicing, and the relations all made preſents to the infant; ſome brought cloathing, others cattle, ſome preſented him with arms, and others with cups and veſſels of gold or ſilver plate, according to their quality: This was the cuſtom at the weaning of the eldeſt ſon, but no great notice was taken of the weaning the reſt of the children, whether ſons or daughters.

All their children were bred up very hardily, waſh'd with cold water as ſoon as born, and the mother bath'd in ſome cool ſtream as ſoon as ſhe was brought to bed, if we may credit the concurrent teſtimony of all the Spaniſh hiſtorians; and they continued to waſh their children every day with cold water, 'till they were grown up and able to bathe themſelves; which may be one reaſon that the plunging a lying-in woman into cold water was attended with no ill conſequences; for if a European lady, who never uſed to bathe in cold water, was to make the experiment in that condition, ſhe would not come off ſo well as the Americans, it is preſum'd.

De la Vega relates alſo, that they never took their children into their laps or arms, unleſs it were to dreſs them, but ſtoop'd down to the cradle where the infant lay to give it the breaſt, and this only three times a day, keeping them to their ſet meals, from the time they were born, ſaying, They would cry in expectation of it all day long, if they were humour'd in it every time they cry'd; and that the gorging them with milk was the way to make gluttons and drunkards of them when they grew up.

The Ladies of the firſt quality always ſuckled their own children, and never put them out to wet-nurſes; and though the ordinary time of their ſucking was two years, the women never came near their huſbands beds 'till that time was expir'd, nor had the child any other food 'till it was wean'd, if the mother's milk did not fail. When the child could ſtand alone it was taken out of its wooden cradle, to which it uſed to be bound down hard with filetting, and ſet in a little pit, made in the middle of the floor, which reach'd to the breaſt of the child, and was lin'd or hung with linnen or woollen, and the play-things ſet about the verge of the pit or baſon; ſo that they were never troubled to carry their children about or ſit with them in their laps, as our nurſes and good women are. De la Vega adds, that the Peruvian women had never any occaſion for midwives, but there was uſually an old hag of a witch, or enchantreſs, that attended the labour, who muttering over ſome charms, was ſuppoſed to facilitate the birth, and contribute to the good fortune of the infant by the ſuperſtitious ceremonies ſhe perform'd.

Their funerals.

As to their funerals, the bodies of their Inca's or Emperors (it has been obſerv'd) were embalm'd and placed in the temple of the Sun, where divine honours were paid them, but their hearts and bowels were ſolemnly interr'd at a country palace of the Inca's, about two or three leagues from Cuſco, where magnificent tombs were erected, and great quantities of gold and ſilver plate and other treaſures buried with them: And at the death of the Inca's and Caraca's, or great Lords, their principal wives, favourites and ſervants, either kill'd themſelves or made intereſt to be buried alive with them in the ſame tomb, that they might accompany them to the other world, ſays De la Vega, and renew their immortal ſervices in the other life, which, as their religion taught them, was a corporeal and not a ſpiritual ſtate. And here he corrects the errors of thoſe hiſtorians who relate, that theſe people were kill'd or ſacrificed by the ſucceſſors of the deceaſed Prince, which he ſeems to abhor as a moſt deteſted piece of tyranny and cruelty; and obſerves further, that there was no manner of occaſion for any law or force to compel them to follow their benefactors or maſters to the other world; for when they were dead, they crouded after them ſo faſt, that the Magiſtrates were forced ſometimes to interpoſe, and by perſuaſion, or their authority, to put a ſtop to theſe ſelf-murders, repreſenting that the deceas'd had no need of more attendants, or that it might be time enough to offer him their ſervice when death ſhould take them out of the world in a natural way.

Their belief of another ſtate.

However, it is evident from hence, that the Peruvians believ'd another ſtate after this, where they were to live and enjoy their friends to all eternity, and that they were to be cloath'd with fleſh and blood there as well as here; though they muſt imagine the bodies they were to aſſume would be of a more heavenly conſtitution, to render them immortal, and free from infirmities. Nor could they believe they would be the ſame bodies rais'd again, and refin'd, becauſe theſe were embalm'd, or remain'd in their tombs, while they expected to be tranſlated to thoſe regions of pleaſure immediately, and to be cloath'd with bodies on their arrival there: And in that caſe it could be of no ſervice to them to receive their former bodies again, after ſome thouſand years were elaps'd. But to proceed in their funerals.

Mourning.

The firſt month after the death of their Prince, the whole city of Cuſco bewail'd their loſs with loud cries and lamentations, and every ward, or diviſion, of the city aſſembled and march'd out into the fields in proceſſion, carrying the trophies of their late Sovereign with them; namely, his ſhield, his offenſive arms, his cloaths, and the treaſures that were to be buried with his bowels; and in ſongs repeated his heroic actions in the wars, the moſt remarkable inſtances of his juſtice, and other virtues. After the firſt month they commemorated the death of the Inca at every new and full moon 'till the end of the year, the laſt day whereof was obſerv'd with more ſolemnity than any of the former. Nor was this done only in the capital city of the empire, but in the chief town of every province, how far diſtant ſoever. They went out in proceſſion to all places, where they remembred their Inca had ever been a journey, or upon any other occaſion, and there in mournful ſongs recited his great actions, and bewail'd their loſs: And the vaſſal Princes, or Noblemen, had much the ſame honours paid them on their deceaſe, in their reſpective provinces and lordſhips, by their vaſſals; and this bids me to ſay ſomething of the condition of the Peruvians, in relation to their liberties and properties, when the Spaniards arriv'd there. The Inca's were abſolute Sovereigns, reſtrain'd by no laws or compacts, but valued themſelves moſt, it ſeems, in being the Protectors and Fathers of their people.

The ſtate of the Peruvians when the Spaniards arrived there.

Every province had its Caracas, or prince, as abſolute in his territories as the Inca in the empire, and only accountable to him; and in every province were a great many Caciques, or Lords, who had the command of their vaſſals, as the Caraca's had of them; and as for the common people, they were all tenants, or rather ſlaves to their Lords, both their perſons and eſtates being in their power to do whatever they would with them; for theſe tenants cultivated and manur'd their Lords lands, built and repair'd their houſes, carried them on their ſhoulders when they went abroad, and ſerv'd them both at home and abroad, without any other wages than the produce of their little tenements and plantations, and were ſold and transferr'd from one Lord to another, whenever the lands they lived upon were ſold or alienated.

Whenever the Inca, or Emperor, had any particular ſervice to do, he commanded the vaſſal Prince of the province to ſee it done, and he again iſſued his orders to the Nobility under his government, who ſent their tenants, or ſlaves, to perform what was requir'd, or march'd at the head of them in perſon, if they were commanded to the wars; ſo that the whole country, like Britain anciently, was divided between the Lords of the ſoil and their Slaves, or the Barons and their Bondmen, or Villains. The generality of the people were in a ſtate of ſlavery before the Spaniards arriv'd; all the difference was, that during the government of the Inca's, and their native Lords, their ſervice was extremely eaſy and gentle; they requir'd their ſervice but at certain times, and by turns, and never overloaded or over-drove them, or commanded them into ſervices or countries deſtructive to their healths. Whereas the Spaniards had no regard to any of theſe particulars, but deſtroy'd thouſands of them by exacting a too rigorous ſervice, compelling ſome to work in the mines, others to dive for pearls, others to carry monſtrous burthens, and travel into unhealthful climates, without making a ſuitable proviſion for them, and by theſe means perfectly depopulated ſeveral American iſlands and countries. 'Tis true, the common people were vaſſals and ſlaves to their ſuperior Lords before the Spaniards conquer'd Peru, as has been intimated already, but then their own Princes uſed them as children, and the Spaniards treated them worſe than brutes.

Some of the poorer Indians, however, were gainers by this change, or at leaſt thought themſelves ſo at firſt; for the Spaniards, in order to gain them over to their party, gave many of them their freedom, and made uſe of them in ſubduing their countrymen: But when the conqueſt was finiſh'd, theſe were not uſed much better than the reſt, 'till the Kings of Spain, by their repeated edicts, in a manner by force compell'd the Adventurers and Planters to treat the Indians as ſubjects, and not as ſlaves; ſince which time the Spaniards have introduc'd vaſt numbers of Negroes to work in the mines, and perform other laborious ſervices; and the horſes, oxen and mules that have been carried to Peru, have made it leſs neceſſary to exact thoſe hard and laborious ſervices from the Indians they did formerly, ſuch as carrying their baggage, and drawing their carriages, by which multitudes periſh'd.

Peru is now poſſeſs'd by a very different ſet of people than it was at the time of the Spaniſh conqueſt two hundred years ago. Beſides the native Indians, there have been tranſported vaſt multitudes of Europeans and African Negroes of both ſexes, from whoſe mix'd embraces have ſprung another race, being a compound of all three, which have different features and different complexions from the people of any of the three parts of the world from whence they are deriv'd; only thoſe that were born in Spain are call'd Spaniards. If any perſon is born of a Spaniſh father and mother in America, he is call'd a Crioli, and ſo are the children of the Negroes born in Peru; and, 'tis ſaid, this term Crioli came firſt from the Negroes, who call'd their children ſo that were born there, to diſtinguiſh them from native Africans.

The children born between a Spaniard and an Indian, are called Meſtizo's; and ſo are the children of a Spaniard and a Negroe. Thoſe born of a Negroe and an Indian, are call'd Mulata's, or Molata's; and to the children of theſe Mulata's the Spaniards gave the name of Cholo, which ſignifies a dog of a mongrel beed; and they eſteem them little better. The children of a Spaniard and a Meſtizo they call Quartralvo's, by which they would ſignify they are three parts Spaniſh and one Indian; but the children of a Meſtizo with an Indian woman, they call Treſalas, or three parts Indian. The deſcendants of all theſe have different names and different privileges; and when any of them come to reſemble the Spaniards ſo much in their features and complexions that they cannot be diſtinguiſhed from them, they chuſe to remove to ſome diſtant town, where their pedigree is not known; and there they enjoy the honours and privileges of the native Spaniards, eſpecially if they are people of Subſtance.

But, as was intimated in the hiſtory of Mexico, there are always great diviſions and heart-burnings between the Spaniards born in Spain, and the Criolli, or thoſe that are born of Spaniſh parents in Peru.

The Criolli are by far the moſt numerous (perhaps a hundred to one) and poſſeſs'd of the greateſt part of the lands; but the power is always lodg'd in the hands of the native Spaniards: The Viceroys, and principal civil and military Officers and Biſhops, are always Spaniſh, which makes the native Spaniards look down with great contempt on the Criolli, though born of Spaniſh parents, and they are perpetually doing each other ill offices; even among the Eccleſiaſtics there are everlaſting feuds, and the people are taught by the Criolli Prieſts to hate the Spaniſh Friars; though the religion of all Peru is now the ſame, from what nation, or what mixture of nations ſoever the preſent inhabitants are deſcended. The Inquiſition (that reigns here with greater terror than in any part of the world) has compelled both Indians and Negroes to profeſs themſelves Catholicks; and their way of inſtructing them in the doctrines of Chriſtianity, is the ſame here as it is in Spain; namely, by pictures, images, and theatrical entertainments: Every part of the hiſtory of the Goſpel almoſt is thrown into a play, and the Indians are the actors; one acts our SAVIOUR, another St. PETER, a third PONTIUS PILATE, a fourth JUDAS, and ſo on. This they look upon as the readieſt way of inſtructing the vulgar in the Chriſtian religion, and to fix the hiſtory of it in their memories.

The navigation of the Peruvians.

I ſhall conclude this chapter with a word or two concerning the navigation of the Peruvians, who ſeem to have been provided with moſt improper veſſels and vehicles for tranſportation or fiſhing, of any nation in the world. I do not find that they had either ſhip, boat, or canoe upon their coaſt when the Spaniards arrived there; they croſſed over their rivers on floats of reeds or ruſhes, and at ſea had no other way of fiſhing, or tranſporting their goods along the coaſt, but on bark-logs, of which Mr. DAMPIER gives us the following deſcription.

Bark-logs.

Bark-logs are made of many round logs of wood, in manner of a raft, and very different, according to the uſe that they are deſign'd for, or the humour of the people that make them, or the matter they are made of. If they are made for fiſhing, then they are only three or four logs of light wood, of ſeven or eight foot long, placed by the ſide of each other, pinn'd faſt together with wooden pins, and bound hard with withes. The logs are ſo placed, that the middlemoſt are longer than thoſe of the ſides, eſpecially at the head, or fore-part, which grows narrower gradually into an angle or point, the better to cut through the water. Others are made to carry goods; the bottom of theſe is made of twenty or thirty great trees, of about twenty, thirty, or forty foot long, faſtened like the others, ſide to ſide, and ſo ſhaped: On the top of theſe they place another ſhorter row of trees a-croſs them, pinn'd faſt to each other, and then pinn'd to the undermoſt row; this double row of planks makes the bottom of the float of a conſiderable breadth: From this bottom the raft is raiſed to about ten foot higher, with rows of poſts, ſometimes ſet upright, and ſupporting a floor or two; but thoſe I obſerved were raiſed by thick trees laid a-croſs each other, as in wood-piles; only not cloſe together, as in the bottom of the float, but at the ends and ſides only, ſo as to leave the middle all hollow, like a chamber, except that here and there a beam goes a-croſs it, to keep the float more compact. In this hollow, at about four foot high from the beam, at the bottom, they lay ſmall poles along, and cloſe together, to make a floor for another room, on the top of which alſo they lay another ſuch floor made of poles; and the entrance into both theſe rooms is only by creeping between the great traverſe-trees, which make the walls of this ſea-houſe. The loweſt of theſe ſtories ſerves as a cellar; there they lay great ſtones for ballaſt, and their jars of freſh water cloſed up, and whatever may bear being wet; for by the weight of the ballaſt and cargo, the bottom of this room, and of the whole veſſel, is ſunk ſo deep as to lie two or three foot within the ſurface of the water. The ſecond ſtory is for the ſeamen and their neceſſaries: Above this ſecond ſtory the goods are ſtow'd to what height they pleaſe, uſually about eight or ten foot, and kept cloſe by poles ſet upright quite round; only there is a little ſpace abaft for the ſteers-man (for they have a large rudder) and a fire-hearth before to dreſs their victuals, eſpecially when they make long voyages, as from Lima to Truxillo, or Guiaquil, or Panama, which laſt voyage is five or ſix hundred leagues. In the midſt of all, among the goods, riſes a maſt, to which is faſtened a large ſail, as in our weſt-country barges in the Thames: They always go before the wind, being unable to ply againſt it; and therefore are fit only for theſe ſeas, where the wind is always in a manner the ſame, not varying above a point or two all the way from Lima, till ſuch time as they come into the bay of Panama, and even there they meet with no great ſea, but ſometimes northerly winds, and then they lower their ſails, and drive before it, waiting for a change. All their care then is only to keep off from ſhore; for they are ſo made, that they cannot ſink at ſea. Theſe rafts carry ſixty or ſeventy tons of goods and upwards; their cargo is chiefly wine, oil, flour, ſugar, Quitto cloth, ſoap, goat-ſkins dreſs'd, &c. The float is manag'd uſually by three or four men, who (being unable to return with it againſt the trade-wind) when they come to Panama, diſpoſe of the goods and bottom together, getting a paſſage back again for themſelves in ſome ſhip or boat bound to the port they came from, and there they take a new bark-log for their next cargo.

The ſmaller ſort of bark-logs lie flat on the water, and are uſed for fiſhing, or carrying water to ſhips, or the like (half a ton or a ton at a time) and are more governable than the other, though they have maſts and ſails too. With theſe they go out at night, by the help of the land-wind (which is ſeldom wanting on this coaſt) and return back in the day-time with the ſea-wind.

The preſent ſhipping of Peru.

As to the preſent ſtate of their navigation, the Spaniards have ſcarce any ſhips on this ſea but coaſting-veſſels, and the King's ſhips of war, which may be ten or twelve in number, and ſerve to protect the trade againſt the Buccaneers and Privateers, who are, however, very often too hard for them; and ſhould any European Power ſend a ſmall ſquadron of men of war into the ſouth-ſea, the whole royal navy of Spain on this coaſt would not be a match for them: But of the forces of the Spaniards (by ſea and land) on the weſtern coaſt of South-America, I ſhall give a more particular account when I have ſurvey'd the province of Chili.

The Peruvian, or Spaniſh inhabitants, have yet no other foreign commerce but with the reſt of the Spaniſh colonies, either in Chili to the ſouthward, or with thoſe of Mexico to the northward: They ſail every year from Peru (at the proper ſeaſons) to the fairs of Acapulio and Panama, carrying the product and manufactures of Peru thither, but chiefly gold and ſilver, to a very great value; and at thoſe fairs they furniſh themſelves with the product and manufactures of China and the Eaſt-Indies from the weſt, and thoſe of Europe from the eaſt; and in this rich traffick there are not more than ſeven or eight ſhips employ'd within the ſpace of a year, though they export and import the value of many millions.

THE

THE PRESENT STATE OF CHILI.

CHAP. I.

Of the name, ſituation, and extent of CHILI, *and of the face of the country, their mountains, &c.*

CHAP. I.

Name.

THIS country was named Chili by the firſt Spaniſh Adventurers, from a famous river and valley of that name, where they obtain'd a ſignal victory over the natives: Whether the people had any common name for the whole country before the Spaniſh conqueſt I very much queſtion, it not being united under one Sovereign, but divided into a great many little clans or tribes, commanded by their reſpective Chiefs, when the Spaniards arrived there; and every particular nation or family had a diſtinct name, which they received from or communicated to the ſeveral countries they poſſeſſed. Chili, in which I ſhall take the liberty of comprehending Patagonia, the Terra-Magellanica, and Terra del Fogo, is bounded by Peru on the north, by La Plata and the Atlantic-ocean on the eaſt, and by the great South-ſea on the ſouth and weſt, extending in length from north to ſouth 27 degrees, 30 minutes, viz. from 25 to 57 degrees, 30 minutes ſouth latitude: But the breadth is very unequal, being about 400 leagues broad in the north, and leſſening gradually till it is not 100 broad in the ſouth, and is conſequently of a pyramidical form, the northern boundary being the baſe, and Cape Horn the ſummit of the pyramid. The oppoſite part of the globe to this country is the Eaſt-Indies.

Situation.

Face of the country.

The face of this country very much reſembles that of Peru; for all our ſea-men agree, that the coaſt of Chili is a high bold ſhore, and that further within the land there ariſe other hills, which the Spaniards call Sierra's, and above them the Andes, the higheſt mountains in the known world, which extend, as has been obſerved in the deſcription of Peru, from Santa Martha in Terra-Firma, to the Streights of Magellan, that is, from 10 degrees north to 55 ſouth latitude, running 65 degrees from north to ſouth. To the deſcription I have given of theſe hills in Peru, I ſhall here add OVALLE's account of them, and of the face of this country, which he had croſs'd often between Chili and La Plata (as he informs us.)

The Andes of Chili.

Theſe mountains, ſays that writer, are a prodigy of nature, and without parallel in the world, being a high chain of hills 1500 leagues in length, and 40 leagues broad, with many intermediate valleys: The aſcent is ſo prodigious that we employ three or four days in arriving at the top of them, and as many more in the deſcent, that is, ſpeaking properly, and only of the mountain; for otherwiſe it may be affirmed, that one begins to mount even from the ſea-ſide, becauſe all the way, which is about 40 leagues, is nothing but an extended ſhelving coaſt, for which reaſon their rivers run with ſuch force, that their ſtreams are like mill-ſtreams, eſpecially near their ſources.

CHAP. I.

When we come to aſcend the higheſt part of the mountains, we feel an air ſo piercing and ſubtil, that it is with much difficulty we breathe, which obliges us to fetch our breath quick and ſtrong, and to open our mouths wider than ordinary, applying to them likewiſe our handkerchiefs to condenſe our breath, and break the extreme coldneſs of the air, and ſo make it more proportionable to the temperament which the heart requires. This I have experienced every time that I have paſſed thoſe mighty mountains.

Don ANTONIO DE HERRERA, and other writers obſerve, that thoſe who paſs the Andes in Peru, ſuffer great reachings and vomitings; becauſe no one thing produces ſo great an alteration at once as a ſudden change of air, and that of the mountains being ſo unproportioned to common reſpiration, produces in thoſe who paſs over it thoſe ſurprizing and painful effects. 'Tis true, that in that part of the Cordillera in Peru which they call Periacaca, there may be a concurrence of other cauſes, and a particular diſpoſition of the climate, to which may be attributed ſome of theſe effects: For if they were to be attributed only to the height of the mountain, we that paſs it in Chili ought to find thoſe inconveniencies as much or more, becauſe the mountain is higheſt without compariſon here; and yet I never endured thoſe reachings, or vomitings, nor have ſeen any of thoſe motions in others, but only the difficulty of breathing, which I have mentioned.

Others experience other effects, which I have often heard them relate; but certain it is, we go through theſe mountains, treading as it were upon clouds; when we aſcend to the higheſt we can no longer ſee the earth for the clouds below, but the heavens are clear, and the ſun ſhines out in its full luſtre.

The Iris, or rainbow, which in the valleys we ſee croſſing the heavens, we obſerve from this height extended under our feet; nor is it leſs admirable, that while we travel over theſe hills, and ſee at a diſtance tempeſts and ſtorms falling into the valleys beneath, the ſerenity over our heads exceeds that of the fineſt ſummer's evening.

There

Vulcano's in the Andes.

There are, in this Cordillera, or chain of mountains, ſixteen vulcano's, which at ſeveral times have broken out, and cauſed effects very terrible and aſtoniſhing to all the country. Amongſt the reſt, that which happen'd in the year 1640, is worthy to be remember'd; it broke out in the enemy's country, in the territory of the Cacique Aliante, burning with ſo much force, that the mountain cleaving in two, caſt forth pieces of rocks all on fire, with ſo horrible a noiſe, that it was heard many leagues off juſt like the going off of cannons.

The firſt of theſe vulcano's is called the vulcano of Copiapo, and is about 26 degrees on the confines of Chili and Peru; in 30 degrees is that of Coquimbo; in 31 and a half that of Liqua; in 35 that of Peteroa; in 36 and a half that of Chilau; in 37 and a quarter that of Antoco; this is followed by that of Notuco in 38 and a half; that of Villarica is in 39; near this is another in 40 and a quarter, and in 41 is that of Oſorno; and near that, in leſs than a quarter of a degree, that of Guanatruca; and in a little more than 42 degrees, that of Quetrucabi; and laſt of all are two more, one without a name, in 44, and that of St. Clement, which is in 45 and a half.

Mines of the Andes.

Theſe mountains are ſuppoſed to be very rich in mines, but there may be two cauſes aſſigned why their riches do not manifeſt themſelves more: The firſt is that general ſtate-reaſon and inviolable maxim among the Indians, to conceal and not diſcover them to any other nation: For if any one among them, either out of intereſt, negligence, or any other motive of conveniency, diſcovers any thing of this kind, his death is infallible, and no power on earth can ſave him.

The other reaſon to be aſſigned for not ſeeking after theſe mines is, the great plenty of every thing neceſſary for life; ſo that hunger, which is the prompter of covetous deſires, being wanting, there are few that care to run hazards, and go through impracticable deſarts in ſearch of hidden treaſure; eſpecially finding already ſo much gold in the valleys and rivers, that even the mines in the low countries are not wrought.

Further obſervations on the Andes.

The difference which may be obſerved in paſſing the Cordillera between each ſide of the mountain is ſo great, that they ſeem two different worlds (the eaſt and weſt parts.) One would think heaven had placed theſe mountains here to divide them as a wall, and keep off from the weſt all the ſtorms and ill weather of the eaſt. Any one that travels to the top of them may experience this clearly, for there he diſcovers both horizons, and when he looks to the eaſt, all is covered with great vapours, which ſeem to hinder the light, and ſhadow all the country; and at the ſame time looking weſt, the heavens are ſo bright, that it cauſes pleaſure and joy to look on them. The eaſt ſide is full of a cloudy thick air, which engenders ſtorms and hail, with horrible thunders and lightnings: On the other ſide, in the weſt, there is not a cloud to be ſeen, but all is clear and bright, as if in the heavens themſelves there were ſuch a partition as the Cordillera to divide the climates; and upon earth there is a difference in the trees, plants, and animals on each ſide.

A curious obſerver contemplating once from this height, this remarkable difference, ſaid, That nature, in the fabrick of this part of the world, ſeem'd to have turn'd her back upon the eaſtern provinces, and look'd with her face only upon Chili, giving bleſſings with both hands to this laſt, and leaving the other as it were diſinherited, and grieving at the pre-eminency of its elder brother. In going down to the eaſtward alſo, there are fewer fountains and rivers, and thoſe muddy, the face of the land melancholy, without ſo much as one green tree to recreate the ſight, nor any pleaſant verdure; and when at laſt you meet with ſome, as in the valley of Uſpallata, the heats begin to be intolerable, but when we go to the weſt 'tis quite otherwiſe; for as ſoon as we begin to deſcend, we meet with lovely ſprings, the trees are green, the groves fragrant and pleaſant, and the little valleys are like ſo many reſting-places in that great ſtair-caſe; from the very foot of the mountains one feels the mildneſs of the ſea-air, and one is charmed with the harmony of the birds and other delightful objects.

At the foot of the mountains, on the eaſt-ſide, on the contrary, the land is barren and little cultivated, neither are there flocks of any kind fed or bred; ſo that the fields look like a barren deſart, but this may proceed poſſibly from the thinneſs of the people, who have not try'd the fertility of the earth; for the plains below theſe are extremely fertile where they are cultivated.

The ſprings on the weſt-ſide of the mountains do ſo fertilize the fields below, that they keep the earth freſh and green all the year: And there is ſuch variety of trees, ſo admirably diſpoſed, that one would think they were planted by the hand of man; many of theſe are loaded with the fruits of the country, of which the Indians make excellent liquors, and ſome of their fruits are very good to eat. The valleys alſo are full of odoriferous beautiful flowers, produc'd by nature without human induſtry, and there are among them moſt extraordinary phyſical plants. The little hills afford good paſture, and in their valleys, olives, almonds, and all ſorts of fruit-trees thrive extremely. In the plains alſo are vineyards, of which are made excellent wines.

Weather on the Andes.

With the firſt rains of the winter, which are about the middle of May, the Cordillera begins to be cover'd with ſnow, and to put on, as it were, a white armour to hinder its being paſſed, not only by men, but even by animals and birds, which are ſo driven out of it by the rigour of that ſeaſon, that there is not one remaining in it.

Even the Silguerillo's and Sorſales (birds, which of their own nature are ſo hot, that in the very beginning of the ſummer they take to the mountains) as ſoon as they perceive that the winter draws near, come in flocks down to avoid its rigour in the mountains; and then the ground being almoſt covered with them, it proves the ſeaſon of pleaſure, for the youth of the country take and carry loads of them home, reſerving ſome to put in cages, their notes being very ſweet. The Cordillera is thus ſhut up five or ſix months in the year; ſo that till October or November, it cannot be paſſed without manifeſt danger of one's life, and in the midſt of winter not at all, becauſe all the paths and ways are cover'd to the heighth of many yards; and if any one ſhould be raſh enough to attempt it, he would not be able to go forward or backward, as has happened to ſeveral who either upon ſome very preſſing concern and intereſt, or flying from a death which threatened them for their crimes, have found it in theſe deſarts.

Theſe are buried in the very boſom of froſt and ſnow, which preſerves them without being embalmed, and yet keeps them incorruptible and dry, for ſo they have been found after many years; ſuch is the cold of thoſe mountains, that it dries up all the moiſture that can cauſe corruption in dead bodies, and ſo preſerves them.

This difficulty of paſſing the Cordillera is leſs at the entrance than at the end of the winter, becauſe the drifts of ſnow are not then ſo violent as to ſhut up the ways entirely. In thoſe ſeaſons, therefore, ſome do venture to paſs, tho' with great danger, and ſometimes they are ſo lucky as to get off well, becauſe they meet with a clear ſky, yet at other times it coſts them dear, and always 'tis with infinite labour that they get through.

In ſhort, every body has ſome ſtory to tell of the mountain, and complain of it; for ſome loſe their toes, others their fingers, ſome their ſight, ſome are benumb'd and lam'd, and ſo remain all their lives with great infirmities. And I do not wonder at all at this, becauſe tho' one ſhould paſs without a ſtorm, yet the cold is ſo intenſe, that it cannot but injure nature extremely in that ſeaſon, ſince even in the midſt of ſummer when we paſs this mountain, and in the lower part of it we ſweat with heat; as ſoon as we come to paſs the top, we are forced to put on double cloathing, and prepare the ſtomach with good warm things to withſtand the ſharpneſs of the cold, and the ſubtilneſs of the air, which penetrates the body through and through if it be not well covered.

'Tis neceſſary to obſerve, that it is of this cold of the mountain that authors ſpeak when they ſay, that the cold of Chili is ſo ſevere, that the rivers are frozen up, and men frozen to death in the fields: For this is true only of thoſe uninhabitable mountains where I believe at that ſeaſon the rivers are frozen, and if any ſprings do eſcape, they are very few, and that in the valleys moſt ſecur'd and ſhelter'd.

And thus the truth of what hiſtorians relate may be reconciled; for they not knowing the contrary, make no diſtinction between the mountains and the plains, in which there never was ſeen any ſuch effect of cold in any part of them; for the ſea-air, which is thick and moiſt, tempers the ſharpneſs of the blaſts from the Cordillera; and for this reaſon it is, that the colds of the Pampas of Cuyo and Tucuman, on the eaſt ſide of the Andes, are ſo inſupportable; which being at ſuch a diſtance from both ſeas, and not enjoying the warmth of its vapours, the air in ſummer is intollerably ſcorching, and in winter ſo cold, and for want of rain ſo dry, that 'tis common for animals to be found dead in the fields as well as men.

CHAP II.

Of the ſprings, lakes, baths, rivers, ports, ſeas, winds, tides, and ſeaſons of Chili.

CHAP. II. Springs and Rivers. I HAVE already taken notice of the numerous ſprings, lakes and rivers that are found on the mountains of the Andes in Peru: There are as many on the mountains of Chili; and 'tis obſerved, that ſprings and rivers abound much more in the low lands of Chili than they do in Peru. The rivers which run from the Andes weſtward, and fall into the South-ſea, both in Peru and Chili, as has been obſerved, are rapid torrents, generally occaſioned by the melting of the ſnows on thoſe mountains, and the declivity of the ground, and conſequently are ſcarce any of them navigable far from their mouths; but near their ſources they run ſo violently, that there is no croſſing them at ſome ſeaſons. There are rivers alſo that precipitate themſelves from the tops of thoſe high mountains, forming the moſt beautiful natural caſcades that ever the eye beheld, while others tumble from ſo vaſt a height, that their waters diſperſe and fall upon the valleys beneath in drops like ſhowers of rain; and when the ſun ſhines upon them, afford a moſt agreeable proſpect as they deſcend; of theſe, the water-works in the palaces of Italy and France are but faint reſemblances, and would be contemned by any one that had view'd thoſe ſplendid effects of natural cauſes.

Ovalle mentions ſeveral famous fountains in the mountains of the Andes, particularly thoſe call'd Los Oyos de Aqua, or The Eyes of Water, in a valley of about a mile diameter, adorned with evergreens and flowers, which make it the very picture of Paradiſe, he ſays. This valley is ſurrounded with prodigious high rocks, and in the middle of it theſe fountains ſpring up, throwing themſelves with great force into the air, and falling down again form two large ſtreams, running into a winding ſerpentine courſe through the valley, ſometimes at a diſtance, and then approaching nearer each other till they unite at length in one channel and form a conſiderable river, the water whereof is as clean as chryſtal, and ſo extremely cold, that 'tis impoſſible to drink a draught of it. He mentions alſo ſome ſtreams iſſuing from the Andes, that forcing themſelves thro' a mountain, have a natural bridge over them, form'd of a rock, the vault whereof is adorned with ſtones of various colours, which hang like icicles from the top and ſides of it, under which run five different rivers of hot water that cure many diſeaſes.

There are many ſalutary fountains alſo in the plains and valleys of Chili, particularly one that riſes at the foot of the vulcano of Villarica, and runs into a neighbouring lake. There are two more which riſe near each other and form the river Chico, one of them hot and the other cold. The baths of Rancagua, near the town of St. Jago, are celebrated alſo for the cure of many diſtempers; thoſe of Mayten, Mapocho and Conctially, have the like healing virtues; but, my author obſerves, thoſe fountains are the beſt that are the fartheſt from the Andes. Baths.

The moſt conſiderable freſh-water lakes are thoſe of Tagatagua, near St. Jago, and that of Puren, in which the Chileſians had an impregnable fortreſs, form whence the Spaniards could never drive them. They have alſo ſeveral ſalt-water lakes, which have a communication with the ſea, part of the year. In ſtormy weather the ſea forces a way into them, and leaves them full of fiſh; and when the communication with the ſea ceaſes, as it does in January, and the hot weather comes on, the water congeals, and leaves a cruſt of fine white ſalt a foot thick. Lakes.

I come now to ſpeak more particularly of the rivers of Chili, of which there are fifty large ones riſing in the Andes, and running weſtward into the South-ſea, and theſe are join'd by many other leſſer ſtreams that fall into them in their courſe, none of them running more than 30 or 40 leagues before they reach the ſea, and that ſo precipitately from thoſe high mountains, that they are not navigable (as has been hinted already) for a veſſel of any burthen much beyond their mouths.

The chief of theſe rivers are, 1. The river of Salado, a ſalt river on the ſouth confines of Peru, which falls into the South-ſea in 25 degrees of ſouth latitude, the waters whereof are ſo hot that they cannot be drank. But, I preſume, Ovallo talks merrily when he relates that a horſe which drank plentifully of them was turned into ſalt while he was drinking. Salt-river.

2. The river Capiapo, which diſcharges itſelf into the ſame ocean in 26 degrees ſouth latitude. Copiapo river.

Guaſco. Coquimbo.

3. The river Guaſco, which falls into the ſea in 28 degrees: The laſt two forming good bays at their mouths for ſhipping to ride in.

4. The river Coquimbo, which diſcharges itſelf into the South-ſea in 30 degrees ſouth latitude.

Govanadore.

5. Govanadore, in 31 degrees, 20 minutes ſouth latitude.

6. Jongoy.

7. Lemari.

8. Chuapa.

9. Tongotoma.

Valpariſo.

10. Valpariſo, and

Maypoco.

11. Maypoco. All which diſcharge themſelves into the South-ſea between 31 and 33 degrees of ſouth latitude.

12 There are four or five ſmaller rivers which fall into the ſea together, near Valpariſo, as FUNNEL relates; but ſays, he does not know another inſtance of ſo many rivers ſo near together on the whole coaſt of Chili.

Maule.

13. The river Maule, one of the largeſt of their rivers, the mouth whereof is in 33 degrees and an half.

Itata.

14. The great river Itata, in 34 degrees.

Bobio.

15. The river Bobio, in 37 degrees, eſteemed the largeſt river in Chili.

Imperial.

16. The river Imperial, which falls into the South-ſea in 38 degrees, 40 minutes.

Baldivia.

17. The river of Valdivia, or Baldivia, which diſcharges itſelf into that ocean in 40 degrees ſouth latitude.

Chico. Coronado.

18. The river Chico, Balena, and Coronado, which fall into a great bay, form'd by the iſland of Chiloe and the Main, between 41 and 43 degrees of ſouth latitude, to the ſouthward of which are the river of Martyrs and the river of the Apoſtles, which fall into the South-ſea between 45 and 48 degrees of ſouth latitude.

Ports.

The chief ports of Chili upon the South-ſea, are, the port of Copiapo, in 26 degrees ſouth latitude; of Coquimbo, in 30 degrees; of Govanadore, 31 degrees, 20 minutes; of Valpariſo, 32 degrees, 30 minutes; of Itata, 34 degrees, 35 minutes; of Conception, 37 degrees; of Santa Maria, 37 degrees, 30 minutes; of La Moucha, 38 degrees, 30 minutes; of Valvidia, 40 degrees; of Brewers-haven, or Carelmepo, 41 degrees, 30 minutes; of Caſtro in the iſland of Chilve, 42 degrees, 30 minutes.

Seas and winds.

The ſeas that border upon Chili, if we include Patagonia, are the Atlantic on the eaſt, and the South-ſea, or Pacific-ocean, ſo nam'd from the fine ſerene weather ſeamen meet with there, on the weſt; but this pacific name is only proper to that part of the South-ſea which lies within 30, or at moſt 35 degrees of ſouth latitude, for all that lies ſouth of 35 is as ſubject to ſtorms as any other ſea, and the winds are variable as in other places. But to the northward of 35 or thereabouts, the winds are always ſoutherly two or three points upon the ſhore, and theſe ſoutherly winds continue to blow 140 or 150 leagues to the weſtward of the ſhore before they alter; and at 200 leagues to the weſtward, the true trade-wind ſets in at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt 'till you have paſſed the Pacific-ocean and arrive at the Eaſt-Indies.

Tides.

The tides on this coaſt riſe but nine or ten foot, it being an open bold ſhore, with very few bays or harbours in it; and 'tis an obſervation of DAMPIER and other ſeamen, that the tide never riſes ſo high on ſuch a ſhore as it does where there are bays, gulphs and great rivers that confine it.

Seaſons.

In ſpeaking of the ſeaſons of Chili it is neceſſary to have regard to the three grand diviſions which are comprehended under that general name; for theſe are as different from each other in many reſpects as they are from any other part of the world almoſt; only in this they all agree, that when it is ſummer, in thoſe countries which lie to the northward of the Tropic of Cancer, as Europe, Aſia, and North America for the moſt part do, then it is winter in Chili and all other countries to the ſouthward of the Tropic of Capricorn.

The three grand diviſions or provinces of Chili.

The three grand diviſions of Chili are, 1. That of Chili Proper, which lies between 25 and 45 degrees of ſouth latitude, and between the mountains of Andes and the South-ſea. 2. The province of Cuyo, or Cuito, which lies between the Andes on the weſt, and La Plata on the eaſt; and 3. Terra-Magellanica, comprehending Patagonia and Terra del Fogo, and extending from 45 degrees of ſouth latitude to Cape Horn, in 57 degrees, 30 minutes, bounded by the Alantic-ocean on the eaſt, and the South-ſea on the ſouth and weſt.

In Chili Proper.

1. In Chili Proper the ſpring begins in the middle of Auguſt, and laſts to the middle of November, when the ſummer begins and laſts 'till the middle of February; and then follows the autumn, which laſts 'till the middle of May, when they enter upon their winter. The trees are all bare of leaves, and white froſts cover the ground in a morning, which are uſually diſſolv'd however within two hours after ſun-riſe, and 'tis very ſeldom that any ſnow falls in the valleys or low grounds.

Weather in the low lands.

Neither the heat or the cold are ſo great here as in other countries of the ſame latitude, but that part of the country which lies next the ſea is warmer than that which is contiguous to the mountains: Nor is there ſo much cloudy or rainy weather here in winter as in countries that lie in the ſame latitude either north or ſouth. The north wind, which brings wet weather with it, ſeldom laſts more than two or three days at a time, and then is ſucceeded by the ſouth wind, which is always attended with a bright clear heaven, and brings health and pleaſure with it. In ſummer they have conſtant ſerene ſettled weather without rain; nor have they occaſion for any, the country is ſo well watered by the rivers of melted ſnow, which in the beginning of the ſummer deſcend from the mountains of Andes.

In Cuyo.

2. In the province of Cuyo, which lies eaſt of the mountains of Andes, extending from La Plata to 45 degrees, on the contrary, the winter is extreme cold, it freezes in the houſe, and their cattle die if left abroad; and the heats are equally intolerable in ſummer: Thunder, lightning, and tempeſt, are frequent here alſo in the ſummer, and ſuch deluges of rain in the ſpring, as overflow the country; all which, it is ſuppoſed, the mountains of Andes ſkreen the country of Chili Proper from: But then I find the province of Cuyo has ſcarce any rain in the winter, only continued froſts and bright ſettled weather.

In Terra Magellenica.

3. As to that part of the country which is call'd Terra Magellenica, and Patagonia, which I have comprehended within the bounds of Chili, and lies between 45 and 57 degrees, 30 minutes ſouth latitude.

This is a cold uncomfortable country, and, according to our ſeamen, who have ſurrounded it, the cold is more intenſe here than in other countries in the ſame latitude in our northern hemiſphere. Certain is, that none of our European Adventurers have been invited either by the air or ſoil to plant colonies either on the eaſt or weſt coaſt of Patagonia, or Terra Magellenica, hitherto, and the Spaniards that poſſeſs the reſt of Chili, contiguous to this country, perfectly neglect it, and do not think it worth their while to penetrate further ſouthward than to the latitude of 45 or thereabouts; tho' they claim the property of the land as far as the promontory of Cape Horn, the fartheſt boundary of South-America.

CHAP. III.

Of the provinces and ſubdiviſions of Chili, and of their chief towns, buildings, and fortreſſes.

Provinces and chief towns.

THE provinces and ſubdiviſions of this country are the ſame I mention'd in treating of the air and ſeaſons, viz. 1. Chili Proper. 2. Cuyo, or Cuito; and 3. The ſouthern diſtrict of Terra Magellenica, in which is included Patagonia and the Terra del Fogo.

Chili Proper.

The province of Chili Proper is bounded by Peru on the north; by the province of Cuyo, or Cuito, on the eaſt; by the Terra Magellenica on the ſouth; and by the Pacific-ocean on the weſt, being about fourteen hundred miles in length from north to ſouth, and ſcarce an hundred in breadth, from eaſt to weſt, being confin'd between the mountains of Andes and the South-ſea.

The chief towns in Chili Proper are, 1. St. Jago. 2. Conception. 3. Coquimbo, or La Serena. 4. Baldivia, or Valdivia. 5. Imperial. 6. Villa Rica. 7. Oſorno. 8. Caſtro. 9. Copiapo. 10. Guaſco. 11. Angol, or the city of the Confines; and 12. Arauco.

St. Jago.

1. The city of St. Jago, ſituated in 34 degrees ſouth latitude, 77 weſt of London, 2 leagues weſt of the mountains of Andes, and 18 eaſt of the Pacific-ocean, on a ſmall river at the foot of a hill, in a pleaſant and fruitful valley, which is above 28 leagues in circumference, and watered by the great river Maypo, or Maypocho, on the banks whereof the Indian villages are very numerous. The Spaniſh writers relate, that there were not leſs than fourſcore thouſand Indians inhabited this valley when they firſt arrived there, which, from the great river that runs through it, was call'd the valley of Maypocho.

St. Jago being the metropolis of Chili, before it was deſtroy'd by the natives, was the largeſt and beſt built city in the country, and, according to the uſual Spaniſh model, had a great ſquare in the middle of it, from whence the principal ſtreets ran in a direct line, and were croſs'd by others at right-angles. On the north-ſide of the great ſquare ſtood the town-hall, in which their Courts of juſtice were held; and on the weſt the cathedral and Biſhop's palace; and the other two ſides were adorn'd by piazza's and balconies over them. Beſides the cathedral, there were ſeveral pariſh-churches, monaſteries, and nunneries, built with white hewn ſtone, and richly adorn'd; and into the principal ſtreets were brought canals from the river, which lies on the north ſide of the town, and from thence their gardens and the adjacent fields were watered in the dry ſeaſon, the town being plentifully ſupply'd with all manner of corn and fruits, both European and Indian, and with fleſh of all ſorts from the numerous flocks and herds that are fed in the valley that ſurrounds it. This was a Biſhop's ſee, the ſeat of the Governor of Chili, and the Courts of juſtice here was a univerſity, at leaſt the fathers had ſchools in their monaſteries, and a power of conferring degrees on ſuch as had qualified themſelves for them by their ſtudies. This city was founded by PETER DE VALDIVIA, who conquer'd this part of Chili in the year 1541. Valparizo is the port-town to it.

Conception.

2. The city of Conception, ſituated on a fine bay of the South-ſea, in the form of a creſcent, in 37 degrees ſouth latitude, the iſland of Santa Maria lying before it, and forming a good harbour. The town to the landward is encompaſs'd by hills that riſe gradually one above another, and are planted with vines and fruit-trees in a ſemi-circular form, affording a moſt agreeable proſpect from the ſea. This town alſo is a Biſhop's ſee, and was founded by VALDIVIA, in the year 1550.

Coquimbo

3. Coquimbo, or La Serena, is ſituated in 30 degrees ſouth latitude, on a ſmall river in a fine valley (from whence it takes the name of Coquimbo.) It ſtands in full view of a bay of the ſea, from which 'tis about two miles diſtant, over-looking a fruitful plain, which lies between the town and the ſea. This place is of a pretty large extent, containing ſeven or eight churches, and ſeveral monaſteries, but of no great ſtrength, as the Buccaneers relate, who took the town and burnt it in the year 1680, with an hundred men only, tho' the Spaniſh garriſon conſiſted of treble their number; but the people had carried off moſt of their treaſure and valuable effects. This town alſo was founded by VALDIVIA, in the year 1544.

Baldivia.

4. The town of Baldivia, or Valdivia, is in 40 degrees ſouth latitude, ſituated on an eminence at the point of a peninſula, form'd by two rivers, which, with the iſlands before it, make it the ſecureſt and moſt ſpacious harbour on the coaſt of Chili. It is defended alſo by ſeveral forts on the ſaid iſland and peninſula: but, in the opinion of Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH, who viſited this port by the command of King CHARLES II. in the year 1670, the town might eaſily be taken.

The paſſage up to the town for great ſhips is on the eaſt ſide, being about 6 leagues, but it is not above 2 leagues from the ſea by another paſſage on the weſt-ſide, by which the ſmaller veſſels go up. This Commander obſerv'd there were three rivers fell into the harbour, but they were not navigable much beyond the town: What this place is moſt conſiderable for beſides the harbour is, the rich gold mines in the neighbourhood, in the working of which, PETER VALDIVIA, who founded it in the year 1552, and gave his own name to it, employ'd twenty thouſand Indians, who finding themſelves cruelly oppreſſed, by being forced to dig in the mines and to do other intolerable drudgeries, roſe upon the Spaniards, re-took this and moſt of the towns they had built, and making VALDIVIA priſoner, 'tis ſaid, pour'd melted gold down his throat, reproaching him, that his avarice was not to be ſatisfy'd otherwiſe. The war continued between the Spaniards and the Chileſians for an hundred years, and is not entirely ended at this day, tho' the Spaniards have repoſſeſs'd themſelves of Baldivia and ſome other places; but I ſhall enlarge upon theſe articles when I come to treat of the hiſtory of this country.

Imperial.

5. The town of Imperial is ſituated on an eminence at the confluence of two rivers, in 39 degrees ſouth latitude, about 23 leagues to the northward of Baldivia, being about 3 leagues diſtant from the ſea, but the port is not deep enough for veſſels of any conſiderable burthen.

Villarica.

6. The town of Villarica, ſituated on a lake near the foot of the Andes, in 40 degrees ſouth latitude, 20 leagues eaſt of Baldivia. This place obtain'd its name from the vaſt quantities of gold found in the adjacent country. It was taken and deſtroy'd by the Chileſians, in the year 1604, who put every man they found in it to the ſword, not

ſparing the Prieſts or Monks, and carried the women into captivity, in revenge for the numerous cruelties exerciſed on them by the Spaniards: Nor can I learn that the Spaniards have ever re-built the town ſince, or even re-poſſeſs'd themſelves of this part of the country.

Oſorno.

7. Oſorno is ſituated on a bay of the ſea, in 41 degrees ſouth latitude, about 20 leagues ſouth of Baldivia, and was built by HURTADO DE MENDOZA, who ſucceeded VALDIVIA in the government of Chili. This town was alſo deſtroy'd by the Indians in another inſurrection, but the Spaniards afterwards rebuilt it, and are poſſeſs'd of it at this day.

Caſtro.

8. Caſtro is ſituated on the weſt ſide of the iſland of Chiloe, in 42 degrees ſouth latitude. This town was built by the Spaniards, about the year 1600, when the Chileſians had in a manner driven them from the continent, and forced them to fly for refuge thither. This iſland of Chiloe, according to Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH, extends from 41—40 ſouth latitude to 43—30. It is a fruitful iſland, and bears good wheat; and both here and at Oſorno, over-againſt it, there is great plenty of gold, which the Spaniards purchaſe of the natives; but the Chileſians will not ſuffer the Spaniards to ſearch for mines as formerly, keeping poſſeſſion of all the inland country, and maintaining their liberties to this day, which they recover'd with ſo much bravery after the Spaniards had enſlaved them, and in appearance eſtabliſh'd their dominion.

Chiloe iſland.

Copiapo.

9. The town of Copiapo is ſituated 26 degrees north latitude, at the mouth of a river of the ſame name, which, with an iſland that lies before it, forms a tolerable harbour in the South-ſea. The valley of Copiapo, to which this town communicates its name, was the firſt the Spaniards poſſeſs'd themſelves of after their conqueſt of Peru, being a fruitful and well-peopled country.

Guaſco.

10. Guaſco is ſituated on a bay of the ſame ſea, in 28 degrees ſouth latitude, where ſhips ride ſecure from the ſouth and ſouth-weſt winds, but is not a place of any conſequence.

Angol.

11. Angol, or the city of the Confines, is ſituated in 38 degrees ſouth latitude, in a fine fruitful plain 8 leagues weſt of the mountains of Andes, being waſh'd by the great river Biobio on the ſouth, and another river on the north, and is ſaid to be founded by VALDIVIA, ſoon after the town of Conception, from which it is about 20 leagues diſtant.

Arauco.

12. Arauco is ſituated about 5 leagues north of Angol, and gives name to a valley inhabited by the braveſt people of Chili, who long defended their country againſt the invaſion of the Spaniards, and when they were ſubdu'd by the irreſiſtible artillery, fire-arms, and cavalry of the Spaniards, not being able to bear the oppreſſion of their conquerors long, had recourſe to arms again, took the towns and fortreſſes that had been built to keep them in ſubjection, and defeated and kill'd their General VALDIVIA in battle, as will be more particularly related in the enſuing hiſtory.

Cuyo province.

2dly, The province of Cuyo, or Cuito, in which I comprehend the deſarts of Pampas, is bounded by La Plata on the north; by the Atlantic-ocean on the eaſt; by Patagonia on the ſouth, and the mountains of Andes on the weſt; being about a thouſand miles in breadth generally from eaſt to weſt, and extending from the 35th to the 45th degree of ſouth latitude; of which the Spaniards are maſters only of a very ſmall part between the Andes and La Plata; the reſt of the country between the Andes and the Atlantic was never yet ſubdu'd.

Chief towns in Cuyo.

I find but three Spaniſh towns mention'd in the province of Cuyo, viz. 1. Mendoza. 2. St. John de Frontiera; and 3. Oromante, or St. Lewis of Loyala, all of them upon the northern confines, the Spaniards poſſeſſing very little of this country on the ſouth and eaſt.

Mendoza.

1. Mendoza is ſituated in 35 degrees ſouth latitude, on a paſs of the mountains of the Andes, between the provinces of Chili Proper and that of Cuyo.

St. John de Frontiera.

2. St. John de Frontiera is ſituated to the northward of Mendoza, on the confines of La Plata.

Oromante

3. Oromante, or St. Lewis, is ſituated ſouth-eaſt of Mendoza, in 36 degrees ſouth latitude, and 70 degrees of weſtern longitude, which is all the deſcription I can meet with of theſe three towns.

Patagonia.

3dly, The province of Patagonia, or Terra Magellenica, in which I include the Terra del Fogo, is bounded by a line drawn from the Atlantic to the Pacific-ocean, in 45 degrees of ſouth latitude, on the north; by the Atlantic-ocean on the eaſt; and by the South-ſea, or Pacific-ocean, on the ſouth and weſt. The moſt ſouthern promontory, call'd Cape Horn, lying in 57 degrees, 30 minutes ſouth latitude.

In this part of the world I meet with no towns either of the natives or Europeans, and therefore I proceed in the next place to deſcribe the houſes of the Chileſians, and their way of life in theſe three Chileſian provinces.

Buildings of the Chileſians.

The Chileſians do not live in towns, but every tribe extends itſelf on the bank of ſome river in the valleys between the mountains, their houſes ſtanding regularly, and at a diſtance from each other; neither do they remain long in one place, but remove for the conveniency of paſture, and, as the ſeaſon of the year requires, ſometimes into the higher and ſometimes into the lower grounds, in which they do not find much difficulty, for their houſes are all upon a floor, ſlightly built of wood, and conſiſt of three or four rooms only, which are ſo contriv'd that they can be taken aſunder and remov'd one after another: Their doors have neither hinges, locks, or bolts, their furniture being ſo mean, though they live in one of the richeſt countries in the world, that they fear no robberies: Their beds are the ſkins of beaſts laid upon the floor, a block or a ſtone ſerves them for a pillow, and they lay a coverlet or two over them, made of the wool of their country ſheep. Their diſhes are of wood, or made of ſome calabaſh, or goad, which ſerve them alſo inſtead of pails and pitchers; earthen pots they have to boil and ſtew their meat in; a rough unhewn block ſerves for a ſeat, and another of the ſame kind for a table; and their lances, ſwords, and other arms are the principal ornaments of their houſes: This is to be underſtood of the Indians of the province of Chili Proper; for thoſe who inhabit Cuyo, and the plains on the eaſt ſide of the mountains of Andes, are ſtill leſs poliſh'd. Some of them live in caves, and others, after the Arabian way, are ever roving from one part of the country to another; and that they may do this with the greater eaſe, they have no houſes at all, only a ſlight tent made of the ſkins of beaſts to ſhelter them againſt the rain and ſun, and they have nothing to do but to take up their tent-poles and ſkins, whenever they are diſpoſed to march.

Natives of Cuyo no fix'd abode.

They look upon it as a ſort of impriſonment to be confin'd to one place, therefore have neither houſes, gardens, plantations, or furniture to clog or ſtop their progreſs.

The liberty of wandering whither they pleaſe is eſteem'd the greateſt of all earthly bleſſings. Sometimes, ſay they, we are pleas'd with the freſhneſs of a river ſide, and weary of that, we reſort to the woods and ſhades, and then again we remove to the open and champain country. All the pleaſure of life is in variety. In one ſeaſon we hunt, in another we are employ'd in fiſhing, and in another we enjoy the fruits of the earth, which are produc'd ſpontaneouſly; when theſe begin to fail us in one country, we reſort to another. Whenever we happen to encamp, that is our home. We have no more fondneſs for one place than another. We go where we will, without leaving any thing behind us we much regret or deſire, which uſes to torment thoſe who have fix'd habitations when they are forced to part with them, or from them: We fear no ill news, having nothing to loſe. Our wives and children are our only treaſure, and while we have theſe we want nothing.

As to the natives of Patagonia, or Terra Magellenica, I could never learn there was a ſingle town in the country, and ſcarce any thing that looks like a houſe; nothing but poor huts of a pyramidical form, juſt to ſkreen the miſerable inhabitants from the rigour of the weather have ever been ſeen there, and very few of theſe; for this ſeems to be the moſt thinly inhabited of any part of South-America.

Fortreſſes. As to the fortreſſes, and ſtrong places of the Chileſians, according to the account the Spaniards give us of them, they ſeem to reſemble thoſe of the ancient Britons. They were uſually ſituated in woods, ſurrounded by lakes, or moraſſes, and the trees cut down and laid a-croſs ſerv'd them inſtead of walls. Where they had no water or marſhes to defend them, they made broad ditches, and planted ſharp ſtakes at the bottom of them. In ſome places the ditch was cover'd over with a ſlight cruſt of earth, ſo that the Spaniſh horſe fell in upon them when they leaſt ſuſpected it; and this ſeems to have been a common ſtratagem all over America to dig pits in the roads and ſet ſtakes in them whenever they expected to be attack'd by the Spaniſh cavalry; but the Spaniards reveng'd themſelves with great ſeverity on the natives whenever they happen'd to loſe either men or horſes by this ſtratagem.

CHAP. IV.

Of the perſons and habits of the Chileſians; their genius, temper, arts, manufactures, food, exerciſes, and diverſions.

CHAP. IV. Perſons. THE Chileſians, according to Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH, are of the middle ſize, and ſtrong limb'd, of a tawny complexion, and have long black hair exceeding harſh; their features tolerably good, their teeth white and ſound, active of body, but of a dejected countenance. They agree with the reſt of the Americans in pulling the hair off their chins and other parts of their body, as ſoon as it appears, with tweezers, or nippers made of ſhells. Their women are moderately tall, ſlender, and well-ſhap'd: They braid and curl their hair frequently, letting it grow to a very great length.

When OVALLE, and other Spaniſh writers, tell us that the Chileſians are very fair, it muſt be underſtood in compariſon of thoſe Indians that lie near the Equinoctial, and perhaps they may be fairer than ſome of the Spaniards and Portugueſe; but Sir JOHN NARBOROUGH, who was an Engliſhman, eſteem'd them very tawny compar'd with his countrymen.

As to thoſe Chileſians who inhabit the province of Cuyo, and the plains of Pampas, between the mountains of Andes and the Atlantic-ocean, theſe are people of a larger ſtature than thoſe of Chili Proper, and of a darker complexion, and the women paint their faces, or ſome part of them green.

The third province of Chili, denominated Patagonia, and Terra Magellenica, is the country which our firſt Diſcoverers peopled with giants, dwarfs and monſters: But none that have viſited theſe coaſts the laſt hundred years having ſeen any thing of this kind, the moſt credulous ſeem now ready to give up thoſe relations as fabulous; I ſhall ſay nothing more therefore of the people that inhabit this tract of land, but that the further we proceed to the ſouthward beyond the Equator, the more robuſt the people are, and the lighter the colour of their hair, as we find it in our northern hemiſphere; and as they have very little communication with any part of the world, they [illegible] eſteem'd as ſavage as any of the Americans.

The men of Chili Proper wear a looſe garment made of the wool of their country ſheep, pretty full, and reaching down to their knees or lower, which is put on like a ſurplice, not being open before, or on the ſides, and has not ſleeves. They have a kind of open drawers and doublets, but no ſhirts, any more than ſhoes and ſtockings, but wear a kind of buſkin, or half-ſtocking, on their legs; and on their heads a ſtiff hat or cap, cock'd up before like a dragoon's cap, the crown of which is ſometimes adorn'd with a beautiful plume of feathers, dy'd wool, or a noſegay of flowers.

The habits of the women differ little from thoſe of the men, only they have no covering on their heads, but a kind of coronet of wool of ſeveral colours binds their temples. Their hair is part of it curl'd and braided, and the reſt flows down their backs to a great length. The women have alſo a kind of ſaſh with which they bind or ſwathe their bodies from the middle upwards, and when they go abroad, throw a cloak or mantle over all.

Ornaments. On feſtivals their cloaths are of the ſame form, but finer, and of more beautiful colours: and as they adorn their heads with feathers or flowers, their necks are cover'd with chains of beautiful ſhells, or precious ſtones.

The Indians on the eaſt ſide of the Andes, in the province of Cuyo and the plains of Pampas, are not near ſo well cloathed as thoſe on the weſt: They are contented with leaves to hide their nudities, and the ſkins of beaſts ſerve them for cloaks, or mantles, which is all the cloathing they wear as far as I can learn, and their ornaments are ſome glittering trifles which they hang upon their lips, that are bor'd through for that purpoſe, and rather disfigure than adorn their faces, in the opinion of ſtrangers.

As to the people of Patagonia, or Terra Magellenica, 'tis ſaid, they go like the ancient Britons, perfectly naked, though they live in an exceeding cold climate; ſo cold, that the Spaniards who were ſent to build forts and ſettle colonies in the Straights of Magellan, all of them periſh'd, and the whole country is ſo diſagreeable to Spaniſh conſtitutions, that they have not one colony in it, though they claim the property of the whole as far as Cape Horn, the moſt ſouthern promontory in America.

Genius and temper. As to the genius and temper of the Chileſians, they are the braveſt people of the new world, and to this day remain unconquer'd, for the moſt part.

The Peruvian Emperors formerly made ſome impreſſion on their northern frontiers, but were repuls'd when they came to the valley of the Araucans, and could never penetrate further. The Spaniards, by the advantage of their artillery, fire-arms and horſe, which theſe people had never ſeen before, alſo ſubdu'd ſeveral of their provinces; but when the terror of theſe were over, and the Chileſians had learned the uſe of fire-arms, and to manage horſes, they revolted and drove the Spaniards out of their country, of which they at this day retain but a very ſmall part near the coaſt of the South-ſea, as will be obſerv'd in the enſuing hiſtory.

Nor were theſe people leſs remarkable for their wit than their courage; they did not only learn the art of war of the Spaniards, but excell'd them ſoon in warlike ſtratagems, and their Generals became ſuperior to the Spaniards: What gave their enemies a vaſt advantage of them at firſt was, their being divided under ſo many petty Princes, the heads of their clans; but they no ſooner united under one Chief or General, than they became exceeding formidable.

The Chileſians are remarkable alſo for their patience and fortitude, being bred up to hardſhips from their infancy: They endured fatigue, heat, and cold, to admiration, inſomuch that they wanted ſcarce any qualification that is requiſite to form good ſoldiers; and where they apply themſelves to learn any other art or ſcience, frequently excel their Spaniſh maſters.

In temperance only they are deficient. In eating, drinking, and venereal encounters they know no bounds; particularly at their feſtivals and entertainments, which laſt ſeveral days, they eat and drink moſt immoderately, ſcarce ever parting ſober; and the women, as well as men, frequently drink to exceſs, but then it is by themſelves, and at different times; for when their huſbands carouſe, they make it their buſineſs to attend and take care of them when they are diſorder'd, and prevent quarrels, which frequently ariſe when they are elevated.

Their food.

They eat very little meat, except veniſon, before the Spaniards arriv'd and ſtock'd their country with beef and mutton, hogs and goats; for America, as has been obſerv'd, produc'd no ſuch animals, and now they ſeldom eat fleſh but at their feſtivals: Their uſual diet is maiz, or Indian-corn, boil'd, parch'd, or ground, and made into paſte, with pulſe, roots, fruits and herbs: Their drink is either made of their Indian-corn dry'd and ſteep'd, or of their fruits, and is very ſtrong and palatable; and in the ſouthern provinces the Spaniards have introduc'd grapes, and make good wine, but the northern provinces are too cold for it.

Their diverſions.

They dance, ſing, and play upon inſtruments at their feſtivals, tho' they make but dull muſick with their wooden drums and flutes, as they are call'd; and if their wind-inſtruments are made of the bones of their enemies, as ſome relate, it cannot be very harmonious. They dance round a kind of maypole, as the common people ſometimes do here, but with this improvement, that they lodge ſeveral bottles of good ſtrong liquor about the pole, and drink round to one another in the intervals of their dances 'till they are exceeding merry, and ſometimes very drunk. And thus they frequently paſs away whole nights as well as days; and it is when the men are thus heated with liquor that they reſolve upon ſome expedition againſt their enemies, or on a hunting-match, in both which they will endure incredible fatigues, tho' they live ſo luxuriouſly at other times: And indeed it is their laborious exerciſe, and the hardſhips they ſuſtain in the field, that makes them excel all other Indians in military exploits, and gives them ſuch robuſt conſtitutions. Pain and pleaſure they experience alternately, and the labours of the chaſe, or a ſevere campaign, give a reliſh to their ſofter amuſements.

Exerciſes.

Their children are bred up from their infancy to endure hardſhips, to manly ſports and the exerciſe of arms; and even their women are not exempted from them, but attend their huſbands in the moſt hazardous enterprizes, in which they ſometimes bear a part. The whole nation is ſo addicted to war, that it ſeems to be both their buſineſs and their pleaſure: Nor did they ever want an exerciſe for their courage during the reigns of the Peruvian Emperors, who were perpetually invading and harraſſing their frontiers, tho' they could never make any great impreſſion on them. Since the Spaniards arriv'd, they have been in a perpetual ſtate of war with thoſe invaders, and have learn'd of them to manage their horſes ſo well, and to uſe the fire-arms they have taken from the Spaniards, that to this day they maintain the inland-country againſt them, ſuffering the Spaniards to poſſeſs only ſome few towns upon the coaſt. This genius for war, poſſibly, may be one reaſon they have made ſo little improvement in other arts and ſciences; for except thoſe who form their arms, their bows, arrows, lances and darts, there are very few artificers among them: And indeed they have very little occaſion for mechanicks, neither their houſes or furniture requiring many materials, or much ſkill to put them together; and their cloathing is always the ſame, not ſhap'd to their bodies, but looſe about them, and they never alter their faſhions. However, it appears they underſtood ſpinning, weaving, and dying pretty well, and could ſew or tack their cloaths together before the Spaniards came amongſt them; and where they apply themſelves to learn any mechanick art of the Spaniards, they make excellent workmen.

Few artificers.

Learning.

They had no books, letters, or writings among them, any more than the reſt of the Americans, but aſſiſted their memories by quippo's, or knots, as the Peruvians did, and would caſt up an account by them with great exactneſs: And many of them are now become the greateſt proficients in the liberal arts who live under the Spaniſh juriſdiction.

Phyſick.

The ſkill the natives of Chili had in phyſick and ſurgery was very mean; bleeding, purging, and vomiting, and the application of certain herbs to their wounds, was all they knew of this ſcience almoſt: And inſtead of a lancet, they uſed a ſharp piece of flint ſet in a ſmall cane, not much unlike the inſtrument we bleed horſes with. But the natives are ſaid to be of ſuch ſtrong, hale conſtitutions, and uſe ſo much exerciſe, that they have very little occaſion for phyſick, and live frequently to an hundred years of age, their memory ſeldom failing them to the laſt, any more than their teeth or eyes; but if they are remov'd into Peru or any hot climate, they ſoon ſicken and die, as we find by the Chileſian priſoners the Spaniards take and ſend to their colonies nearer the Equinoctial.

Their averſion to ſervitude.

So averſe are they to ſlavery, that there is no keeping them priſoners long in their own country: They will run any hazard to make their eſcape, and ſometimes die by their own hands; ſo much do they dread the cruelty of the Spaniards, who ſend the captive Chileſians therefore to the moſt diſtant countries. Several of them however have eſcap'd back to their own country, even from Lima, which is 500 leagues diſtant from it; tho' they are forced to creep along by the ſea-ſide, and traverſe all the turnings and windings of the ſhore, which make the way as far again; and in this extenſive journey they dare not enter any town or inhabited place for fear of being retaken by the Spaniards, inſomuch that they are forced to feed upon cockles and other ſhell-fiſh they find by the ſea-ſide. Nor are they leſs put to it for water to drink in the Peruvian deſarts than they are for food: And a further inconvenience is, that they are forced to ſwim croſs the mouths of ſeveral rapid rivers in their paſſage; and yet do they frequently overcome all theſe difficulties by time and patience, and arrive at their own country.

Ovalle relates, that ſome of theſe Chileſians being taken captive, and ſent in chains from Baldivia to Peru on board a ſhip, found means to get off their fetters, and jumping into the ſea, ſwam on ſhore when the ſhip was more than a mile diſtant from it; and that one old man, who was not ſo fortunate as to get away with the reſt, when he found all his companions gone, the next day fell upon the maſter of the ſhip, and having wounded him in ſeveral places with a knife, threw himſelf into the ſea, but was ſhot before he could reach the ſhore; which occurrence **Ovalle** produces as an inſtance of the bravery of the Chileſians, and the averſion they have to the being carried out of their country.

CHAP. V.

Of the animals of Chili.

CHAP. V. Animals.

In this country we meet with the Peruvian Sheep and Goats, and ſuch other quadrupedes as have been deſcribed in Peru, but they don't ſeem to have abounded in four-footed animals in any part of America, or to have had that variety of them as we have in this part of the world. The Spaniards, however, tranſported thither almoſt every ſpecies about two hundred years ago, which being left to run wild in their foreſts, are vaſtly multiply'd, inſomuch that 'tis ſaid, the Chileſians can now bring a body of ten or twelve thouſand horſe into the field at a ſhort warning; and they carry on a very great trade with the hides of their black cattle as well as the fleſh, which they dry and ſend to Peru, but are forced to burn or bury vaſt quantities of beef every year, not having a ſufficient demand for the fleſh of thoſe numerous droves they annually kill for their ſkins.

Their birds and fowls alſo are much the ſame that are found in Peru; Eagles, Hawks, Parrots, and the Couder, a prodigious large and ravenous bird of prey, two or three of which will ſeize upon a young calf or heifer and devour them, and they are not afraid to attack boys or girls; but of theſe there are not many here, any more than in Peru.

The Parrots fly ſcreaming in ſuch numerous flocks, that they obſcure the ſight of the ſun, and never fail to come down from the mountains into the valleys at the ſeaſon of the year when the fruits are ripe, of which they deſtroy great quantities.

At the time when they ſlaughter their beef, there comes down another voracious fowl, larger than a duck, which gorges itſelf with the carcaſes that are left in the fields, ſo that it cannot fly till it has got rid of its load; and they are hunted and knock'd on the head by the boys at this ſeaſon.

The Oſtrich is another bird the natives hunt, and tho' he cannot fly, yet by the help of his wings he runs ſo ſwiftly that he frequently eſcapes from the fleeteſt dogs and horſes.

They have another long-legg'd fowl, bigger than a turkey, that wades through ponds and rivers, and lives upon fiſh. Theſe the Indians hunt for their feathers, which are red and white, and take many more fowls on the ſame account; for plumes of beautiful feathers are the principal ornaments of their heads. They abound alſo in ſinging-birds of various kinds, many of them unknown to this part of the world; and they have ſeveral the ſame as ours, ſuch as Linnets, Nightingales, Blackbirds, and Finches. Of tame fowls they had but one ſort, between a Duck and a Hen, when the Spaniards arrived here, but now they have introduced all manner of European poultry, which multiply exceedingly, and are much better food here than in warmer climates. Theſe only, of all the people of America, can ſay they are gainers by being acquainted with the Spaniards; for they ſtill retain their liberties (moſt of them) and have acquired the poſſeſſion of European cattle, fowls, grain, and fruits, which they wanted before. They have alſo learned ſeveral arts and ſciences of the Europeans, and in many inſtances excel their maſters.

Fiſh. Their lakes and rivers abound in good fiſh as well as their ſeas. Whales and Grampus's are frequently found on the coaſt of Chili, and there is plenty of Albecores, Boneta's, flat-fiſh, and ſhell-fiſh.

CHAP VI.

Of their foreſt and fruit-trees, grain, plants, herbs, roots, flowers, and minerals.

CHAP. VI. Foreſt-trees.

Among the foreſt-trees of this country, the principal are the Cypreſs-tree, the Cedar, the Oak, the Paregua, and the Cinnamon-tree, ſo call'd, I preſume, from ſome reſemblance it may have to the true Cinnamon in its colour; but the bark has neither that fine ſmell or taſte as the true Cinnamon has. This timber is uſed chiefly in their buildings, and they have alſo the Sandal, the Palm, the Pine-tree, and the Guayac, which is a wood as hard and as heavy as iron almoſt. There is another tree call'd the Thorn-buſh, that grows in cluſters, or groves, which is their ordinary fewel near St. Jago: It has ſome reſemblance of an Oak, but more durable; the heart of it is red, and ſcarce ever decays. They make charcoal of this wood for their furnaces and forges. Both this and the Oak loſe their leaves in winter, as well as their fruit-trees, but there are ſome wild trees that do not, though covered with ſnow. The muſtard-plant, **Ovalle** relates, grows vaſtly large here: He ſays, he has travelled many leagues through groves of muſtard, which were taller than man and horſe, and the birds, as 'tis ſaid in the Goſpel, build their neſts in the branches.

Flowers. As ſoon as the firſt rains fall in the ſpring, the fields are cloathed with green, and within a month there is good graſs, with which nature produces yellow flowers in great abundance, and after theſe, a vaſt variety of other flowers, red, blue, green, yellow, &c. of which, **Ovalle** ſays, he numbered two and forty ſeveral ſorts at one time: Nor did he reckon among theſe any of their garden flowers, or thoſe brought from Europe, ſuch as Carnations, Roſes, Gilliflowers, Lillies, &c. and thoſe wild flowers ſmell extremely ſweet morning and evening, as do ſeveral of their green herbs, from which they diſtil perfum'd waters.

Medicinal herbs.

They have alſo phyſical herbs of great virtue, and the Spaniards have diſcovered many more, ſince their arrival, than the natives were acquainted with, ſome whereof will expel poiſon.

Ovalle mentions a plant call'd Quinchamali, which riſes about a foot above the ground, and ſpreading like a noſegay ends in little flowers that reſemble ſaffron; this they take up and boil with the roots, and the liquor being drank hot, diſſolves any coagulated blood in the body, occaſioned by wounds or bruiſes, preventing impoſtumations.

Another of theſe healing herbs is called Albaquilla, which grows on a ſhrub almoſt as large as a tree; the leaves are fragrant and ſweet to the taſte, the juice whereof apply'd to green wounds is a preſent cure.

A third healing herb grows like a lock of fine hair, and being boiled in water and drank, cures fevers and pleuriſies. There are herbs that cure the Sciatica, others that diſſolve the ſtone in the bladder, and, if we may credit Ovalle, here are herbs that cure almoſt every malady.

Fruits.

The fruits peculiar to the country mentioned by Ovalle are, the Pengu, a red fruit of an oval form, ſomething bigger than a Filbert, which they boil and eat with their meat. The Magne, whoſe fruit is black, like a Mirtle-berry, and well taſted, but perfectly dyes the mouth and hands black. They have many other fruits, of which they make good liquor; but the moſt admired is the Murtilla, which grows in 37 degrees beyond, and is the common food of the natives of that part of the country: It is of a red colour, and in form like a ſmall grape with little ſeeds in it, like thoſe we find in figs: This fruit has a delicious taſte or ſmell, and they make a wine of it, which excels our European wine, 'tis ſaid, and all other liquors, and is the more valuable becauſe it grows in a part of the country that is too cold for our wine; and when it turns ſour exceeds all other vinegar in flavour.

They had alſo a ſeed call'd Madi, which afforded very good oil before the Spaniards introduced olives.

European fruits.

As to their fruits in general, the Spaniſh writers obſerve, that they have ſcarce any of thoſe that grow in the countries between the Tropics, and conſequently thoſe that are found in Mexico and Peru are not many of them to be met with here. But then they have this advantage, that whatever fruits are carried thither from Europe thrive prodigiouſly, particularly Vines, Figs, Olives, Apple-trees, Pears, Apricots, Peaches, Quinces, Pomegranates, Cherries, Plumbs, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons and Almonds. But the fruit that thrives moſt is the Apple of every kind, of which they have prodigious orchards, and they are forced to thin them when they are ſmall, or they break down the trees before they are ripe.

Corn.

Of Maiz, or Indian-corn, they had great plenty before the Spaniards arrived, but they had neither Wheat, Barley, Oats, Annis, Cummin, Coriander-ſeed, Linſeed, Flax, Hemp, Peas, Cabbage, Lettice, Radiſhes, Cardoons, Chicory, Endive, Cucumbers, Purſley, Garlick, or Onions, all which they have now in abundance, and in greater perfection than they are to be met with here; and their roots, particularly Turnips, grow to a prodigious ſize.

Ovalle obſerves, that though every part of America is obliged to the Spaniards for ſome of theſe European ſeeds and plants, yet they are all to be found only in Chili. In ſome provinces, ſays he, they have European grain, in others oil, in others fruit, but in Chili they have now all manner of trees, plants, ſeeds and animals almoſt that are in Europe, and here they thrive and multiply to admiration. He adds, that he has ſeen Apple-trees, Pears, Mulberry-trees, and Walnut-trees grow to the ſize of Elms, Strawberries as big as Pears, and Quinces as big as a man's head: That fruit is ſo plentiful that they enjoy it in a manner in common. No man refuſes to let another go into his garden and take what he pleaſes; and he has ſeen their beſt fruits grow wild in the fields for a mile together.

Mines.

There are mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, Quick-ſilver and Lead in Peru, but the Spaniards ſeem to ſlight all of them but the Gold. When Valdivia made a conqueſt of part of this country, it is ſaid, he employ'd no leſs than fifty thouſand Indians in working the gold mines; at which the natives were ſo provoked, that they made a general revolt, defeated and kill'd Valdivia, and drove the Spaniards out of moſt of the towns they had built. After which they made a law, that it ſhould be capital to diſcover a mine to the Spaniards or any other foreigners. Nor will they ſuffer a mine to be opened now; ſo that though the Spaniards have repoſſeſſed themſelves of ſome towns upon the coaſt, they meet with no other gold at preſent than what they purchaſe of the Chileſians, who gather none but what they find in the ſands of their rivers, or on the ſurface of the earth, tho' there are more gold mines here than in any part of the world. Both the Engliſh and Dutch have endeavoured to cultivate an underſtanding with the natives of Chili, in order to traffick with them for their gold, but could never ſucceed. They look upon all ſtrangers to have the like paſſion for gold as the Spaniards have, and imagine, if they ſhould ſuffer them to plant colonies there, they would attempt to take their country from them, as the Spaniards have done. And ſince I am now treating of the produce of this country, it may be proper to ſay ſomething of the foreign trade of Chili, which conſiſts altogether in exporting that produce to Peru and Mexico; namely, gold, copper, and other metals, hides, tallow, dry'd fleſh, fiſh, corn, fruits, wine, oil, ſalt, hemp, flax, cordage, leather, timber for ſhipping and other uſes, medicinal herbs and drugs: The chief articles in theſe exportations being hides and tallow. Ovalle relates, that he has known twenty thouſand quintals of tallow exported in one year from Chili to Lima only, and hides and leather in proportion. Their naval ſtores are another great article, which the Peruvians receive entirely from thence, as alſo the copper, of which they make their great-guns and bells: And the Spaniards of Chili take in return from Mexico, Panama, and Lima, the merchandize of China, Eaſt-India and Europe: At leaſt this was the nature of their traffick when the Spaniards were poſſeſſed of this country; but no doubt it muſt be decreaſed in proportion to what the natives have received from them.

Foreign trade.

What has been ſaid hitherto upon this head the reader will obſerve, relates to the province of Chili Proper; as to that of Cuyo, which lies on the eaſt of the mountains of Andes, and between thoſe mountains and the Atlantic-ocean, we have not ſo perfect an account as could be wiſhed, nor indeed of any of the inland provinces. The reader muſt be content therefore with ſuch a one as I can collect from the authors before me, among whom Ovalle, a native of Chili, and who was Procurator for the Jeſuits of that province at Rome, is the principal.

CHAP. VI.

The difference between Cuyo and Chili Proper.

He repeats, in the firſt place, ſome obſervations he made upon another occaſion, namely, that it is amazing to reflect when there are only the mountains of Andes between the provinces of Cuyo and Chili Proper, they ſhould be ſo different in their qualities, and in every reſpect almoſt diametrically oppoſite to each other, tho' the latitude be the ſame.

In Cuyo, he ſays, the heats are intolerable in ſummer, while the weather in Chili is very temperate. In Cuyo thunder, lightning, rain, and tempeſts are frequent in ſummer, while in Chili they have ſettled ſerene weather, without thunder, lightning, or rain. In winter the weather is variable in Chili, but never exceſſive cold to the weſtward of the mountains, whereas in Cuyo they have conſtant ſerene weather in the winter, and exceſſive hard froſts, inſomuch that the cattle die in the fields if they are not hous'd, and for five or ſix months every year the paſſages of the mountains are ſo lock'd up by the ſnows, that theſe two provinces have no manner of communication.

In Chili there are ſcarce any ſnakes or poiſonous inſects, but in Cuyo they abound, and they are tormented alſo with buggs, muſquito's and other vermine, of which they have none, or very few, in Chili.

As for cattle, the Spaniards have pretty well ſtock'd this province with all manner of European cattle as well as Chili, and they have great numbers of Peruvian ſheep and goats of their own. They abound alſo in corn and wine, and their fruits are ſaid to have a better flavour than thoſe of Chili, their ſummers being hotter, and of this there is ſuch plenty that they ſupply the province of La Plata, and even Buenos Ayres, on the Atlantic-ocean, with dry'd grapes, dry'd peaches, apples, oil, and excellent wine. But then this muſt be underſtood of that part of the province that lies next the mountains, for the deſarts of Pampas extend ſix or ſeven hundred miles further eaſtward, over which they are forced to paſs in their way to Buenos Ayres. Theſe, ſays my author, are vaſt plains, which, like the ocean, afford an unbounded proſpect, but produce neither trees or herbage; and then proceeds to relate the manner of travelling over thoſe deſarts, which gives us ſome further light into the nature of this country.

The deſarts of Pampas.

They travel, he ſays, in covered carts and waggons, made as commodious almoſt as an houſe, with doors to ſhut, and windows on each ſide to let in the air; and they lay beds, or mattreſſes, on the floor, on which they ſleep great part of the journey. Theſe waggons are drawn by oxen, and they ſet out about two hours before ſun-ſet, travelling all night and 'till the ſun is an hour high the next morning, and then they bait (not at an inn, for I can't learn there is a ſingle houſe in the country) but they reſt and eat that proviſion they carry with them, or take in hunting by the way; for thoſe that are diſpoſed for rural ſports have horſes and dogs with them, and take great numbers of the guanacoes and vicunes, a kind of wild ſheep and goats, animals almoſt peculiar to South-America, which have been already deſcrib'd in treating of Peru. They take alſo a great many partridges, francolins, and other game, from whence one would be inclin'd to think it muſt be a mighty pleaſant journey from Chili to Buenos Ayres; but travellers inform us that they are ſubject to inconveniencies which very much abate the pleaſure of it, particularly the exceſſive heats which oblige them to lie ſtill all the middle of the day, and then they have no other defence from the ſun or rain than what the waggon affords at many ſtages, though at ſome there happens to be ſmall brooks and willows growing by them that afford the traveller a refreſhing ſhade: But the greateſt inconvenience is the want of water, which they do not meet with ſometimes for ſeveral days journey, and therefore are forced to carry water both for themſelves and their cattle; and ſometimes this is all ſpent, as my author ſays it happen'd when he paſſed theſe plains, and they muſt have periſh'd if they had not happily been reliev'd by a ſhower of rain. But all this might be remedied if the country was inhabited; for they meet with ſprings it ſeems in many places within a few yards of the ſurface: And the rains alone, which happen frequently in ſummer, might be preſerved in ciſterns and reſervoirs, if there were any towns or villages in the country; but at preſent, ſays my author, theſe are the difficulties we meet with in the plains of Cuyo, Tucuman, and Rio Plata; adding, for many leagues we do not ſee a hill, a tree, or a ſtone, any more than water, unleſs our way lies near the banks of the river Plata, or ſome other river.

CHAP. VII.

The hiſtory of Chili, containing the ancient and preſent ſtate of that country.

CHAP. VII.

The hiſtory of Chili.

THE firſt account the Spaniards receiv'd of Chili was from the Peruvians, who ſubdu'd the northern part of that province in the reign of their tenth Inca, YUPANQUI, but afterwards met with ſo powerful an oppoſition from the confederate Chileſians, that the Inca's determin'd to make the river Maulle the utmoſt bounds of their empire, and accordingly fortified the banks of it againſt the invaſions of the Barbarians, as they call'd them; for all we can learn of the ancient Chileſians from the Peruvians is, that they worſhipped a great many creatures animate and inanimate as gods, and were very unpoliſh'd and unciviliz'd; that they had no other form of government than the patriarchal. Every tribe or family was governed by its reſpective head, or chief, who was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, or neareſt relation, on his deceaſe. And when they were invaded, or had wars with their neighbours, they made choice of the man moſt famous for courage and military ſkill for their General. As to that part of the country that was conquer'd by the Inca's, the Chileſians were obliged to conform themſelves to the religion and manners of the Peruvians, and their Emperors made no difference between theſe and the reſt of their ſubjects.

Almagro's expedition to Chili.

Don DIEGO DE ALMAGRO was the firſt of the Spaniſh generals who, after the reduction of Cuſco, the capital of Peru, undertook an expedition againſt Chili, in which he was introduced by the Inca PAULLA, who put him in poſſeſſion of that part of it which was under the dominion of the Peruvian Emperors, about the year 1535, as has been already related in the hiſtory of Peru: After which, ALMAGRO ſubdu'd ſome of the more ſouthern provinces of Chili, and probably would have extended his conqueſts further, if he had not been oblig'd to return to Peru to make head againſt the PIZARRO's, who had formed a deſign to deprive him of his ſhare of that province, and to have uſurp'd the ſole dominion of all the conqueſts the Spaniards had made to the ſouthward of the Equator.

Valdivia's invaſion of Chili.

VALDIVIA, or BALDIVIA, was the next Spaniſh Commander that attempted to extend their conqueſts in Chili. He had ſerved in the wars of Italy, and was look'd upon as one of the beſt officers that went over to America, for which reaſon he was made choice of by the Marquis PIZARRO to enlarge their empire on that ſide. VALDIVIA enter'd upon this ſervice in the year 1540, and met with little oppoſition from that part of Chili which was ſubject to the Inca's; but on his advancing further he was frequently encounter'd by the confederated Caciques. However, he penetrated as far as the valley of Mapocho, which he found extremely fruitful and well-peopled. In this valley, being 80 miles in circumference, and ſituate 2 leagues to the weſtward of the mountains of Andes, he founded the city of St. Jago, in the year 1541, in 34 degrees ſouth latitude, and built a caſtle for the defence of it and of the gold mines in the neighbourhood, which he compell'd the conquer'd Indians to work in: At which the Chileſians were ſo exaſperated, that they raiſed forces and attack'd the caſtle before it was well finiſh'd, and were very near carrying it; however they were at length repuls'd, and VALDIVIA acquainting the Vice-roy of Peru with the ſtate of his affairs, received a reinforcemeent of troops from thence, under the command of JOHN BAPTISTA PASTENE. But ſtill it appears he was not ſtrong enough to make any great progreſs; and the Indians giving out that there were very rich gold mines in a certain part of the country not far from St. Jago, drew a detachment of his forces (who went in ſearch of them) into an ambuſcade, and cut off every man of them except their Commander and a Negroe, who eſcap'd to St. Jago by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes. Whereupon VALDIVIA ſent for another reinforcement of troops to enable them to advance againſt the Chileſians; and built the town and caſtle of Coquimbo, or Serena, on a bay of the ſea, in 30 degrees ſouth latitude, to ſecure his communication with Peru, and prevent the ſupplies being cut off which he expected from thence.

In the mean time the civil wars breaking out in Peru, VALDIVIA was commanded thither with ſome of his officers and ſoldiers, and left his conqueſts in Chili to the care of his Lieutenant FRANCISCO DE VILLAGRA; but the rebels being defeated in Peru, VALDIVIA returned again to Chili with a good body of veteran ſoldiers, who had ſerv'd in thoſe wars. During the abſence of VALDIVIA, there happened a miſunderſtanding between his Lieutenant FRANCISCO DE VILLAGRA and PEDRO SANCHEZ DE HOZ, to whom the King of Spain had granted the government of the further part of Peru and Chili, and who with reaſon therefore expected the command of the forces in Chili in the abſence of VALDIVIA; and indeed he had a right to that command before VALDIVIA himſelf, as he received his commiſſion only from the Marquis of PIZARRO, who had no authority in Chili; nor would Don SANCHEZ have ſubmitted to VALDIVIA's taking upon him the command of that army, but upon condition of his being put in poſſeſſion of the richeſt part of Chili.

This VALDIVIA had agreed to, but his Lieutenant VILLAGRA, taking an opportunity to quarrel with SANCHEZ in the abſence of VALDIVIA, as has been intimated, made him priſoner and cut off his head, whether by the order of VALDIVIA his rival or not, is uncertain, but he appear'd very well pleas'd with the fact when it was done, having thus got rid of a man that had ſo much colour to claim the beſt part of his conqueſts, and look'd upon VALDIVIA himſelf as a uſurper.

The civil wars of the Spaniards in Peru and Chili.

While the Spaniards were thus engaged in civil broils both in Peru and Chili, the Chileſians made their advantage of them, ſurpriz'd the Spaniſh garriſons of Copiapo and Coquimbo, and putting them to the ſword, demoliſhed both thoſe towns: And it was with difficulty FRANCISCO DE VILLAGRA defended himſelf in St. Jago itſelf 'till the return of VALDIVIA, who bringing a good army with him, reſtor'd his affairs, drove the Chileſians from the valleys of Copiapo and Coquimbo again, and rebuilt the towns the Indians had deſtroy'd there; after which he marched further ſouthward, and having paſſed the river Maypo, ſubdu'd the Promoca's, a warlike nation, who had defended their frontiers not only againſt the Peruvian Emperors, but againſt the Spaniards commanded by ALMAGRO. He afterwards tranſported his troops over the great rivers Maulle and Itata, and obſerving an advantageous ſituation on a bay of the South-ſea, in 37 degrees ſouth latitude, he founded a city there in the year 1550, giving it the name of Conception. But the Chileſians, enraged to ſee themſelves thus bridled and reſtrain'd of their native liberties by the towns and fortreſſes erected by the Spaniards in their country, aſſembled in great numbers, and harraſs'd the new city of Conception with repeated attacks, killing a great many Spaniards, and endangering the loſs of their whole army. VALDIVIA, however, finiſh'd the fortification of that town the latter end of the year 1550, and having ſent out a party to diſcover the country, advanc'd further ſouthward in the beginning of the year 1551, bending his march towards the plains of Angol; and having croſs'd the great river Biobio, founded the city of Imperial on a hill at the confluence of two rivers in 39 degrees ſouth latitude, 4 leagues eaſt of the Pacifick-ocean, and 40 to the ſouthward of Conception.

This city ſtands in a fine fruitful plain, inhabited, as the Spaniards relate, by fourſcore thouſand Indians when they arrived there, a very peaceable nation, that gave them no diſturbance while they were building the city, and ſuffered VALDIVIA to parcel out both their perſons and their lands among his followers without oppoſition.

From hence he marched towards the mountains of Andes, and 16 leagues to the eaſtward of Imperial laid the foundation of a city, which he call'd Villa Rica, from the richneſs of the gold mines he found there. And here the Spaniſh hiſtorians take the liberty of cenſuring the conduct of their hero BALDIVIA, in endeavouring to graſp more than he could poſſibly hold with the few Spaniſh forces he commanded. That brave people, they obſerve, had never been vanquiſh'd by the Spaniards in ſo many encounters, if they had not been terrify'd and aſtoniſh'd at the firing their artillery and ſmall arms, which the Indians, at firſt, imagin'd to be real and not artificial thunder and lightning; and that thoſe who diſcharg'd them were rather gods than men: Their horſes and the men upon them, arm'd cap-a-pee, ſeem'd alſo invulnerable, not being able to pierce their armour with their ſpears and darts, which rendered the Spaniards ſtill more terrible. But the Chileſians being at length undeceived, and finding their enemies to be but men like themſelves, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage they had in the want of horſes, artillery, and armour, reſolved to make another bold puſh for the recovery of their liberties, being perſuaded they ſhould be able, by their numbers and courage, to expel theſe ſtrangers out of their country, who had ſo unjuſtly enſlaved them; in which they were not entirely miſtaken; for the Spaniards, not conſidering that the dread of their arms and horſes was now worn off, grew remiſs and negligent in their military diſcipline, and attended more to the enriching themſelves than to the ſecuring their conqueſts, which was attended with many ill effects; for by compelling the Indians to dig in the mines, they daily exaſperated them more and more. And by aſſembling ſo many of them together at the mines, gave them an opportunity of forming ſchemes, and executing them too with better ſucceſs than they could have done if they had remain'd diſperſed in their reſpective villages.

The Chileſians revolt.

The Araucans, the braveſt nation of the Chileſians, had oppoſed the Spaniards with the greateſt ſucceſs, but had been at laſt oblig'd to ſubmit; and this being one of the moſt deſirable countries in Chili, BALDIVIA, in the diſtribution of the lands, had reſerv'd this valley for himſelf; and being ſenſible that the natives were not to be kept under unleſs by pure force, he erected three caſtles in this valley, and left garriſons in them while he march'd further ſouthward, and built the town of Valdivia, as has been related; where finding ſtill richer mines, 'tis ſaid, he employ'd fifty thouſand Indians in the working of them, and ſpent ſo much time there in amaſſing wealth, that the Araucans, taking advantage of his abſence, engaged the whole country in a conſpiracy againſt the Spaniards, and choſe the celebrated CAUPOLICAN for their General.

VALDIVIA receiving intelligence of the intended inſurrection, return'd in ſome haſte to the valley of Arauca, where he found thirteen or fourteen thouſand of the natives aſſembled in arms, whom he charg'd with his horſe, and oblig'd them to retire into the woods and incloſures as often as they appear'd, but was not in a condition to diſperſe them entirely; they frequently rallied and attack'd his troops, and thus they continued to encounter him for ſeveral days in a ſort of running-fight.

Caupolican General of the Chileſe.

The Chileſian General obſerving that his engaging the Spaniards with ſuch numbers only occaſion'd confuſion among his people, thoſe in the front frequently giving way to the Spaniſh cavalry, and diſordering the reſt of his forces before ever they were engag'd, divided his army into battalions of a thouſand each, ordering them to charge the enemy by turns. He repreſented to them, that the Spaniards were but an hundred and fifty horſe, and that a thouſand of his brave countrymen might eaſily maintain their ground for ſome time againſt ſo ſmall a number, notwithſtanding the advantage the enemy had in their arms and horſes. However, he only deſir'd they would make their utmoſt efforts. He had no expectation that the firſt battalion ſhould gain the victory; but when they found themſelves oblig'd to retire, requir'd them to take care in their retreat not to diſorder the other bodies, but rally themſelves, and draw up in the rear, that they might be ready for a ſecond charge; and the ſame commands he gave to the officers of the other battalions.

His conduct.

In purſuance of theſe orders, the firſt battalion engaged the Spaniſh horſe with great reſolution, and having held them in play ſome time, leiſurely retir'd, being ſucceeded by the ſecond and that by the third, and ſo on 'till the Spaniards had continued the engagement for ſeven or eight hours without intermiſſion, and both men and horſes began to faint with the labours of the day, or for want of refreſhment; which VALDIVIA too late obſerving, made a precipitate retreat, ordering his troops to take poſſeſſion of a paſs about a mile from the field of battle, where he did not doubt he ſhould yet be able to defend himſelf againſt all the power of the enemy. But a Chileſian, who had been Page to VALDIVIA, and baptized by the name of PHILIP (whoſe Indian name was LAUTARO) hearing his maſter give orders for their retreat, deſerted at that inſtant to his countrymen, and directed them to take poſſeſſion of the paſs before the Spaniards could arrive there. He bid them (ſays the royal hiſtorian, DE LA VEGA) "make uſe of the advantage they had in their hands; recover their liberties, and reſcue their country from deſtruction, by cutting off thoſe thieves and uſurpers who had invaded it": And taking up a ſpear charged his late lord, VALDIVIA, at the head of a company of Chileſians, while another detachment of the Indians ſecured the paſs, as he directed them.

Lautaro deſerts to the Chileſe.

And now the Chileſians ſeeing the Spaniards unable longer to reſiſt their attacks, preſſed them on every ſide, without giving them a moment's time to breathe, who finding death inevitable, call'd upon JESUS CHRIST, but more upon the bleſſed Virgin and the reſt of the Saints, to ſave them; but were all cut in pieces on the ſpot, except the General VALDIVIA himſelf, who was taken priſoner while he was making his confeſſion to a miſerable Prieſt in the ſame circumſtances, whom they kill'd immediately, but brought VALDIVIA, with his hands bound behind him, before CAUPOLICAN, the Chileſian General, who ordering him to be ty'd to a tree, that he might be executed with more ceremony than thoſe that fell in the battle. VALDIVIA, 'tis ſaid, meanly begg'd his life of the conquerors, addreſſing himſelf chiefly to LAUTARO, who was but a few hours before his ſlave. He promiſed, if they would ſpare him, to withdraw all the Spaniſh forces out of Chili, and never more diſturb their peace, ſwearing by all that was ſacred to perform his promiſe; but the unrelenting enemy was deaf to his entreaties; even LAUTARO obſerved, that it was madneſs to truſt to the promiſes of a captive, who would infallibly change his note if he was ſet at liberty. Whereupon the General pronounced his doom, tho' authors differ about the manner of his execution. Some affirm, they poured melted gold down his throat, bidding him ſatisfy himſelf with that metal he ſo violently thirſted after. Others relate, that one of the Indian Caciques, not bearing to hear it debated whether the deſtroyer of their country ſhould live or die, beat out his brains with a club, without aſking the General's leave; and all the Spaniſh writers agree that they made trumpets and flutes of his bones, and preſerved his ſkull as a memorial of that important victory; which they celebrated by feaſting and dancing after their country manner, and inſtituted publick ſports and exerciſes, ſuch as running, wreſtling, and leaping, to be obſerv'd annually in memory of it; and expecting the Spaniards would give them another viſit, they encamped in ſome of their moſt inacceſſible woods and mountains; and CAUPOLICAN conſtituted LAUTARO his Lieutenant-General for the ſervices he had done in the late battle, finding him every way qualified for that poſt.

The Spaniards routed.

Valdivia taken,

and executed.

Lautaro Lieutenant-General.

The news of VALDIVIA's miſfortune arriving at the city of Conception, his Lieutenant FRANCISCO DE VILLAGRA aſſembled the Spaniards that were diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces of Chili, and being joined with ſeveral thouſand of his Indian allies, marched to the valley of Arauca to give battle to CAUPOLICAN; but that General cunningly retir'd before him, 'till he found the Spaniards ſo far engaged in the woods and defiles that their horſe could

The Chileſians obtain a ſecond victory.

Conception abandon'd and burnt.

could be of little uſe to them; and then ſending out detachments to poſſeſs the paſſes in their rear, he boldly fac'd about and attack'd them in front, ordering his men not to ſtand to be ſhot at, but immediately advance and come to a cloſe engagement, mixing themſelves with the enemy, whereby they avoided the miſchief they uſed to receive from their fire-arms at a diſtance; and being much more numerous than the Spaniards and their allies, by this ſtratagem gained another memorable victory, killing no leſs than two thouſand five hundred Spaniards and Indians on the ſpot. After which LAUTARO, with a part of the Chileſian army, marched towards the city of Conception, and finding it abandon'd by the Spaniards, ſet fire to the town and demoliſh'd it.

Imperial beſieg'd.

LAUTARO afterwards laid ſiege to the city of Imperial, but the winter coming on, was oblig'd to raiſe it, by the great rains which fall at that ſeaſon; tho' the Spaniards aſcribe their deliverance to a miracle, aſſuring us, that the Virgin MARY appeared viſibly to the whole army over the city Imperial, and defended it againſt theſe Barbarians.

Conception rebuilt, and deſtroy'd a ſecond time.

Lautaro kill'd before St. Jago.

The Spaniards afterwards rebuilt the city of Conception, but LAUTARO drove them from thence a ſecond time; and obſerving that the Chileſian liberties would ever be precarious while the Spaniards had any footing in their country, he aſſembled a great army, and laid ſiege to the capital city of St. Jago, where being unfortunately kill'd with an arrow, the ſiege was raiſed.

Caupolican taken and put to death.

The Spaniards driven out of all Chili almoſt.

However, the Governor of Peru apprehending all Chili would be loſt, ſent his ſon Don GARCIA DE MENDOZA with a powerful reinforcement of troops to ſuppreſs the Araucans, who was ſo fortunate, after ſeveral encounters with various ſucceſs, to make their General CAUPOLICAN priſoner, whom he put to death after he had perſuaded him to declare himſelf a Chriſtian. But this was far from putting an end to the war, the Chileſians were determined to periſh rather than become ſlaves to the Spaniards, and raiſing freſh forces attack'd all their colonies at once, ſome of which were taken and retaken ſeveral times; and thus the war continued to be carried on with great obſtinacy and cruelty for upwards of fifty years, when it appears, by the Spaniards own relation, that they were driven with great ſlaughter from moſt of their ſettlements in that country.

Imperial taken by the Chileſe.

The royal hiſtorian, GARCILIASSO DE LA VEGA, being then in Spain, informs us that he receiv'd the following relation of the miſeries of the Spaniards there from an intimate acquaintance in two letters, one of which was dated from St. Jago in Chili, in the month of March, anno 1600, in which the writer acquainted him, that about break of day, on Wedneſday the 24th of November, 1599, five thouſand Indians, whereof three thouſand were horſe, and the reſt foot, ſeventy of them carrying fire-arms, and two hundred of them in armour (they had taken from the Spaniards) took the city Imperial by ſurprize, being guided thither by a treacherous ſpy, burnt and deſtroy'd the whole town, killing and taking four hundred Spaniards, men, women and children.

Six Spaniſh towns taken by them.

Oſorno ſiege.

Taken by ſtorm,

and recover'd again.

Villarica taken and deſtroy'd.

And in another letter from Chili, in the year 1604, the writer tells us, that of the thirteen cities which were eſtabliſhed in this kingdom of Chili, the Indians had deſtroy'd ſix, namely, Valdivia, Imperial, Angol, Santa Cruz, Caſtro in Chiloe, and Conception. They overthrew their houſes, diſhonour'd and prophan'd the temples, obſcur'd the brightneſs of that faith and devotion which ſhined in thoſe parts, and what is worſe (ſays the writer) this ſucceſs hath encouraged and raiſed the ſpirits of the Indians in that manner, that they are grown bold and confident, omitting no opportunity or advantage which may offer to rob or deſtroy our cities and monaſteries with fire and ſword. They have learned alſo many arts and ſtratagems of war; for when they beſieged the city of Oſorno, and compelled the Spaniards to retire within their works, they ſo ſtraiten'd them that they could receive no ſuſtenance, unleſs it were ſome ſmall quantities of the ſeed of herbs, and leaves of turnips, which too they were fain to fight for and gain with the point of the lance. In one of the ſieges of this city they broke the images of CHRIST and our Lady, and other Saints, to the great diſhonour of GOD, which none but his infinite mercy and patience could have ſuffer'd. In the laſt ſiege which the Indians laid to this place they ſurpriz'd the Spaniards, and kill'd the centinels, and without any oppoſition entered and poſſeſſed themſelves of the town, exerciſing ſuch cruelty as was agreeable to the barbarity of their natures; for they butcher'd the children, and put the women and nuns in chains, intending to carry them away into ſlavery: But while they were thus buſily employ'd in packing up and diſpoſing their booty, and plundering every where without order, the Spaniards took courage, and with that opportunity fell upon them, and God aſſiſting their endeavours, they reſcu'd their wives and nuns from their violent hands, and with the loſs of ſome few forced them to fly, and quit both their prey and their city. The laſt victory which the Indians obtained was when they took Villarica with great effuſion of Spaniſh blood: They ſet fire to the four quarters of the town, and killed the Friars of St. DOMINICK, St. FRANCIS, and the Merceds, with all the Clergy that were there, carrying the women away captives, many of which were ladies of quality and condition. And this was the fate of that city, which was once of fame and great renown, and illuſtrious among the neighbouring cities of that new world. Thus far proceeds the relation of Chili in the year 1604.

Remarks on theſe calamities.

To which nothing can be ſaid (ſays DE LA VEGA) but that "theſe were judgments which God "in his ſecret providence permits for the chaſtiſements of mankind." Not reflecting that theſe calamities were no more than the Spaniards richly deſerved, who had unjuſtly invaded this country, and made ſlaves of the natives without any manner of colour or pretence.

The Hollanders attempt to ſettle colonies in Chili.

The Chileſians afterwards recovered ſeveral other places from the Spaniards, and almoſt expell'd them their country, of which the Hollanders receiving intelligence, their Weſt-India company, in the year 1642, fitted out a ſquadron of men of war under the command of Captain BREWER, and having put ſome land-forces on board, order'd them to ſail to the coaſt of Chili, and ſettle colonies there, not doubting to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome of the gold mines of that country; for they concluded, that every people which were enemies to the Spaniards would be well received by the Chileſians.

The account the Dutch were pleaſed to publiſh of this expedition was of the following tenour.

That BREWER and his ſquadron ſet ſail from the Texel on the 6th of November, 1642, and arriv'd at Fernambuco, on the coaſt of Brazil, in 9— degrees of ſouth latitude, on the 22d of December following, where having conſulted with Count MAURICE of Naſſau, General and Commander in chief for the Dutch in Brazil, he ſailed from Fernambuco

Arrive on the coaſt of Chili, April 1643.

nambuco with five ſhips well equipp'd and provided with neceſſaries, on the 15th of January 1642-3, and on the 5th of March they came in ſight of the Straights of La Maire, as they are call'd, which is only a paſſage between a ſmall iſland denominated Slate's iſland, and the moſt eaſterly point of Terra del Fogo, in 54 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude. They came to an anchor in a bay of Slate's Iſland, to the eaſtward of the Straights of La Maire, where having remained till the 25th of March, they ſailed round Cape Horn, ſuffering pretty much by ſtormy weather, and loſing the company of one of their ſhips, called the Orange-tree, and arrived with the other four on the coaſt of Chili, of the 30th of April, 1643; and on the 9th of May they came to an anchor in a bay of the South-ſea, in 41 degrees, 30 minutes ſouth latitude, to which they gave the name of Brewer's-haven, being a little to the ſouthward of the Spaniſh town of Carelmappa.

An officer being ſent on ſhore with a company of ſoldiers, they diſcovered great herds of oxen, ſheep, and horſes, and ſome houſes, but the inhabitants were fled; however, they ſuppoſed that part of the country to be in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, by the large wooden croſſes they ſaw fix'd at the entrance of the houſes; and going on ſhore the next day, they diſcoverd a party of Spaniſh horſe, and ſome cannon-ſhot were fired at their boat.

Engage a Spaniſh party.

A company of fifty ſoldiers being ſent on ſhore again, the 20th of May, they diſcover'd the town of Carelmappa, and had a ſmart engagement with a Spaniſh party, conſiſting of ninety men, horſe and foot, whom they defeated. Whereupon the Spaniards abandoned the town of Carelmappa, and the Dutch took poſſeſſion of it, where they remain'd till the 25th, and then ſetting fire to the town, and killing the horſes they had taken in the engagement, they retir'd to their ſhips.

They land at Caſtro.

They afterwards ſailed to the town of Caſtro, on the iſland of Chiloe, where they arrived on the 6th of June. There appeared a good body of Spaniſh horſe and foot on the ſhore, but the Dutch no ſooner landed ſome ſoldiers than the inhabitants ſet fire to the town and abandoned it, having before carried away every thing that was valuable.

They relate, that Caſtro was heretofore a fine Spaniſh town, repleniſhed with magnificent buildings, pleaſantly ſituated on a hill, ſurrounded with fruitful orchards and gardens, adorned with fountains, and the fields beyond well cultivated; and that at the time when the Dutch arrived there the fruit then remained on many of the trees, tho' it was in the beginning of their winter.

The Dutch having taken an hundred ſheep, and ſome hogs off the iſland, reimbark'd, and on the 17th of June returned to Brewer's-harbour. From hence they propoſed to ſail to the river Baldivia, but the north wind blowing hard in their teeth, they altered their minds and came before Carelmappa again, where landing a company of ſoldiers on the 16th of July, they took three Spaniſh priſoners, who informed them, that the winters on that coaſt were uſually tempeſtuous, but that the moſt ſtormy month was paſt; that there were gold mines at Oſorno, and more at Baldivia, but the mines were not wrought of late; and that at Caſtro there were none to be ſeen, the Indians not having been compelled to work in the mines ſince the general revolt in 1559.

The conditions of the Spaniards before the Indians revolted.

They learned alſo from an old Spaniſh woman they had taken, that before the ſaid general revolt, the Spaniards lived in great ſplendor at Oſorno; that the meaneſt of them had three hundred Indian vaſſals at leaſt, who were compelled to pay their reſpective lords a certain weekly tribute in gold, and were uſed ſo cruelly by the Spaniards, that the Chileſians roſe as one man, drove them from Oſorno and other Spaniſh towns, and they poſſeſſed little more in this part of Chili than Carelmappa and St. Michael de Calimbuco. Since which, however, the Indians of Oſorno, Baldivia, Villarica, Imperial, Tucapel, Aurauco and Puren, had lived in a pretty good intelligence with the Spaniards till very lately, when the Indians took up arms again, and they were now actually in a ſtate of war with the Spaniards; which was confirmed by ſix Indian Caciques, who came on board the 20th of July, and aſſured the Dutch they were extremely rejoiced that they were come to aſſiſt them againſt their ancient enemies the Spaniards. The Dutch anſwered, they had brought good ſtore of arms to exchange with their countrymen of Oſorno, Baldivia, and other places, for ſuch merchandize as Chili afforded, that they might be enabled to carry on the war againſt the Spaniards, and were ready to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of their power. The Chileſians reply'd, they lived very uneaſily under the Spaniſh government of Carelmappa, and were contriving how to get to their friends at Oſorno and Baldivia; but the Spaniards had poſſeſſed the paſſes, and the country was ſo overflow'd by the winter-rains, that they found it impracticable to go by land at preſent, and therefore deſired the Dutch would carry them to Valdivia in their ſhips; which the General agreeing to, they returned on ſhore to give their friends an account of it, and make preparations for their voyage.

General Brewer dies.

The next day more Chileſians went on board, and one of them brought the head of a Spaniard with them, whom he had killed, and declared they were determined to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke. Whereupon the General made a preſent to them of ſome ſpears and ſwords, as alſo muſkets, with powder and ball: And the Chileſe ſent ſome black cattle on board in return; but on the 7th of Auguſt the Dutch General **Brewer** died, who had projected the enterprize, and was beſt acquainted with the ſtate of that country, and in what manner the Indians were to be treated, whoſe death was evidently the reaſon the Dutch had no better ſucceſs in this expedition. He had ſet his heart upon this undertaking, and had a proſpect of bringing the whole country of Chili under the dominion of his maſters the Dutch; and though Captain **Herckerman**, who ſucceeded him in the command, might have no leſs zeal to ſerve his country, yet he certainly miſcarried for want of a proper addreſs. He too ſoon diſcover'd to the natives with what view the Hollanders viſited their coaſt, and created jealouſies in them which he found it impoſſible afterwards to remove, as will appear hereafter. The late General was ſo confident of the ſucceſs of the enterprize, that he directed his countrymen to take his corpſe with them and bury it at Baldivia, which he had determined to fortify, and appointed the Chileſians to rendezvous there and meet the fleet; not doubting of a general revolt in their favour. His great ambition was to have a tomb erected in that place, which might perpetuate the memory of his being the author of ſo great a good to his country.

But to proceed in the relation. The Dutch having taken four hundred and ſeventy Chileſe on board, who had furniſhed themſelves with corn, cattle, and other proviſions for the voyage, ſet ſail for the river Baldivia on the 21ſt of Auguſt, where they arrived the 24th. The river is but a league over at the mouth; and the Dutch having ſailed half a league up it, they obſerved three channels, of which taking the middlemoſt they run a-ground, and it was two or three days before they could get all their ſhips a-float again; ſo that it was the 28th before they arrived at the town of Baldivia, where they only found the ruins of the ancient gates, which were very high and ſtrong built, but the place was now over-run with buſhes and weeds, and more like a wilderneſs than a city. Here they found three or four hundred Chileſians, horſe and foot, armed with ſpears eighteen foot long; ſome of whom came on board and welcomed them at their arrival. The Dutch General harangued them by an interpreter, and acquainted them, that the Hollanders were now in poſſeſſion of Brazil upon the ſame continent, not above two months ſail from them, and were in a condition to ſupply them from time to time with arms and ammunition, and would aſſiſt them to drive their enemies the Spaniards out of the country, deſiring they would enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with them. He alſo preſented them with letters from the Prince of Orange of the like tenour, which were interpreted to the Indians. For we muſt remember here, that neither the people of the Eaſt or Weſt-Indies have any notion of a republican form of Government; and therefore the Hollanders in all their negotiations with thoſe diſtant nations, pretend to be authoriz'd to treat with them by the Prince of Orange, or ſome ſingle perſon whom they inſinuate is their Monarch, or Sovereign of their country.

The Caciques gave the General no other anſwer to his propoſitions at preſent, but that they would conſult their brethren of Oſorno and Coneo, and then return to Valdivia again. Whereupon the Dutch proceeded to land their ſoldiers on the 2d of September, and the General took a view of the ground, in order to erect a fort.

A treaty between the Dutch and the Chileſians.

The ſame evening arrived above a thouſand Chileſians from Oſorno and Coneo to treat with the Hollanders, and the next day the General, by his Interpreter, made them another ſpeech, acquainting them, that the chief motive of their voyage was to aſſiſt the Chileſians, the fame of whoſe great actions had reached as far as Holland; that the Dutch had been at war with theſe ſame Spaniards for upwards of fourſcore years as well as the Chileſe, for the preſervation of their liberties, and had met with the like ſucceſs, extending their conqueſts as far as Brazil: And if the Chileſe would now enter into a confederacy with the Hollanders, they were ready to ſupply them with cannon, ſmall arms, and ammunition, which they would exchange for the product of their country, and the Chileſians would be enabled thereby not only to defend themſelves, but to expel the Spaniards from their coaſts. After which, a letter was delivered to every one of the Caciques, as ſent them from the Prince of Orange. To which the Chileſians anſwered, that they thought themſelves extremely fortunate to meet with a ſupply of arms from ſo diſtant a country as Holland, at a time when the war with the Spaniards was revived.

The Dutch thereupon enquir'd if the Chileſe could ſupply their fleet with fleſh and other proviſions, if they continued on their coaſt to protect them againſt the Spaniards? To which they unanimouſly anſwered, they would not fail to bring them all the proviſions they wanted, for they had plenty of corn and cattle, provided the fleet did not ſtir from the coaſt: And they readily entered into a parole-alliance offenſive and defenſive with the Hollanders againſt the Spaniards, but would not be perſuaded to ſign written articles which were offer'd and interpreted to them, declaring that this was not cuſtomary amongſt them, promiſes were ever look'd upon as ſacred and of equal obligation with written contracts. But I am apt to think they had an apprehenſion that there was ſome witchcraft or charm in writing, as ſeveral other Americans had when the Europeans came firſt amongſt them; or perhaps they were ſo politick as not to enter into a written engagement, leſt the articles might fall into the hands of the Spaniards, and be made a pretence for oppreſſing and tyrannizing over ſuch of the Indians as lived under their government, or were made priſoners by them.

The Dutch erect a fort and diſcover their thirſt of gold; which ruins the enterprize.

The Hollanders then proceeded to build a fort at Baldivia for their ſecurity, which the natives did not ſeem to oppoſe; but when the Dutch propoſed the trafficking with the Chileſe, and exchanging arms for their gold, the Caciques immediately appear'd jealous of their new allies, and declared they had no gold mines, nor was there any ſuch thing as gold in uſe amongſt them. They remember'd, indeed, that heretofore they had been forced to pay heavy taxes to the Spaniards in gold on pain of loſing their ears and noſes, and many of them did who could not procure as much as was expected, and this had given them ſuch an abhorrence of that metal that they could not bear to hear it nam'd amongſt them: They were very far from valuing or coveting it, as they found all ſtrangers did.

The General finding the natives were not ignorant of his views, reply'd, they were not come to exact any thing of them, as the Spaniards had done, but were ready to pay them with arms, or whatever merchandize they lik'd beſt, for their gold. Every one was at liberty to exchange what he pleaſed.

Whereupon the Caciques ſtared at one another without returning one word of anſwer; and the Dutch relate, they did not think fit to urge them any further on that head, leſt they ſhould imagine they intended to ſerve them as the Spaniards had done; tho' they had certain information there were very rich mines in that part of the country.

The Dutch General therefore, ſenſible he was now to expect but little aſſiſtance from the natives, and that it would be impoſſible to maintain his ground long againſt the Spaniards, and the reſt of the Chileſians in alliance with them, diſpatch'd Captain CRISPINSON with two of his ſhips to Fernambuco in Brazil, to give their friends an account of the ſtate of their affairs, and to deſire a further reinforcement, and in the mean time continued to fortify the poſt he had taken at Baldivia, where he hoped to defend himſelf till thoſe ſupplies arriv'd.

The account the Dutch gave of Chili at that time.

In the letter the Dutch General ſent by Captain CRISPINSON to Brazil, he informs the Government, that the Spaniards had not more that fifteen hundred ſoldiers, either on the continent or iſlands of Chili, viz. three hundred in Valpariſo and St. Jago (this muſt be a little port call'd St. Jago on the coaſt, and not the capital city of St. Jago, that lay far within land near the foot of the mountains of the Andes, for that was demoliſhed by the Indians, and lay in ruins at that time, as I apprehend) three hundred in the city of Conception (at this time the capital of the Spaniſh ſettlements in Chili) one hundred in Serena, or Coquimbo, one hundred on the banks of the river Biobio, eighty in Tucupel, five hundred in the forts in the valley of Arauco, one hundred and twenty in the iſland of Chiloe, Carelmappa and Calimbuco. What the number of the Spaniſh inhabitants were he does not ſay, only that they were more numerous than the garriſon ſoldiers: And it is evident that many of the Chileſe profeſſed the Chriſtian religion, and were intermarried with the Spaniards at this time, and therefore were in a manner one people with them; and that ſome tribes or clans that were not under the Spaniſh government were in alliance with them, tho' moſt of them were in a ſtate of war with the Spaniards.

And in theſe circumſtances the Dutch General informs the Government of Brazil, that in caſe ten ſhips and three yachts, with eight hundred ſoldiers, ſeamen, cannon, and ammunition in proportion, were ſent to his aſſiſtance, he did not doubt making himſelf maſter of all the Spaniſh ſettlements above-mention'd, and ſhould have no reaſon to be afraid of all the naval force the Spaniards had, either in Peru or Chili: And if he could make himſelf maſter of Chili by this means, it might encourage the natives of Peru to throw off the Spaniſh yoke, thoſe Indians having entertain'd an inconceivable averſion to the Spaniards. He informs his employers alſo, that they had received advice that the natives of the neighbouring province of La Plata had roſe upon the Jeſuits (the then Sovereigns, or Uſurpers of that country) and had murder'd many of thoſe Fathers; which was look'd upon as an indication of a general revolt againſt the Spaniards: And then repeating his importunities for a ſpeedy and effectual ſupply, concludes, that it was not improbable, when the war ſhould be once kindled on that ſide, it might ſpread over the whole Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; and the Hollanders might ſupplant them in the Weſt, as they had done the Portugueze in the Eaſt-Indies and Brazil. Such was the ambition of this Dutch Officer to make his Maſters Sovereigns of all Spaniſh-America, as they actually were of the moſt deſirable and profitable countries in the Eaſt, from whence a little before they expell'd the Engliſh as well as the Portugueze.

This expreſs had not been diſpatch'd a week, before the Dutch General became ſenſible of his miſtake; and that whatever miſunderſtanding there might be between the Chileſians and the Spaniards, the natives were now much more afraid of the Hollanders than of their ancient enemies; and would probably join with the Spaniards to expel him their country.

The Dutch abandon Chili.

For in the next conference he had with the Caciques, they gave him to underſtand that he muſt expect no proviſions from them; and endeavour'd to terrify the Dutch, by reporting that the Spaniards were aſſembling their forces by ſea and land to drive them from Valdivia. And it is highly probable that the Dutch in this caſe expected no aſſiſtance from their new allies, but were rather apprehenſive they would betray them to the Spaniards; for he ſoon after demoliſhed his new-erected fort, and having re-imbarked his people, ſet ſail for Brazil, on the 28th of October, 1643; and having ſurrounded Cape Horn, repaſſed the Straights of La Maire on the 21ſt of November, and on the 28th of December arrived at Fernambuco in Brazil; ſo that they were but juſt two months in their voyage from Baldivia to the northern part of Brazil.

Brewer's-harbour.

I ſhall conclude this expedition of the Hollanders to Chili with ſome remarks they made on Brewer's-haven, and the port of Baldivia; viz. that Brewer's-haven, by ſome call'd the Engliſh-harbour, was a very convenient harbour, there being good anchorage, and an eaſy paſſage into the open ſea; nor did there want wood or freſh water on the land; and there was plenty of fiſh, both in the harbour and in the brooks on ſhore: That the country and the neighbouring iſlands abounded in horſes, ſheep, hogs, goats, and poultry: That the ſoil was fruitful in wheat, peas, beans, turnips, potatoes, flax and fruit; but their fruits were frequently ſpoil'd by ſtormy weather before they were ripe.

Baldivia harbour.

That the mouth of the river Baldivia formed a ſpacious bay, at the entrance whereof there was a ſmall iſland that would have commanded the paſſage if it had been fortify'd: That the country thereabouts abounded in horſes, oxen, ſheep, hogs, goats, and tame fowl, producing great quantities of peas and beans, and ſome wheat, very good apples, and other European fruits: That the weapons of the natives were chiefly pikes of fifteen foot long, and they had ſome fire-arms and armour they had taken from the Spaniards: That they were generally good horſemen, and manag'd their lances on horſeback with great dexterity.

Narborough's voyage to Chili, ann. 1669.

The next remarkable voyage to Chili was made by Captain (afterwards Sir JOHN) NARBOROUGH, by the command of King CHARLES II. in the year 1669, about thirty years after the ſaid attempt of the Hollanders. It ſeems to have been undertaken upon ſome intelligence given to the Court of England by an old Spaniard, uſually call'd Don CARLOS, who had formerly reſided in South-America, importing, That his countrymen had in a manner abandon'd Chili, and that it would not be difficult for the Engliſh to cultivate a good underſtanding with the natives, and eſtabliſh a very advantageous traffick there, the principal returns whereof would be in gold: And he pointed out Valdivia, as the port where they were moſt likely to ſucceed, it not being imagin'd that the Spaniards had re-poſſeſs'd themſelves of that place, having deſerted it for three or fourſcore years: For Captain NARBOROUGH was expreſly commanded not to moleſt the Spaniards in any of their ſettlements, or to commit any acts of hoſtility againſt Spain.

Captain NARBOROUGH having performed this voyage, printed a narrative of it, of the following tenor, viz.

Sept. 26, 1669.

That having receiv'd a commiſſion to command the man of war call'd the Sweep-ſtakes, of 300 tons and 36 guns; mann'd with fourſcore men, and provided with fourteen months proviſion: And inſtead of beer having four half tuns of Brandy allow'd him, with guns, nets, and other implements for fiſhing and fowling, he began this voyage from England in company with the Batchelor Pink of 70 tons, four guns, and mann'd with nineteen men and a boy, on the 26th of September, 1669, carrying with him, at his majeſty's coſt, the following goods to exchange with the natives, viz. knives, ſciſſars, looking-glaſſes, beads, hatchets, hoes, nails, needles, pins, pipes, bells, linnen and woollen cloths and ſtuffs, tobacco, &c. That taking his departure from the Lizard at noon the ſame day, he made the iſland of Madera on the 17th of October, and on the 23d of the ſame month he paſſed the Tropic of Cancer, and then thought it proper to have all his men let blood, having obſerved in former voyages to St. Helena and the coaſt of Guinea, that this tended to the preſervation of his men from calentures, and other diſtempers in thoſe hot climates; for he never had one day's illneſs in thoſe or any other hot voyages, which he imputed to his opening a vein whenever he approach'd the Equinoctial: And the writer of theſe ſheets well remembers, that Captain RAINS, with whom he ſail'd to the Eaſt-Indies, obſerv'd the ſame rule when he paſſed the Tropick of Cancer, and had ſcarce a man ſick the whole voyage, tho' he had 150 men on board, and paſſed the Equator twice.

Made Cape Verde iſlands October 28.

But to proceed: Captain Narborough relates, that he made the Cape Verde iſlands (in 15 degrees north latitude) on the 28th of October, where having taken in water, cows, hogs, and other freſh proviſions, he ſailed on the 8th of November to the ſouthward, having firſt given orders to the Batchelor Pink, if ſhe was ſeparated from him, to ſail to Port Deſire near Cape Blanco, on the coaſt of Patagonia, in 47 degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude; and that after he had paſſed the mouth of the river Plata, he ſhould keep along the American coaſt 'till he made Cape Blanco aforeſaid, and look for him at Port Deſire; and if he (Captain Narborough) ſhould be there before him, he would leave an inſcription engraven on a board, and faſtened to a tree or poſt, mentioning the time of his departure, and the port he intended to make next; and that he would do the like at St. Julian, in 49 degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude, and order'd the Pink to do the ſame, and to ſtay two whole months for the Sweep-ſtakes, as ſhe would for the Pink, if ſhe arrived firſt at thoſe ports; and inform'd the Pink, that ſhe ſhould touch on the coaſts of South-America, beyond the river Plata, to endeavour to eſtabliſh a commerce with the natives.

Cape Blanco and Port Deſire, Feb. 21.

The Sweep-ſtakes and the Pink kept company together 'till they came into ſoundings on the coaſt of Patagonia, in 45 degrees ſouth latitude; but here the Sweep-ſtakes loſt ſight of the Pink in foggy weather, and on the 21ſt of February the Captain made Cape Blanco, in 47 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude, having paſt Port Deſire in a fog. Whereupon he ſtood to the northward again, and came to an Anchor at Port Deſire, where he went on ſhore and waited ſix weeks for the Pink, but heard nothing of her afterwards.

Some deſcription of this Port of Patagonia.

While the Sweep-ſtakes remain'd in this port, the Captain made ſeveral journies into the country, where he informs us he met with great ſtore of wild peaſe with green leaves and a bluiſh bloſſom, ſome ſweet herbs like tares, with white and yellow flowers, and another herb like ſage, which made very good ſallads, and preſerved his men from the ſcurvy. On the rocks they found abundance of muſcles and limpets, and on a neighbouring iſland great numbers of ſeal and water-fowl, which were excellent food, and his ſhip's crew lived on them and the fiſh he caught there a conſiderable time; and here he found two tolerable ſprings of freſh water alſo, with which he repleniſh'd his caſks.

Seal, or Penguin Iſland.

Seals deſcrib'd.

That on Friday, on the 14th of March, he went with his boats and forty men to an iſland near Port Deſire, where they knock'd down four hundred Seals, and loaded their boats with them, from whence he gave it the name of Seal Iſland. He obſerv'd the full grown male Seals were of the ſize of a large calf, or young heifer, having ſhaggy necks, heads and faces like lions. The females alſo reſembled lioneſſes before, only their hair was ſmooth like horſes; whereas the male was ſmooth only in his hinder-parts. Both of them were very deformed, the body growing tapering downwards 'till it came to a point, where grew two fins like feet, and two feet more grew out of its breaſt, ſo that they could climb to the higheſt rocks and hills, though they delighted chiefly up ſleep near the ſhore. The length of this amphibious animal was from eight to eighteen feet, and they were generally as big about as a barrel at the ſhoulders.

Other animals.

On Saturday, the 5th of March, he went eight or ten miles up into the country, and met with ſome herds of guanuco's, or camel-ſheep, which are ſo common in Peru. He alſo ſaw ſeveral oſtriches, a fox, and a wild dog, and five or ſix hares, of which he kill'd one with his grey-hound: It reſembled an Engliſh hare, only was much larger, and had a ſtump of an inch long inſtead of a tail; and he obſerved they liv'd under ground like rabbits. They ſaw no wood, unleſs ſome buſhes like white-thorn. The land was a dry gravelly ſoil, moderately hilly, and produc'd graſs in the valleys, but ſcarce any thing elſe; no fruits of any kind.

Soil.

Finds an inſcription left by La Maire.

He found, in a ſmall iſland near Port-Deſire, an inſcription upon a poſt, ſignifying that James la Maire was at that port in the month of January, 1616 (being written in Dutch;) and thereupon he call'd it La Maire's Iſland.

The Captain being about to depart from Port Deſire, formerly took poſſeſſion of that country for his Britiſh Majeſty, under an apprehenſion that it might yield gold as Chili, which lies on the oppoſite ſhore, does; but though he ordered his people to ſearch diligently in the brooks and gullies for gold-ſand, and dug in ſeveral places, he could diſcover nothing that look'd like a mineral.

Finds the longitude by an eclipſe.

Port St. Julian. He winters here.

On March the 26th, 1670, he obſerv'd an eclipſe of the moon, which ſhew'd there was four hours forty minutes difference of time between the meridian of London and the meridian of Cape Blanco, which lies in 47 degrees, 20 minutes ſouth latitude, on the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of America. From Port Deſire he ſail'd to Port St. Julian, in 49 degrees, 10 minutes ſouth latitude, where not finding the Pink as he expected, his men were much diſcouraged, conſidering, they could expect no relief if they ſhould happen to run a-ground on that unknown coaſt. But the hopes he gave them of finding immenſe riches in Chili, and ſetting before them the example of Captain Drake, who ſail'd round the world in one ſhip, when navigation was not brought to ſo great perfection, they recovered their courage. That on the 21ſt of April, he caught in this port, with his Seinnet, in the ſpace of four hours, five hundred fiſhes of the ſize and form of Mullets, and ſome of them as big as a man's leg, which were a great relief to his ſhip's company. And now the winter came on apace; the ſnows fell, the waters froze, and the wind blew very hard and cold from the ſouth-weſt; from whence he concluded he ſhould not be able to paſs the Straights of Magellan at this time of the year, and therefore determin'd to winter thereabouts, ordering every one of his men a quart of brandy a week, and for meat they had ſalted ſeals and penguins given them, which prov'd very good food.

A Salt-lake.

Going on ſhore at Fort St. Julian on the 22d of April, he found a ſalt-pond, or lake, two miles in length, cruſted over with good white ſalt two inches thick, of which he laid two tuns in.

Having remain'd here till the 6th of June, he went on ſhore with ſixteen men, and travelled ten miles into the country, but could go no further for the mountains, which were cover'd with ſnow. They yet ſaw no people, but diſcover'd there had been ſome in the ſnow, and that they had made fires, and eaten guanacoes and oſtriches by the remains they found of their feaſt.

The natives of Patagonia.

That going on ſhore again the 22d of June, he ſent Mr. Wood, his Lieutenant, to the weſtward with three armed men, who ſaw ſeven indians on a hill, and three of them advanced towards him, with bows and arrows in their hands, looſe ſkins about their ſhoulders, furrs on their heads, and pieces of ſkin wrapp'd about their feet, and all the reſt

Their ſtature.

naked, only ſome part of their faces and bodies were painted with red and white, their natural colour being olive: They were of a middle ſtature, not ſo tall as the Lieutenant, well limb'd, their hair black (which they did not wear very long) and ſpoke in the throat. They came pretty near, but would not ſuffer themſelves to be touch'd. The Lieutenant threw them a knife and ſome other trifles, which they took up; but when he offered them a bottle of brandy they would not drink.

The proof of their being canibals.

That ſome others of his crew ſaw two more of the natives behind a buſh, and would have approach'd them, but they run away, leaving a bundle and two little dogs coupled together, which were brought to the Captain; and he found in the bundle ſeveral bags made of ſkins, with red and white earth in them, uſed in painting their bodies and faces. There were alſo flint-ſtones, arrow-heads, bracelets of ſhells, braided thongs, armadillo-ſhells, and ſome other trifles; that the ſkins were guanacoes and ſeals, and ſewed together with a green gut in a ſlit ſtick, and near the bundle were found two ſtaves of tough cane, in ſhort joints, about four foot long. The Captain ſaw afterwards a place where the natives had made a fire, and left the bones of ſome guanacoes and oſtriches ſcatter'd about. He alſo ſaw the ſkulls of three men without any fleſh upon them; from whence the Captain conjectures that the natives were man-eaters; and ſuch evidence as this is frequently produced to prove the Americans to be canibals. The Captain was fully convinc'd by ocular demonſtration that the Patagonians were not giants, as the firſt Adventurers reported; but ſtill he ſeems to be in doubt, whether they were not canibals, tho' the evidence of both is the ſame; and the Indians might as well infer that the Europeans were canibals, becauſe our Surgeons and Apothecaries have frequently ſkulls, and ſometimes ſkeletons in their houſes. But our people, it ſeems, began to be aſham'd of the fabulous relations of the American giants and monſters at that time, though they were yet extremely prejudiced in favour of canibals; and though Captain NARBOROUGH is admitted to be a gentleman of good judgment, yet allowances muſt be made for the age and country every perſon lives in. At ſome times, and at ſome particular places, magick, witchcraft, and apparitions are in great vogue, and not a week paſſes but our belief is requir'd to ſome notable ſtory of this kind, on pain of being reputed infidels: While in other countries, and at other times, people imagine they may be very good Chriſtians without ſwallowing every incredible tale that weak or deſigning people have the confidence to affirm the truth of, eſpecially when they bring no better proof of what they relate than the Captain produces to maintain that heavy charge againſt this nation of their being canibals, namely, that three ſkulls happen'd to be found in the poſſeſſion of ſome of the people of the country.

Other animals.

But to proceed: The fartheſt journey the Captain made into the country while he lay at Port St. Julian, he ſays, was twenty-five miles to the north-weſt, in which he met with teal and other fowl, a kind of herons all over red, great numbers of guanacoes and oſtriches, hares and partridges bigger than ours, ſome ſnipes and ſmall birds, penwrens, kites, hawks, owls, foxes, wild-dogs, brant-geeſe and armadillo's, but no ſnake or venemous creature, or any wild beaſts, and was of opinion that the country was very proper both for European corn and cattle, ſeeming to be a good fruitful ſoil.

Returns to Port Deſire.

In the mean time the Captain relates, that twelve of his men, who did not uſe much exerciſe, fell ill of the Scurvy, and their legs and thighs turned perfectly black. Whereupon he thought proper to leave Port St. Julian and ſail to Port Deſire, where he took great numbers of ſeals and penguins, which he diſtributed to the ſick, with ſuch ſallads as this part of the country affords, and they all recover'd in a very ſhort time.

While the Captain lay on ſhore at Port Deſire, he ſays, the natives came in the night-time to the place where his men uſed to fill their freſh water, and ſtole from thence an iron pot, and three ſuits of cloaths, with ſome linnen; and he ſaw, in an adjacent valley, a model they had made of his ſhip with earth and ſticks, which he imagin'd they did in order to preſerve the memory of that floating caſtle, having never ſeen one before, poſſibly on that coaſt.

Here the Captain takes an opportunity to inform us, that the iſle of Penguins, which lies at the entrance of Port Deſire, affords ſuch numbers of penguins and ſeals, that at the time he was there, as many of them might have been taken as would have fill'd three hundred tons of caſk, when dreſs'd and ſalted, and that the fleſh might be kept ſweet and good for four months, if well cur'd.

Penguins deſcrib'd.

The Penguin, he obſerves, is of the bigneſs of a Brant-gooſe, weighing uſually about eight pounds, and lives upon fiſh. Inſtead of wings it has flat ſtumps, like fins, and its feathers are a kind of down of a blackiſh colour, only grey on the head and white on the neck and belly. The legs are ſhort, like thoſe of a gooſe; and the bill hooked. They are driven in flocks to the boat-ſide, and knock'd on the head by the ſeamen; ſo that ſhipping can never be in want of freſh proviſions at this port; and he was of opinion there might be found a ſufficient quantity of ſalt alſo here in the ſummer to ſalt up their ſeals and penguins, but if not, they would never fail of finding ſalt at Port St. Julian.

Sails from Port Deſire, October 13, 1670.

Magellanick Straights.

The winter being now paſs'd, the Captain ſet ſail from Port Deſire on the 13th of October, 1670, and on the 19th paſſed by the cape call'd Beachy-head, and the hill of St. Ives, in 50 degrees, 10 minutes ſouth latitude, where the land forms a bay, into which the river of St. Cruce diſcharges itſelf. And on the 22d of October, they arriv'd at Cape Virgin Mary, at the north entrance of the Straights of Magellan, ſituated in 52 degrees, 26 minutes ſouth latitude, which are in ſome parts three or four leagues, but in others not half a league broad.

Tides here.

All about the entrance of the Straights, 'till he came to the firſt narrow paſſage, he obſerv'd there was very good anchorage and not much tide; but in the narrow the tide runs ſtronger than in the Hope at the Thames-mouth, the flood ſetting into the Straights, and the ebb out, and kept a conſtant courſe, as on other coaſts, viz. ſix hours flood and—hours ebb, and riſes and falls near four fathoms perpendicular.

The Captain having paſſed the ſecond narrow in the Straights, went on ſhore on the iſland Elizabeth, and nineteen of the natives coming down the hill to him, he exchang'd knives, beads, and other implements with them for their bows, arrows, and coats, which were made of the ſkins of guanacoes, ſeals, and otters: That they were for laying hands on every thing they ſaw in a very brutiſh manner, and the more he gave them the more they craved: That ſeveral of his men danced and ſported with them, and ſhewing them ſome gold, he intimated by ſigns, that if they could bring him any he would purchaſe it of them; but either they did not underſtand him, or knew of none: And he no ſooner left them and went on board, but they ſet fire to the graſs.

Natives deſcrib'd again.

He relates, that theſe people are of a middle ſtature, well-limb'd, with round faces, low foreheads, little noſes, and ſmall black eyes; their teeth are ſmooth, even and white; their hair flaggy and very black, of an indifferent length, men and women alike; they are all full-breaſted, of an olive colour, and painted all over their bodies with red earth and greaſe, their faces daub'd in ſpots with white clay, and black ſtreaks made with ſmut, their arms and feet the like; their heads are generally ſmall, their fingers ſhort, and their bodies very active; their cloathing is of the ſkins of ſeals, guanacoes, and otters ſewed together; their garments are in form of a carpet five foot ſquare, which they wrap about them as the Scotchman does his pladding: On their heads they wear caps of the ſkins of fowls with the feathers, and on their feet pieces of ſkins to keep them from the ground. They are very hardy, for tho' it was very cold then, they don't wear theſe ſkins when they go about any buſineſs that requires ſtirring. They have no hair on any part of their bodies or faces, nor any thing to cover their nudities, except that the women have a piece of ſkin hanging before them. The men and women are cloathed alike, only the women go without caps, and wear bracelets of ſhells about their necks, which the men have not. The men are ſomething taller than the women, and fuller faced; the men have a harſher voice, and rattle in the throat, the women ſomewhat ſhriller; they often repeat the word Urſah, and if they did not like any thing, would cry Ur, Ur. They feed both upon fiſh and fleſh, live under no manner of government, or worſhip any thing. At our landing, they came to us with a great noiſe, every one his bow ready, and two arrows in his hand: Their bows are about an ell long, and every arrow eighteen inches, neatly made of wood, headed with flint-ſtones curiouſly wrought, broad-arrow faſhion, and well faſtened to the arrow, the other end being feather'd with two feathers, and ty'd on with the gut of ſome beaſt while yet green and moiſt, the bow-ſtring is of twiſted guts. They have large mungrel dogs of ſeveral colours, not unlike Spaniſh dogs. I ſaw no other domeſtick creatures, nor their boats, which then lay on the other ſide of the iſland towards the main, where they waited for fair weather to catch penguins, of which there is a vaſt quantity, as alſo of white-breaſted divers.

Trees in the Straights. A ſpicy bark.

He ſaw on both ſides of the Straights woods which ſeemed to be regularly planted, and timber in them two foot diameter. The bark of ſome of theſe trees is as hot as pepper, and when dry'd had the ſmell of fine ſpices, and they uſed it in ſeaſoning their meat and ſoup, to which it gave a fine flavour, and he believed this ſpice to be very wholeſome; but he ſaw no fruit-trees on the ſhores, or oak, aſh, hazel, or any trees like ours in England, the woods conſiſting chiefly of the pepper-rind-tree above-mention'd, and another like our beech. The largeſt tree he ſaw in the Straights was about two foot and a half diameter, and thirty or forty foot high. The woods were uſually on the ſides of hills, the land being very high on both ſhores, and the tops of the mountains ſcarce ever free from ſnow.

Cape Froward the moſt ſouthern promontory.

He obſerves, that Cape Froward, the moſt ſoutherly land on the continent of South-America (for Cape Horn is upon the iſland Del Fogo) lies in 53 degrees 52 minutes ſouth latitude, 68 degrees 40 minutes weſt of the Lizard: And he computed the whole length of the Straights from Cape Virgin Mary to Cape Diſſeada to be an hundred and ſixteen leagues: And on the north-weſt part of the Straights, in the South-ſea, lie four little iſlands near Cape Victory, which he denominated The Iſlands of Direction, being a guide to thoſe who enter the Straights from the South-ſea.

Length of the Straights.

Iſland of Succour, Nov. 20, 1670.

From the Straights mouth he ſailed north to the Iſland of Succour, in 45 degrees ſouth latitude, where he arriv'd the 26 of November and took in freſh water. He ſaw none of the natives of this iſland, only one of their huts, which reſembled thoſe of the natives on the continent of Patagonia, and were more like arbours than houſes, being compoſed of boughs of trees.

Narborough Iſle.

Between the Iſle of Succour and the continent, there lies another iſland, where the Captain went on ſhore, and having taken poſſeſſion of it for his Majeſty, gave it the name of Narborough Iſland. Here, he ſays, he found his men in pretty good health, and ſeventy-two in number; ſo that he ſeems to have loſt eight in his paſſage hither.

Baldivia, Decem. 15. Don Carlos ſet on ſhore here.

He ſailed from Narborough Iſland to the river of Baldivia, where he ſet on ſhore the Spaniard, Don Carlos, on the ſouth ſide of the harbour, on the 15th day of December. He carried with him a ſword and a caſe of piſtols, a bag with beads, knives, ſciſſars, looking-glaſſes, combs, rings, pipes, bells, and tobacco, to make himſelf acceptable to the natives; for the Captain does not ſeem to have been then apprized that the Spaniards had repoſſeſs'd themſelves of the town of Baldivia and rebuilt it.

Don Carlos took the path by the ſea-ſide, leading to the mouth of the harbour, and after a quarter of a mile's walk, turned out of ſight, behind a rock. He had directed the Lieutenant who ſet him on ſhore to look out for his fire in the night-time, but they never ſaw or heard of him more.

The next morning the Captain ſent one of his Lieutenants with his boat to make ſome diſcoveries in the harbour, and coming near a Spaniſh fort, call'd St. Jago, the garriſon wafted a white flag, and invited them aſhore; whereupon the Lieutenant landed in hopes of meeting with Don Carlos, whom they had ſeen going along the path leading directly to this fort between the wood and the ſea-ſide; for the fort ſtands on an eminence by a wood on the ſouth ſide of the harbour. The fort had ſeven guns mounted, which were defended by a breaſt-work and ſome ſlight palliſadoes.

The Spaniſh Fort of St. Jago, and the garriſon

The Lieutenant was received on ſhore by about twenty Spaniards and Indians, who conducted him to the Governor, whom he found ſitting with two other Spaniſh gentlemen under a great tree. The Governor welcomed him on ſhore with a ſilver bowl of wine, and aſked which way they came into theſe ſeas; and the Lieutenant in his turn enquired whether the Spaniards were at war with the Indians, to which the Governor anſwer'd, Yes; intimating, that they were enemies all round the harbour, and tho' barbarous, were a brave people and good horſemen: That the Spaniards had ſcarce any ground belonging to their fort, nor durſt walk out a muſket's ſhot from their palliſadoes without being well arm'd: That the Indians had ſuch plenty of gold, the breaſt-plates of their armour were of that metal.

After this conference, the Spaniſh Governor made the Lieutenant a handſome entertainment in a tent; and he obſerv'd, that not only the diſhes, but all the kitchen utenſils were of ſilver, as were the hilts of the common ſoldiers ſwords, and thoſe of their officers of gold, and the plate at the butt end of their muſkets of the ſame metal.

The account the Spaniards give of the ſtate of Chili.

When the Lieutenant return'd on board the Sweep-ſtakes, four Spaniſh gentlemen came with him, who offer'd to conduct the ſhip into the harbour; but the Captain being well acquainted with the treachery of the Spaniards in thoſe parts, civilly refuſed the favour. Theſe Spaniſh gentlemen related, that there was a great deal of gold about Baldivia, but that the natives being a brave people, of a gigantick ſtature, and able to bring ten thouſand horſe into the field, would not let them come at their gold: That their arms were long lances or pikes, bows, arrows and ſwords, and they had ſome muſkets which they had taken from the Spaniards: That the Indians were very numerous about Baldivia, Oſorno, and at Caſtro in the iſland of Chiloe, and would barter their gold with the Spaniards, tho' they were not at peace with them.

The Spaniards demanding of the Captain whither he was bound, he anſwered for China, and only touched at Baldivia to refreſh his men and take in proviſions. They reply'd he ſhould have what the country afforded, and pointed to a rivulet where he might take in freſh water, which they ſaid had golden ſands; adding, that the Spaniards bought a great deal of gold of the natives, which they gathered with diſhes in the brooks and gullies between the hills and rocks about thirty leagues from the ſea; and that between the ſea and thoſe hills was a fine fruitful country (abounding in horſes, oxen, ſheep and goats) which the Indians had taken from the Spaniards: And that there was more gold in Chili than in any country yet diſcover'd in America. But the Captain obſerv'd the Spaniards had little knowledge of the country to the ſouthward of Baldivia, except of Oſorno, and the iſland of Caſtro over-againſt it, which was a fine iſland fruitful in wheat; but the Indians were ſo numerous there, that they would not ſuffer the Spaniards to ſearch for gold if there were any in the iſland.

That a ſhip loaden with arms, ammunition, wine, linnen and woollen cloth, tobacco and ſugar, came annually from Valdivia and took gold, bezoar-ſtone, and red-wool of the guanaco ſheep in return: That there was a road from Baldivia to the Spaniſh ſettlements in the north of Chili, but they never uſed it, unleſs furniſh'd with a very ſtrong convoy, for fear of the natives: That the Spaniards repreſented this country as an earthly paradiſe, where people lived in the greateſt delight and plenty in the world; and indeed the Spaniſh gentlemen who came on board him, and thoſe he ſaw on ſhore were corpulent jolly fellows, and had good roſy complexions.

Upon this intelligence, the Captain ſent his boat and eighteen men on ſhore to view the harbour and fortifications, and to endeavour to ſettle a commerce with the natives, being of opinion that this country was loſt for want of a true knowledge of it. The Spaniards bought ſeveral things of the boat's crew, for which they gave them pieces of eight, but would not part with their gold or their bread. However, they had a conſiderable profit by what they ſold them; as for a fowling-piece, worth twenty ſhillings in England, they had ſixteen pieces of eight (or crowns); for a caſe of knives, bought for three ſhillings, they had five pieces of eight; for a pair of gloves of ten-pence, a piece of eight; and the Spaniards appear'd very deſirous of purchaſing cloaks of bays, though their under-garments were very rich, viz. velvet, ſilk and ſilver brocades, and they wore fine linnen, and good Flanders-lace: That four of the Spaniards wives came into the boat, who were born in Peru, of Spaniſh parents; theſe were dreſs'd after the Spaniſh mode, had large gold chains about their necks, and pendants of ſaphire in their ears: And the Governor preſented his Lieutenant with ſome oſtrich feathers, a ſilver-headed cane, and ſome other trifles; but the boat's crew could find no opportunity of converſing with the natives by themſelves; for tho' ſome Indians made a fire by a wood ſide, and hung out a white flag, as a ſignal they would traffick with them, the Spaniards would not permit the Engliſh to go to them. Whereupon the boat return'd on board, and the Governor of St. Jago ſending word he had no orders to permit him to take in water there, and directing them to go to St. Peter's Fort, he ſent one of his Lieutenants and three more to the Governor of St. Peter's Fort, who receiv'd them with great civility, but detain'd them priſoners under pretence he had receiv'd orders from Don PEDRO DE MONTADES, Governor of Chili, to keep them priſoners 'till the ſhip came under the command of the fort; which when the Captain underſtood by the ſeamen who return'd with the boat, he ſeem'd reſolved to attack the fort and reſcue his Lieutenant and his three companions by force: But whether, upon mature conſideration, he did not think this practicable, or remember'd Sir WALTER RALEIGH's fate, who loſt his head for attacking the Spaniards in America when he had no commiſſion for it, he altered his reſolution, and left his four men priſoners at Baldivia, whoſe names were THOMAS ARMIGER, the Lieutenant, JOHN FORTESCU, Gentleman, HUGH COE, Trumpeter, and THOMAS HIGHWAY, the Interpreter, who was born of Mooriſh parents in Barbary, but a Chriſtian, and lived formerly with an Engliſh merchant at Cadiz: Captain NARBOROUGH obſerv'd they were all healthful people, well qualify'd to make obſervations, and he hoped would give a good account of the country; but I am afraid they met with worſe uſage from the Spaniards than he expected, and whether any of them ever return'd to England I cannot learn.

Narborough trafficks with the Spaniards.

But is not ſuffer'd to trade with the natives.

His Lieutenant and three more made priſoners by the Spaniards.

While Captain NARBOROUGH lay in the river Baldivia, ſome Indians under the Spaniſh Government came on board him, whom he acquainted that he was come to eſtabliſh a trade with them, and deſir'd they would communicate this to their friends in the country. They ſeem'd glad of it, and were unwilling to return on ſhore, declaring that the Spaniards were mere devils, inſulting and abuſing thoſe they had in their power without mercy, and ſaid, that both the Spaniards and the Indians had abundance of gold. He gave them ſome knives, looking-glaſſes, and other toys, when they went on ſhore, and they promiſed to acquaint the inland inhabitants with what he ſaid. But, it ſeems, theſe people were of a middle ſtature, they were not thoſe giants the Spaniards had repreſented them.

The ſtature of the Chileſians.

Remarks on the Spaniſh accounts of America.

And here we may obſerve, that the accounts we have receiv'd of America from the Spaniards are not agreeable to truth, but formed upon the plan of intereſt, bigotry or vanity. They furniſh'd us with ſuch relations as might deter other European nations from ſending colonies thither; or ſuch as might ſeem to juſtify their uſurpations and cruelty to that people, and reflect honour on the Spaniſh nation, or the Roman catholick ſuperſtition, to which they are known to be more bigotted than any nation in Europe; and we poor credulous Proteſtants, notwithſtanding our abhorrence of Popery, greedily ſwallowed the moſt improbable and incredible tale they were pleaſed to frame.

From theſe ſources we may derive thoſe ſhocking relations which obtained ſo univerſally on the firſt diſcovery of America, of giants, monſters, and canibals, tho' the Spaniards carried the matter ſo far, and dreſs'd up their ſtories with ſo many contradictions and unnatural circumſtances, as one would have thought ſhould have confuted their own narratives; and indeed now we come to reflect coolly and deliberately upon them, and diſcern with what view they were propagated, they need no other confutation, where the prejudices of people are not inſuperable, and they have an opportunity of examining them thoroughly.

The Spaniards, we find, inform'd Captain Narborough, that tho' there was a great deal of gold in the country, yet the mines were in poſſeſſion of the natives, who were a barbarous and gigantick race, expert in the exerciſe of arms, both Indian and European, and who could bring ten thouſand good horſe into the field upon a very ſhort warning; from whence they would have him conclude, that it was in vain for any European nation to attempt to ſettle colonies in Chili, or expect to come at their gold. The Spaniards themſelves had no more than what was found in rivulets, or on the ſurface of the earth, which they purchaſed of the natives; and tho' they had been ſettled there ſo long, they had been driven from the mines, and could not at preſent penetrate further into the country than the palliſadoes of their own forts.

But Sir John Narborough ſaw with his own eyes that the natives were not the giants they were repreſented: That their ſtature was rather inferior to that of the Engliſh, and that the Spaniards were ſo much maſters of the ſea-coaſts thereabouts that the natives durſt not come thither to traffick with his people: He was ſenſible alſo, how poor a fortification that of Baldivia then was, and that there was not an hundred Europeans in garriſon there. How then was it poſſible to believe that the Chileſians were giants, or expert ſoldiers, and could raiſe a body of ten thouſand horſe? This was evidently all gaſconade, and only fit to amuſe women and children with. Notwithſtanding the Spaniards therefore had repreſented the Chileſians as ſuch a powerful and barbarous people, and averſe to the entertaining any commerce with foreigners, Sir John declares it to be his opinion, that the moſt advantageous trade in the world might be eſtabliſhed in thoſe parts, if England had the Freedom of the Spaniſh ports there, or if they had not, that a trade might be carried on in ſpite of all the Spaniſh forces on that ſide by a ſquadron of four or five ſhips of twenty or thirty guns each; and he did not queſtion but the natives of the ſouth parts of Chili, about Caſtro, Oſorno, and Baldivia, would be willing to exchange their gold for knives, ſciſſars, looking-glaſſes, beads, combs, hatchets, and other merchandize of that kind.

But can any one imagine, that a raſcally garriſon of a hundred Spaniards, defended only by ſeven guns and a poor breaſt-work, could have kept the brave Chileſians in awe, and prevented their trafficking with foreigners on the coaſt, if, according to the Spaniſh account, the Chileſe could have brought ten thouſand men of a gigantick ſtature, completely arm'd and verſ'd in the trade of war into the field? Would not ſuch a force have been able to toſs the Spaniards and their paltry fort into the ſea, and made their way to the coaſt againſt all the power of Spain in South-America?

Sir John Narborough returns thro' the Straights.

But to get ſome farther light into the ſtate of Chili, and diſcover whether it be yet practicable, or worth the while to ſettle colonies and eſtabliſh a trade with that coaſt, I ſhall conſider ſome other voyages that have been made with that view to Patagonia, to the Straights of Magellan, and round Cape Horn and the Terra Magellenica, to the coaſt of Chili, and to the iſlands near it: Give me leave only to obſerve in the firſt place, that Sir John Narborough in his return took his departure from Cape Gallery, the ſouth point of the harbour of Baldivia, on Thurſday the 22d of December, 1670, ſailing to the ſouthward along the weſt coaſt of America till the 6th of January, when he made the iſlands of Direction, at the weſtern mouth of the Straights of Magellan, which he paſs'd, and arrived at Cape Virgin Mary in the North-ſea, on February 14, 1670-1, he made Cape Blanco on the 23d, and on the 24th anchor'd in Port Deſire bay, in 47 degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude, from whence ſetting ſail on February the 26th, he arrived at the Lizard in the Engliſh channel on the 10th of June, 1671, ſo that he was about a year and three quarters from home upon this voyage, but not more than half a year in his paſſage from Valdivia, in Chili, to England. So that it appears to be much the ſame in extent as an Eaſt-India voyage, and poſſibly may be perform'd in leſs time now they have found the way round Terra del Fogo, and are not hinder'd by going through the Straights of Magellan, which uſually took up ſix weeks or two months of the voyage.

Spaniſh forts on the Straights of Magellan.

Before the paſſage round Cape Horn was diſcover'd, the Spaniards imagining there was no other way into the South-ſea but through the Straights of Magellan, built forts on the narroweſt part of that Straight, and garriſon'd them with ſeveral hundred men, in order to exclude all other nations from the South-ſea, and ſecure the empire of that ocean and thoſe rich and extenſive countries bordering upon it to themſelves; but Sir Thomas Cavendish paſſing the Straights of Magellan in January, 1586, and coming to the firſt Spaniſh fort, found no more than twenty-four alive of four hundred that were left there, and theſe almoſt ſtarv'd. He arriv'd afterwards at another fort in the Straight, to which the Spaniards had given the name of Fort St. Philip, and found it in ruins, moſt of the garriſon whereof periſh'd for want of food; whereupon Sir Thomas gave it the name of Port Famine, and proceeding in his voyage paſſed happily into the South-ſea. Several other Commanders alſo have paſſed theſe Straights ſucceſsfully, particularly Sir John Narborough, already mentioned; but many however have been diſappointed, drove back and loſt by tempeſts; and the paſſage was found for the moſt part ſo difficult, that it put ſome enterprizing ſeamen upon finding a way round Cape Horn further to the ſouthward, in which both La Maire and Admiral Brewer ſucceeded: The firſt paſſing through a ſhort and narrow Straight, between Terra del Fogo and States-iſland on the eaſt of it, which has ſince obtain'd the name of La Maire's Straight, and Brewer paſſing through a ſtraight made by States-iſland, and another ſmall iſland to the eaſtward of it, gave that paſs the name of Brewer's Straight; but none of theſe ſtraights are uſed at preſent; ſhips that are bound to the South-ſea or coaſt of Chili now ſtand away to the ſouth-eaſt till they come into 58 or 60 degrees, ſurrounding the Terra del Fogo, and all the other iſlands in the neighbourhood of it: Nor do they find any inconvenience in going thus far ſouth but the meeting

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Paſſages found out by La Maire and Brewer.

The paſſage round Terra del Fogo, and the other iſlands.

ing with vaſt pieces of ice, as our mariners do in Greenland, which are not ſo numerous however as to interrupt their voyage. Our countrymen, Captain Cowley, Captain Dampier, Captain Rogers, and Captain Sharpe, all paſſed theſe ſeas round Cape Horn without any ill accident, and ſav'd a great deal of time by avoiding the Straights of Magellan.

The iſlands of Patagonia and Chili deſcrib'd.

And here I ſhall give ſome further deſcription of thoſe three conſiderable iſlands on the coaſt of Patagonia and Chili, of which all ſeamen, who viſit the Pacific-ocean, take ſo much notice, viz. 1. The iſland of Terra del Fogo; 2. The iſland of Chiloe; and, 3. The iſland of John Fernando.

Terra del Fogo. Situation and extent.

1. The iſland of Terra del Fogo is bounded by the Straights of Magellan on the north, by the Atlantic-ocean on the eaſt, and by the great South-ſea on the ſouth and weſt, being of a triangular figure, the baſe whereof is the Straight of Magellan, three hundred miles in length from eaſt to weſt, and it is about the ſame extent from north to ſouth, viz. from the Straights of Magellan to Cape Horn, the point or ſummit of the pyramid, which lies in 57 degrees, 30 minutes ſouth latitude.

Face of the country.

This iſland, like the continent over-againſt it, is mountainous and woody, the tops of the mountains almoſt always cover'd with ſnow; but it has ſeveral good bays and harbours on the coaſt to ſhelter ſhipping from the ſtorms and tempeſts that reign in theſe ſeas, and does not want rivulets of freſh water.

Natives, their perſons and habits.

As to the natives, travellers differ very widely in the deſcription of them in ſome particulars, tho' they agree pretty well in others. They all agree, that they are a brave and hardy people, but not very numerous: That they paint both their faces and bodies, and have no other cloaths but a cloak or mantle made of raw hides, or the ſkins of fiſh and fowls tack'd together with green guts, only the men wear a cap of feathers. The women have nothing on their heads, but wear a piece of penguin's ſkin before their nudities. They live in huts, or in arbours, made of the boughs of trees, and eat ſeals, penguins, veniſon, and other game they take either by land or water. Their arms are clubs, bows and arrows pointed with ſharp flints or bones. Their boats are canoes, or hollow trees, and they make their nets of guts and ſinews, the fibres of the bark of trees, or ſuch other materials as their country affords.

But ſome travellers, eſpecially the Dutch, related, that the natives were giants, ten or eleven foot high at leaſt: That they tore up the trees by the roots to encounter their enemies, and threw ſtones at them big enough to ſink their boats: And they reported alſo, that they were canibals, though it is univerſally acknowledged they liv'd chiefly on the fleſh of other animals.

But late travellers, and even the Dutch themſelves, ſince they have diſcover'd the way round the iſland of Cape Horn, acknowledge the people are of a moderate ſtature, not exceeding that of the Europeans: And as to their being canibals, no manner of proof has ever been brought of it from firſt to laſt; this fact is ſupported ſolely by the ſurmiſes of our wiſe Adventurers, and the credulity of their readers.

Probably ſome of the firſt Diſcoverers thought it convenient to give out that the natives were giants, to excuſe their running away from them; and added, that they were canibals, to render them ſtill more terrible, and to juſtify their murdering theſe naked defenceleſs people with their artillery and fire-arms.

Chiloe iſland. Situation and extent.

2. The iſland of Chiloe, ſituated on the weſt-ſide of a great bay of the South-ſea, near and over-againſt the continent of Chili (a multitude of leſſer iſlands (ſome ſay forty) lying in the ſame bay.) It is a long iſland, ſtretching from north to ſouth, and extending from 41 degrees 40 minutes, to 53 degrees 30 minutes ſouth latitude, computed to be about 140 miles in length, and 20 in breadth.

The face of the country is various, conſiſting of mountains, valleys, woods, champain, ſavannah, or meadow and marſhy grounds, and has in it ſome fine ſprings and rivulets of freſh water.

Caſtro town.

A fruitful country.

The chief, and for ought I can learn, the only town in it is that of Caſtro, built by the Spaniards, and already deſcribed, which is ſituated in 42 degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude, and 84 degrees of weſtern longitude. The country, according to Brewer and Sir John Narborough, abounding in corn, cattle, and fruit, both European and Indian, though by Techo, and ſome others, ſaid to be barren, and one of the pooreſt of all the Spaniſh ſettlements; which different accounts may eaſily be reconciled. I don't find any reaſon to doubt the relations given us by the Dutch, and Sir John Narborough, that it appear'd a fruitful country when they were there, for this was before the Spaniſh plantations were quite ruined. But in the time of Techo the natives ſeem to have recover'd the country again, and left the Spaniards little more than the town of Caſtro, which has been ſo often burnt and plunder'd, that it is now reduced to a miſerable village, with a ſmall fort that defends it: And in theſe circumſtances no wonder the lands are uncultivated, and conſequently appear unfruitful. This is the caſe of many parts of the world; the ſoil ſeems to alter according to the genius or circumſtances of the inhabitants. We are told of theſe very Chileſians, that upon the continent they ſow and plant no more than juſt furniſhes their particular families with food, and the Spaniards have no encouragement to improve a country they are not maſters of, and where they cannot enjoy the fruit of their labours in quiet. Beſides, the Chileſians are not now their ſlaves to do their drudgery, as they did formerly; and we are well acquainted with the pride and lazineſs of the Spaniards even in their own country, where the French frequently cultivate their lands for them; the owners will not work or improve their eſtates, tho' they ſtarve upon them; and this poſſibly is the caſe of their countrymen in Chiloe, now they have no ſlaves to work for them, and cultivate the lands in that iſland.

Iſland of John Fernando.

3. The third and laſt iſland I propoſed to deſcribe on the coaſt of Chili is that of Juan, or John Fernando, which obtain'd its name from the firſt Diſcoverer and Planter. This iſland is ſituated in 34 degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude, about 400 miles weſt of the coaſt of Chili, being thirty-eight or forty miles in circumference. Hither it was that Governor Pullen adviſed the ſending of a ſquadron of men of war during the laſt war with France and Spain in the reign of Queen Anne, when the Miniſtry requir'd his opinion concerning the feazibleneſs of preventing the treaſures of Peru and Chili from being brought to Europe by the French and Spaniards, and of excluding the French from that traffick, whereby they were enabled to maintain the war ſo long againſt the Confederates.

Propos'd to be planted and fortified by England, by Governor Pullen.

It was propoſed alſo to the Governor's conſideration, whether it was not practicable to fix Britiſh colonies in thoſe rich countries of Chili and Peru, and thereby come in for a ſhare in thoſe treaſures. And becauſe it is very poſſible that this nation may be in the like ſituation again (that is) be at war with France and Spain again, or at leaſt with the latter, and the ſame conduct may hereafter become expedient which was adviſeable then; and becauſe we no where meet with a juſter account of the ſtate of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and of Chili in particular, the country I am now treating of, than in the writings of this ingenious gentleman, I ſhall take the liberty to tranſcribe as much from that eſſay of Mr. PULLEN's on the ſubject above-mention'd as I apprehend for my preſent purpoſe.

I ſhall firſt begin (ſays Mr. PULLEN) with what is neceſſary to be done to ruin their commerce (that is, of the French in the South-ſea; for then they were admitted into all the Spaniſh ports in America, ſupplied their towns and colonies with European goods, for which they received gold and ſilver in return, and were entruſted by the Spaniards to bring their plate to Europe) a commerce the moſt beneficial to them, and conſequently moſt prejudicial to us. To effect which, I propoſe the ſending thither eight fifty and ſixty gun ſhips the next ſeaſon; for the manning of which ſquadron, I propoſe but half the complement of ſeamen that are allow'd to ſuch ſhips by the rules of the navy, and that the reſt of the number ſhould be made up with ſoldiers, either mariners or detachments out of marching regiments, as the Government ſhall judge moſt expedient, provided they be men acquainted with ſervice; and if they have ſerved ſome campaigns, ſo much the better, becauſe they will be leſs ſubject to ſickneſs, and not ſo ſoon be diſcouraged with hardſhips as raw men; for probably they may often have their patience exerciſed in ſo long and remote a voyage: And the reaſon why I propoſe ſo few ſeamen is, becauſe moſt of the ſoldiers will be made ſeamen by the length of the voyage, and be much more ſerviceable both for landing, of which there will be frequent occaſion, as well as for ſmall-ſhot upon the decks in an engagement, at which they are much more expert than our ſailors.

I am concern'd that I am oblig'd here to take notice of the great ignorance of our ſeamen (generally ſpeaking) in the uſe of ſmall-arms, which, by a great blindneſs, they have too much neglected of late days, and endeavour to confirm one another in the contempt of them, by alledging, that in loading the great-guns with cartridge-ſhot you perform the ſame thing better; than which nothing is more falſe in fact, and is one of the chief reaſons the French are ſo bold in boarding our ſeventy and eighty gun ſhips; for they know that our ſeamen are ſo unſkilful in the uſe of the muſket, that when they are beat from their artillery, they ſeldom give them much trouble afterwards, and what reſiſtance they have found upon our men-of-war's decks of late time, hath moſtly been from our mariners, who have very juſtly acquir'd a great reputation, and are certainly a moſt uſeful body of people, and the motto which I have ſeen upon ſome of their caps (Sine his Nihil) is now literally true. I affirm, this is one of the principal reaſons that makes the French deſpiſe our ſeamen, and hath expoſed us to ſuch loſs both of reputation and ſhipping as hath not been known but of late days, and deſerves a very ſerious conſideration, in order to procure a ſpeedy and effectual remedy. If I ſhould ſay that the fire-arms that are put on board our men-of-war are both too heavy and too ſhort, and the locks good for nothing, and that the French extremely excel us in the commodiouſneſs of their fire-arms in all reſpects, I ſhould advance nothing but truth.

The ſeaſon of the year proper to begin their voyage is from the firſt to the middle of September; but I adviſe by all means that they ſhould ſet out by the 15th of Auguſt, that they may arrive ſome ſmall time in the South-ſeas before the French trade, that goes the ſame year: For by this means one could hardly fail of deſtroying all the ſhips bound thither that ſeaſon, and perhaps meet with ſome returning home; for they muſt obſerve the ſame time of year and return by the ſame rout out of thoſe ſeas that they went into them by.

To make this ſtill plainer, it will not be amiſs to ſet down here the rout they always uſe going thither, which is by or round Cape Horn, the ſouthermoſt promontory of all America; for they never venture through the Straights of Magellan, becauſe they find now by experience, that for one ſhip that gets through, three are forced back, and ſo loſe their voyage that year, to the ruin of their owners: But having ſufficient ſea-room the other way, they are never expoſed to any ſuch riſque. After they have doubled Cape Horn, they ſteer directly for the iſle of Juan Fernando, to refreſh their men, who by the time they get thither want ſufficiently, and likewiſe to take in freſh water, for their firſt ſtock can't fail of being near expir'd before they reach this place. I have taken a great deal of pains to inform myſelf of this matter from ſeveral French ſailors that have perform'd the voyage, who all agreed that they never miſs'd that iſland if they could help it, becauſe their men are almoſt all in the ſcurvy by that time, and it would infallibly occaſion a mutiny, if the Captain ſhould refuſe touching there.

Governor Pullen's deſcription of the iſland of John Fernando.

It ſeems neceſſary, having mention'd this iſland, that I ſhould give you a deſcription of it, the rather becauſe of the advantages I propoſe from the planting of it. The iſle of Juan, or John Fernando, lies in the latitude of 34 degrees, 45 minutes, its circuit may be about thirty-eight or forty Engliſh miles, and its diſtance from the continent of South-America four hundred. Its ſoil is indifferent upon the hills, but its valleys are fine, fruitful and pleaſant, interſperſed with ſavannahs, as they are uſually call'd here, that is, natural meadows which are common in the Weſt-Indies, and which I have mention'd elſewhere in the deſcription of Buenos Ayres. Theſe valleys therefore are doubtleſs capable of great improvements, ſince there need be no queſtion of their producing every thing which is agreeable to this climate; and tho', as I have ſaid, the hills are in their ſoil unfruitful, yet I would not be underſtood by that to exclude trees, of which there are many, and ſome which might be of great uſe; but what principally induc'd me to mention the ſettling of it was the breeding cattle and raiſing fruits of the earth, and by tillage; by means whereof great advantage might accrue to the inhabitants, ſince the ſhips which paſs the Straights of Magellan, or by Cape Horn, conſtantly touch here, by reaſon that their crew having by this time contracted an epidemick ſcurvy, the Captain's miſſing the iſland, might, as I have ſaid, occaſion a mutiny. I foreſee one objection which would be made to this propoſal, and that is, the difficulty there would be in maintaining ſuch a ſettlement at ſuch a diſtance from Britain, and from any Britiſh colonies: But to this I anſwer, "That never any iſland was more capa-"ble of being fortified ſo as to reſiſt an enemy who "could attack it in that part of the world." There are in it but two bays capable of receiving ſhips, which are both at the eaſt-end, and a ſmall charge would ſoon build ſuch works as would render it impracticable for any to land there againſt the will of its inhabitants. The weſt-end, which is the higheſt,

eſt, rockieſt, and by far the moſt barren part of the iſland, hath yet this advantage, that it is of ſuch natural ſtrength that a ſmall body of men might defend it, even againſt the greateſt force that could be brought againſt it.

Seals are found here in the greateſt plenty of any part of the world, and their ſkins are of an extraordinary value from the fineneſs of the furs: Their fat makes very good train-oil, and much better ſtill is made of what is called the ſea-lion, which is a creature much bigger than the ſeal, tho' amphibious like them, yet without a fir. The number of theſe creatures, which is frequently ſo great as entirely to cover the ſhore, ſufficiently demonſtrates the plenty of fiſh which muſt be on its coaſts, thoſe amphibious animals living on little elſe; and indeed there are here as fine, and in as great quantity, as could be wiſh'd. To theſe advantages may be added the great abundance of goats, which have been produc'd by three or four which were left here by its firſt diſcoverer. All which put together, would render it no diſagreeable place for thoſe who in the voyage I propoſe have no other view than ſettling ſomewhere in the world, to plant themſelves here, where they would be ſure of finding moſt of the neceſſaries of life ready to their hands; the graſs of the ſavannahs in this iſland not being like thoſe throughout the reſt of America long and flaggy, but thick and ſhort, extremely fit for grazing, inſomuch that a very competent judge avers, he has not carry'd his calculation too high in averring, that theſe ſavannahs are now capable of maintaining a thouſand head of cattle, beſides goats, who grow fatteſt on the moſt barren part of the iſland.

JOHN FERNANDO diſcover'd this iſle in the voyage he was making from Lima to Baldivia; and being exceedingly pleaſed with its ſituation, ſoil and climate, reſolv'd to ſettle it, judging that its produce might very well ſupport four or five hundred families. On his return to Lima he endeavour'd to procure a patent for that purpoſe. In his firſt inſtance he was favourably receiv'd, but whether it claſhed in any degree with the private intereſt of the Spaniſh Vice-roy, or whether it be a maxim in the Spaniſh policy not to ſettle in any place in America in which are no mines, I ſhall not pretend to determine, but ſhall only add, that it has continued uninhabited ever ſince, except now and then ſome body who has been left when the ſhips water'd there, and who have found a way to ſubſiſt tolerably till they have been taken in again by ſome other ſhip that came on the ſame errand.

But I have dwelt long enough on this ſubject of planting it. Let us next obſerve of what uſe in its preſent ſtate it might be to our ſquadron. And in the firſt place it is evident, that while our ſhips remain'd here it would be next to an impoſſibility for them to miſs thoſe for whom they waited. But beſides, we ſhould not loſe a moment's time here by ſuch a view more than is neceſſary to all ſhips that come on the ſame deſign; and we ſhould likewiſe have an opportunity of fitting up our ſmall-craft, deſign'd for landing of men, in order to the ſurprizing ſuch places as it ſhould be reſolv'd to attempt. Nor can there be a more proper conjuncture than while the fleet lies here, to concert the ſcheme of action while they remain in the South-ſeas.

The ſquadron having done this, ought to ſail for Aurica, on the coaſt of Peru, and by ſending a nimble ſailor a-head, endeavour to learn, by taking ſome priſoners, whether the plate be yet there which is brought from the mines of Potoſi to this place; for Aurica is the barcadeer or port to Potoſi; thither the King's galleons come once a year to fetch it up in the firſt place to Callao, and from thence, after ſome ſtay, to Panama, from whence it is ſent over land to Porto Bello, where it is put on board of the galleons, which convey it to Spain.

Now if it ſhould happen that the plate be there (as 'tis odds but it is) I adviſe without more ado to land and attack the place, and 'twill be a miracle to me if you can fail taking it: For Captain SHARPE took this place with no more than eighty men, tho' the whole force the country could raiſe was there to defend it. But there was a little paltry fort at the end of the town, that while his ſmall force was attacking it, the people whom he had juſt before beat out of the town, return'd and charg'd him at his back: And tho' he beat them out again four or five times, his ſmall number ſo diminiſhed by theſe repeated attacks, that he was forced to make his retreat, tho' he ſaw, and was in poſſeſſion of for ſome time, more ſilver than would have loaded four or five ſuch ſhips as his was. You may ſee an account of this whole matter in Mr. RINGROSE's journal, who was one of Captain SHARPE's crew at that time, and is printed under the name of The hiſtory of the Buccaneers. But if nothing is to be done at this time here, then ſail immediately to Cape Paſſo, under the Equinoctial-line, where you can hardly fail of taking every ſhip that comes from the coaſt of Peru to Panama; for the whole trade of the South-ſeas conſiſts in gong and coming from this laſt port to Peru, as 'tis well known to every one that knows any thing of theſe ſeas.

In this cruiſe you will meet with the proviſions that muſt ſupport you in theſe parts: for the city of Panama is wholly ſuſtain'd by the proviſions ſent from the ſeveral ports of Peru, as wheat, flour from Guanchaco, wine, bacon, and marmalade from Piſco, and chocolate from Guiaquil, ſugar and oil from Hillo. In my opinion theſe foregoing articles may afford a comfortable ſubſiſtance for our people, during their ſtay there, and what they need never fear meeting with in ſufficient quantities, if their Commanders underſtand the proper methods for intercepting it.

The proviſions the Spaniards are forced to ſend for the ſupport of this great city was the reaſon they could never hinder the Buccaneers ſubſiſting in theſe ſeas, which they endeavour'd by all means within their power: And I am of opinion, that that they might probably effect it were it not for the continual ſupplies they are obliged to ſend to Panama, which can never be diſpenſed with; for if they ſhould take ſuch a reſolution, that great city would certainly be famiſhed. I have dwelt longer upon this article than otherwiſe I deſign'd, to convince people that a ſquadron need neither periſh by hunger, or be driven by it out of theſe ſeas, if they know how to take the proper means to prevent it. But I ſhall ſay more upon this head when I come to anſwer the objections againſt the impracticableneſs of this voyage, which I propoſe to do in the ſequel of this diſcourſe.

After the ſquadron hath made what ſtay they find convenient in this laſt ſtation, they ought to proceed to the bay of Panama, where there are ſeveral ſmall iſlands that abound with refreſhments and water, and very good anchoring, in ſeveral places. Here they will intercept all ſhips bound for this port, and likewiſe a great number of ſmall barks from Natta, La Velia, and Puebla Nova, which are loaden with fowls, hogs, manatee, and Indian-corn for the uſe of Panama, and you may attack Panama itſelf, or the golden mines of St. Maria, or both, according to the information you receive from the priſoners you take; and indeed if you ſtaid long here, the city of Panama would infallibly be ſtarved.

At this place, in my opinion, they ſhould divide the ſquadron, after they have perform'd all the ſervice they can here, and ſend four ſhips to cruize on the coaſt of New-Spain, in order to take the Acapulco ſhip; two of theſe ſhips muſt cruize off the mouth of Acapulco harbour, or rather to the northward of it, and the other two muſt take their ſtation near Cape St. Lucar, in Callifornia, which is always the firſt land the Manillia ſhip makes coming home, except ſhe hath reaſon to fear an enemy there, and then ſhe endeavours to make the land as near the harbour's mouth as ſhe can, for which reaſon I have placed two ſhips in each ſtation. The time ſhe arrives never exceeds ten days before or after Chriſtmas, which makes it almoſt impoſſible to miſs of her, if the diſpoſition I have here laid down be followed. They will likewiſe have a chance to take the outward-bound Acapulco ſhip, if they take care not to be diſcover'd from the coaſt, for ſhe never fails to begin her voyage betwixt the 10th of December and the 10th of February, and is moſt prodigious rich in pieces of eight.

Now to return to the four ſhips which we left in the bay of Panama, I think they ought to take this oportunity to go over to the Galleppagos (under the Equator) where they will find both great ſtore of excellent refreſhments for their ſick men, and ports where they may careen and refit their ſhips with all manner of ſecurity; therefore the four ſhips ſent to look out for the Acapulco ſhip muſt be appointed to rendezvous here after their cruize is out. Now I have pointed at all the principal things that can be undertaken at ſea in theſe parts, but have omitted a great many enterprizes that might be formed againſt the rich towns upon the coaſt of Peru, becauſe I would not ſwell this diſcourſe to too great a bulk.

Firſt, 'Tis objected, and with a great deal of ſeeming reaſon, that having no ports there where the ſquadron can either revictual or refit upon any occaſion, that therefore they would run the greateſt riſque imaginable of ſtarving, or having the ſhips in a little time render'd unſerviceable.

To which I anſwer, That if they pleaſe to make uſe of the following advice, they need neither fear the one or the other, viz. To ſend all ſuch ſhips as you take in your cruize between Peru and Panama (loaden with proviſions) over to the Galleppagos with one of your frigates, with orders to chuſe out the beſt harbour, and where there is the greateſt plenty of refreſhments, and there unrig your prizes you think fit to ſend, and form a magazine, which indeed the place itſelf invites you to, for you need never fear the Spaniards diſturbing you, for two reaſons; Firſt, becauſe they have no naval force, though join'd by the French, capable to diſpute the ſea with you. Secondly, becauſe they know hardly any thing of theſe iſlands but the name, dreading them extremely, and telling ſtrange romantick ſtories of whirlpools and currents that have deſtroyed ſeveral of their ſhips that had the imprudence to come too near them in their voyages [you may ſee more of this in Mr. Ringross's Journal] and indeed here is ſo many of them, that it would not be an eaſy matter to find that out which we ſhould pitch upon except by chance. The ignorance of the Spaniards in theſe parts is hardly credible.

I ſay, hither they muſt ſend all the ſhips they take loaden with proviſions, timber, or any other ſtores that may prove uſeful to them whilſt they ſtay here; and the very ſhips themſelves may ſerve for hulks to clean by, and ſuch of their maſts and yards as are large enough be preſerved for the uſe of our own ſhips. The only reaſon why the Privateers never did this, in my opinion, was becauſe nobody had authority enough to make part of the men ſtay here to look after the ſtores; for there might indeed happen among that unruly ſort of people forty accidents that might occaſion their being left there for ever. But that they made other very good uſes of them is very plain to them that know any thing of Captain Davis's voyage, or Captain Sharpe's, or indeed of any of the Rovers that ever enter'd thoſe ſeas for thirty years laſt paſt.

And 'tis worth conſidering, that Captain Davis ſtaid in theſe ſeas three years, and twice took the very ſhips equipp'd out to fight him, which had the very beſt men they were able to pick out of all Peru, and after ſurpriſing ſeveral of their rich towns, return'd to theſe very uninhabited iſlands, where he fitted and victuall'd his ſhip for his return home, which he happily perform'd, though he uſed none of the precautions I have here recommended. Captain Sharpe did yet much more in a ſhip of leſs force; for after having made a good voyage (as they call it) he ſail'd to Nicoya, a ſmall village that conſiſts all of carpenters, and ſurprized it, and made the very Spaniſh carpenters take down his ſhip's poop, and alter his main-deck to make her fitter for the ſea: And though the Spaniards could not but know of it, they durſt never give him any interruption; and when his work was done to his mind he very generouſly rewarded his Spaniards and diſmis'd them, and afterwards ſucceſsfully perform'd his intended voyage to the Weſt-Indies.

Thus I could name ſeveral others that have carried their point, in ſpite of all the oppoſition the Spaniards could make; and if it be objected, that they were only in ſmall numbers, therefore could better ſubſiſt: I anſwer, they perfectly miſtake the matter; for the force I propoſe could upon occaſion ravage the beſt and moſt plentiful country in theſe parts in the face of the ſun. But things may eaſily be kept from coming to theſe extremities.

The ſecond objection is, that the Spaniards or French could not fail of being inform'd by their good friends here of the intended expedition, and ſo render it uſeleſs and unſucceſsful. To this I anſwer, that if it was to be carry'd on in a method I could propoſe, they could never know of it, except it was betray'd by them that only have the power to put it in execution: But ſuppoſe it was, I can tell you, they could ward againſt very few of the intended blows; for in the firſt place, they could ſend no ſilver from Peru to Panama, and ſo the galleons would come empty; and pray conſider the conſequence of that. In the next place, you muſt of neceſſity ruin the French trade during the time you ſtaid there; neither could they prevent with all their knowledge your taking their ſea-port towns, or the homeward bound Acapulco ſhip. In my opinion, it could only hinder your taking the galleons going between Aurica and Panama, or the Spaniards bringing their ſilver to Aurica from the mines; and as to the French ſending a ſuperior ſquadron after us, 'tis not ſo eaſily done as ſuppoſed, for reaſons too long to inſert here, but ſuch as I ſhall be very ready to produce when deſir'd. In my poor opinion, theſe foregoing objections are the only ones of weight that can be brought againſt this propoſal.

The Governor propoſes ſettling colonies in Chili.

I have yet left untouch'd a moſt noble deſign that may be formed upon Chili, a country that the Spaniards have but hold on by the border. King Charles the IId ſeem'd to aim at ſomething of this kind by his ſending Sir John Narborough thither in the Sweep-ſtakes to diſcover it; but the Spaniſh Don who went with him in the nature of a pilot, and without doubt put the King upon the enterprize, after his being put on ſhore in the man-of-war's boat where he deſired, never appear'd more; upon which, and upon ſome other diſaſters, Sir John return'd home. But 'tis certain this is one of the beſt and richeſt countries in America, where if we could ſettle ourſelves, we ſhould prodigiouſly enrich our native country; and for my part, I don't think it impoſſible to be done.

In my opinion, the proper time to undertake this will be in returning home; for if the deſign does not ſucceed, it will not put you a league out of the way. But I adviſe by all means to attack the city of Coquimbo, which is ſituated upon the very confines of Chili, becauſe you will certainly find here ſeveral Chilean ſlaves, who, if manag'd dexterouſly, will prove exceeding ſerviceable; and likewiſe you can't fail of being informed of the preſent poſture of affairs in that country, and if it prove impracticable at this time to proſecute the project any further, the ſquadron may take in their ſtores of freſh water and other excellent proviſions for their voyage home; for there is not a better port for that purpoſe in all theſe ſeas. Captain Sharpe took this place with ninety men, and though diſcover'd before he landed, met with very little reſiſtance.

To make what I here advance more intelligible, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort account of the Spaniſh affairs in Chili. This noble country, which all the Spaniſh authors that have wrote concerning it compare, both for temperature of air and productions of the earth, to France, was ſearched into by Pedro Baldivia, ſome conſiderable time after the conqueſt of Peru; and the principal city, if not the only one the Spaniards have at this time in that country, is call'd after his name. He found the country to abound with the fineſt gold in the world, which cauſed a great many people from Peru to join themſelves with him. By this means three conſiderable cities were built and fortify'd in a very ſmall time in that country, viz. Baldivia, Oſorno, and Caſtro.

After the Spaniards had ſettled themſelves, ſecurely, as they thought, from any attempts of the Indians, according to their uſual cuſtom, they began to treat the natives of the country in a moſt inhuman manner, but they preſently found themſelves miſtaken, and were convinc'd they had to do with a people the braveſt and moſt martial of any in all America; for they gave the Spaniards ſeveral battles, and always routed them, and at laſt took their very cities and utterly expell'd them the country. In one of the battles, wherein they not only defeated the Spaniards, but likewiſe took Baldivia their General priſoner, and ſerved him as the Parthians did Croesus, pouring melted gold down his throat, and telling him, at laſt they had found a way to ſatisfy his avarice.

In this interim the Dutch made a voyage to the South-ſea with four ſhips from Brazil, which was then almoſt all in their poſſeſſion, and touched at Baldivia, which at that time was not re-ſettled by the Spaniards. The natives flock'd down to them in very great numbers, perceiving they were not Spaniards, by their complexions and hair, and were overjoy'd when they underſtood that they were at war with them, and would aſſiſt them againſt their common enemy upon all occaſions. This good underſtanding laſted ſeveral days, with abundance of interchangeable good offices, 'till unluckily the Dutch began to be very inquiſitive after gold, which as ſoon as the Chileſians perceived, they immediately abandon'd the port, and would never afterwards converſe with them, notwithſtanding all the endeavours the Dutch could uſe.

After this imprudent negotiation, perceiving they could never retrieve the blunder they had made, they ſet ſail and return'd to Brazil, being only four months and ſome days upon the whole voyage, which is a remark worth taking notice of. The Spaniards, ſome time after this voyage was made, re-ſettled at Baldivia, not being able to ſupport the thoughts of loſing ſo rich and pleaſant a country entirely, or perhaps fearing the Dutch might find means to ſeize upon it, being then in open war with them, who beſides depriving them of the vaſt quantity of gold they uſed formerly to draw from this country, would prove troubleſome neighbours to Peru.

Theſe and the like conſiderations made the Spaniards reſolve to re-eſtabliſh a new colony at Baldivia at all hazards, and without doubt it was done with great trouble and expence; for by all the relations I ever could procure (and I have been very inquiſitive) I can't find the Spaniards have any other ſettlements in the whole country. But this I am ſure of, that the war continues between the Spaniards and the natives as fierce and bloody as ever. And Mr. Funnel ſays, in the year 1704 they durſt not touch at the iſland La Moucha, which is on the coaſt of Chili cloſe to the main-land, becauſe, ſays he, we ſhould run great danger of being murder'd by the inhabitants, who are always at war with the Spaniards, and think all white men to be ſuch: But grant they do, there may be found out means to undeceive them; but I think the voyage I have quoted ſufficiently refutes that opinion.

I ſhall only mention a particular or two more of the Chileſians, and then come to what I propoſe concerning them. Amongſt the ſeveral nations that inhabit this province, and are at war with the Spaniards, there is one call'd the Araucans, who, the Spaniards ſay, are ſo valiant that they attack them whenever they meet with them, though inferior ſometimes conſiderably in number, and know not, at leaſt have not the uſe of fire-arms; and notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, generally are ſucceſsful, inſomuch that the Spaniards ſtand in great fear of them; and add, that they are ſo good at imitation in what relates to war, that they learn to camp and decamp, and intrench themſelves in places of advantage to make a handſome retreat or an aſſault, with having but once ſeen them practiſed; and ſometimes make improvements upon their teachers to their great coſt, who heartily curſe them for their docility. A famous Spaniſh Poet, during the time he ſerved in the Chilean war, compoſed a poem muſt eſteemed by thoſe of his nation, call'd H. Araucano.

Now I propoſe, that the Commander of this ſquadron ſhould have inſtructions to endeavour by all poſſible means to get a conference with the natives of this province, which if he can bring about, the buſineſs will be done to his hand; for as ſoon as they perceive he is an enemy to the Spaniards, he will want no aſſiſtance they can give him, if he gives orders that neither gold nor ſilver be mention'd in any diſcourſe held with them. After this, he may either attack Baldivia in conjunction with them, or ſeize on any other port he finds convenient, where he may repair to in caſe of need, either for victuals, which this country abounds with, or for other occaſions. But if he takes Baldivia, which I recommend if practicable (for I believe it is in a good poſture of defence, becauſe they have an enemy at their very gates, who they ſtand in great dread of) in ſuch a caſe it would be requiſite to leave a garriſon, a ſmall one would ſerve the turn, whilſt the ſquadron cruized in thoſe ſeas, becauſe the Spaniards can't go thither by land, and durſt not peep by ſea during the time it ſtay'd in thoſe parts.

But when it was thought convenient to return home, it ought to be provided with a very good garriſon, for this country is well worth the keeping poſſeſſion of, and would mightily enrich our native country, and take off a great quantity of our woollen manufacture, becauſe here is a ſevere winter of four months: And I am verily perſuaded, if a prudent man ſhould be left Governor, who cultivated a good correſpondence with the natives, that the Spaniards, tho' aſſiſted by the French, would never dare to ſtir a foot to retake it; or if they did, would be unſucceſsful, they would be ſo harraſs'd and plagu'd by the Indians, their implacable enemies, who, if they had fire-arms, would certainly be too hard for them on all occaſions. Indeed 'tis requiſite this acquiſition (if made) ſhould be encourag'd from England as a thing of the greateſt importance, and a ſufficient number of men, with all other neceſſaries, be ſent away by the firſt opportunity. For,

Beſides the riches of this country, you would infallibly in time of peace have a ſtol'n trade with Peru for all ſorts of woollen goods, as we formerly had from Jamaica with the Spaniards inhabiting the ports of the North-ſeas; and the Indians in a ſhort time would be brought to ſupply you with gold when they ſaw you paid them for it in goods they wanted and valued, as cloaths, arms, and toys. Theſe Indians muſt always be treated as a free people, and all manner of ſatisfaction given them upon all occaſions that's reaſonable. I ſhould imagine this following way to be a good method to begin a friendſhip with them.

Upon taking any towns upon the coaſt of Peru, to enquire narrowly if there be any Chilean ſlaves; and if you meet with any ſuch, as you certainly will, to ſend them abroad, and treat them with all imaginable good uſage, and carry them to their native country and ſet them aſhore, having firſt engag'd them to ſettle a correſpondence betwixt you and their countrymen, which without doubt they will readily undertake, and be as joyfully accepted of. And theſe ſlaves, ſpeaking the Spaniſh language, will be of as great uſe as interpreters. I am mightily miſtaken if Mr. Ringrose does not ſay, in ſome place, the Spaniards remov'd their Chilean ſlaves from the ſea-ports, for fear of their joining with the Buccaneers when they made deſcents upon the coaſt of Peru to ſurprize any place they had an intention to plunder. I ſhall now diſmiſs this head, tho' there may be much more ſaid of it; but I think it will not be amiſs to take notice that 'tis ſituated betwixt the 25th and 45th degrees of ſouth latitude, and is the firſt country that is inhabited by any Spaniards, as you come into thoſe ſeas round Cape Horn.

I have been more conciſe in the ſeveral points treated on in this ſhort work than otherwiſe I ſhould have been, becauſe I intended at the ſame time that I publiſh'd theſe papers of my own, to accompany them into the world with a ſmall treatiſe of Captain Lewis Pain's, a very underſtanding honeſt gentleman, who was taken by the Spaniards in Europe, and ſent over in 1707 to America, where he was kept in chains ſeveral years, being made uſe of as an engineer, by which means he had paper, pen and ink allow'd him; and in thoſe intervals he had of leiſure compoſed the following ſhort memoir of the ſtate of the Spaniards there. At laſt he found a way, by means of a Meſteze woman, to eſcape to Jamaica, but dy'd three weeks after his arrival. I purchaſed all his manuſcripts for ten piſtoles, and amongſt them found this, with which I now preſent my readers, containing a more exact and intelligible draught of thoſe truly *Terra incognita*, the in-land Spaniſh plantations, than any that (I at leaſt) have any where met with.

The love of my native country prevail'd on me to enter on this work, which I hope will afford at leaſt hints to ſome unworthy perſons to improve the naval ſtrength of Britain, extend her commerce, enrich her inhabitants, employ her hands and exalt her glory: Which are the utmoſt wiſh of the author of theſe pages, and have been equally the end of his endeavours, as they were the fartheſt aim of his ambition.

“ Thus far Governor Pullen. I ſhall, in the next place, exhibit ſuch paſſages out of Captain Pain's papers, which fell into the Governor's hands, as may enable us to form a juſt idea of the ſtate of the Spaniſh colonies in general, and of this province of Chili in particular, and then proceed to make remarks on the Governor's ſcheme of ſending a ſquadron of men-of-war into the South-ſeas in caſe of a war with Spain, and the endeavouring to ſettle colonies upon the coaſt of Chili.

Captain Pain's obſervations on the preſent ſtate of Spaniſh-America.

The empire of the Catholick King in America (Captain Pain obſerves) is a ſufficient demonſtration that projects, how ſurpriſing ſoever in their extent, are not always chimera's. Columbus, when he firſt form'd that which with ſo much glory he executed, offer'd it with all its advantages to his countrymen the Genoeſe. Thoſe in the government of the publick affairs examin'd it, and being ſatisfy'd with the reaſons, were for encouraging the propoſal; but Signor Lucio Bernerdi repreſenting to them the condition of the State, and that any conqueſts attained in this new-diſcover'd world would be almoſt impoſſible to be preſerv'd, and would ſerve but to open the way to more powerful Princes, it was thereupon rejected, perhaps not without cauſe. Then it was by Bartholomew Columbo offer'd to King Henry the ſeventh of England, next to the King of Portugal, a great encourager of navigation, and laſtly, to Ferdinand and Isabella, or rather to her only, for it ſeems agreed amongſt the Spaniſh hiſtorians, that Queen claim'd a ſole and peculiar right thereto, ſuffering none other but her own ſubjects, the Caſtilians, to paſs over thither; which Ferdinand at her deceaſe alter'd, and left all Spaniards as much freedom in this reſpect one as another. Several brave Captains and well-appointed ſhips of war ſoon after were tranſported thither; which quickly ſubdu'd not only the iſlands Columbus had diſcover'd, but alſo conquer'd a great part of the continent, erecting two noble governments on the ruins two vaſt empires, viz. Mexico and Peru. Each of theſe hath its Vice-roy, who has many great officers under him, with ſome places within the bounds of theſe two general diviſions, which yet are independant, and ſubject only to the Council in Spain; but the form, the maxims, and the end of their policy, being throughout the vaſt extent of their American dominions the ſame, I ſhall, for the ſake of being at once conciſe and perſpicuous, firſt deſcribe their method of ruling, and then give a particular deſcription of the ſeveral provinces which are at preſent under their dominion.

The only eſſential maxim which runs through the whole political œconomy of the Spaniards, in reſpect of their territories here, is the keeping them in an abſolute dependance upon Spain. All things therefore relating to their American empire receive their firſt form, and all diſputes, all projects, and all deſigns of extending or improving their dominions are conſider'd in their dernier reſort by the Council for the Indies in Spain, compoſed of ſuch who both from theory and experience have attained a perfect knowledge of theſe countries. As to America itſelf, it is, as I have ſaid, divided into two large governments, Mexico, called alſo New-Spain, and Peru, each of which hath its Vice-roy, who is honour'd with a very extenſive commiſſion. He hath for his aſſiſtance a Council, and under him, in the large provinces of his government, ſeveral ſubordinate officers, who wear the titles of Preſidents, Alcaids, &c. appointed at the will of the Vice-roy, who, notwithſtanding ſome outward forms and ſhew of limitations from his Council, is for all that abſolute; making by preſents, perquiſites and traffick, an immenſe wealth by large ſums, out of which he procures himſelf to be continu'd another five years (his firſt and uſual term) in his government, and ſometimes more. The two chief points which theſe Vice-roys have committed to their care is, the conſerving, and if it be any way practicable, the increaſing the King's revenues in plate, &c. which yearly is carry'd from Porto Bello to Spain, and the keeping the natives, Criolio's, Meſteze and Indians in ſubjection, which is executed with the utmoſt rigour, and is the ſource of all the evils that are felt here: And ſince the chief knowledge that can be acquir'd of the true ſituation of theſe affairs is deriv'd from hence, it ſeems reaſonable I ſhould explain it a little farther.

The natural-born Spaniards are ſolely veſted with command throughout all the Spaniſh-Indies; they only enjoy poſts of honour, profit and truſt; and this it is which occaſions thoſe draughts which have ſo drain'd and weaken'd their dominions in Europe; for putting no confidence even in the very firſt generation of their deſcendants, and abſolutely prohibiting all ſtrangers from going thither in their ſervice, a neceſſity follows of ſending thither continually large ſupplies, that they may be ſtill in a condition to hold the reins with equal tightneſs. This form of government creates an irreconcileable antipathy between the European Spaniards and the Criolio's, i. e. thoſe born of Spaniſh parents in the Weſt-Indies. Theſe latter ſee with indignation themſelves equally ſhut out from all conſiderable preferment either in Church or State, the moſt palpable partiality ſhewn in all judicial deciſions between them and Spaniards, and in a word, the whole policy of their Governors bent to diſtreſs and to deject 'em. The Spaniards, on the other hand, no ways ignorant of their ſentiments, and moreover continually jealous of their deſire to throw off the Spaniſh yoke, entirely exert their utmoſt arts to enfeeble and enſlave them: They diſcourage, as far as they are able, all ſorts of manufactures, of which being unprovided, they muſt of courſe purchaſe ſuch as are ſent from Spain; they alſo endeavour to hinder plantations (except Eſtantians, or Beef-farms) that they may not have it in their power to poſſeſs rich and improv'd ſettlements, the cauſe why thoſe noble countries are ſo little cultivated, and laſtly, they make it their aim to increaſe luxury, idleneſs, and puſillanimity amongſt them, that they more eaſily may be kept in obedience; whence it apparently follows, Buccaneers and ſuch like in ſmall numbers are able to do the utmoſt miſchief. And thus throughout all theſe vaſt rich and noble provinces, the inhabitants ſeem inſpir'd with a ſpirit of diſſention, which renders them continually reſtleſs and uneaſy, making almoſt uſeleſs thoſe bleſſings indulgent Providence has conferr'd upon them.

As to the religion of the Spaniſh Americans it is univerſally popiſh; and if there be any degree in bigottry amongſt them, it is among the natives, who almoſt adore the Prieſts, and are ſeverely fleec'd by them, paying them out of all they have much more than the tythe. Amongſt the Clergy there are great diviſions, occaſion'd chiefly by the national quarrels between the Criolo's and the Spaniards, which have ſubſiſted long, and ſeem rather to increaſe than diminiſh. The ſeveral orders of Friars, as in Europe, are exceedingly jealous of one another, tho' they all find ways to gain ſo much upon the minds of the people, that there is not perhaps in the world finer and more coſtly monaſteries and religious houſes than are here, the power, riches, and grandeur of the church riſing no where higher.

The inhabitants of theſe countries are, 1. Natural-born Spaniards. 2. Criolo's, of Spaniſh parents, born in America. 3. Meſteze, born of Indian and Spaniſh parents. 4. Indians, properly natives. 5. Negroes brought hither from Africk. As for the Spaniards, they differ little from thoſe in Europe, except that they are more high and lofty than in Spain, as they are lords here, poſſeſſing every thing, and living on the labour of others. The Criolo's fall not a bit ſhort of them in vanity and haughtineſs; but, as I have ſaid, are kept much under, never allow'd any conſiderable preferment, and are even worſe us'd than the Indians themſelves; they are ignorant, lazy, and puſillanimous in general, though here and there, eſpecially amongſt the church-men, ſome deſerve a better character. The Indians are a ſimple well-natur'd induſtrious people, much leſſen'd in their numbers by the exceſſive cruelty us'd at firſt by their conquerors; they are yet ſufficiently preſs'd by the yoke of bondage, but wherever they are allow'd a relaxation, they build convenient cities, and ſo make themſelves rich and flouriſhing. The Negroes here as elſewhere are made uſe of as ſlaves.

As to the commodities of this country, I ſhall ſpeak more particularly under the deſcription I ſhall give of its ſeveral parts. In reſpect of its trade, it is wholly domeſtick, except what is carry'd on with Spain in a yearly ſhip from Acapulco to the Eaſt-Indies, and the prohibited commerce they us'd to carry on with the Engliſh. The Spaniards, who, as I have ſaid, own no other maxim in their Indian politicks, than to keep the Americans in abſolute ſubjection, are in nothing more careful than what relates to traffick, having taken every precaution they were able to hinder their intercourſe with other nations both by heavy fines and ſevere puniſhments, which ſometimes have extended even to death itſelf, and by maintaining veſſels of force in pay, under the name of Guard de Coſta's, in order to cruize about, and make prize of whatever ſhip they find within the limits of their ſeas. They likewiſe ſuppreſs ſome, and carefully diſcourage all manufactures from being carried on there, though for all that, ſome very tolerable cloth is made in Quitto; for it is here as in ſome other polite countries, a handſome preſent to thoſe in the adminiſtration is a certain method to ſtrike juſtice, or at leaſt the miniſters of juſtice, both blind and dumb. The ſhipping here are neither numerous nor convenient, what there are continually paſs to and fro between the two vaſt diviſions of this empire; which as they were before the only parts of the world known to the Indians, ſo they are now the only places which have any commerce together under the government of the Spaniards: But as all is of late fallen under the direction of the French *, it is highly probable they ſoon may be alter'd.

Captain Pain's remarks on Chili.

Chili lies next to the province of Peru, and is abſolutely the fineſt country and richeſt in all America, whether north or ſouth. The inhabitants are a hardy, valiant, and ſtubborn people, who having been ill uſed by the Spaniards, drove them out of their country, kill'd their Governor, and are their inveterate enemies to this day: However, the Spaniards have now recover'd Baldivia and ſome other places on the ſea-coaſt. Paraguay, or rather La Plata, is at the back of Chili, in which the Catholick King hath the valuable ſettlement of Buenos Ayres, one of the fineſt in America; the true Paraguay is entirely ſubject to, and formed by the Jeſuits. Terra Magellenica is the laſt Spaniſh ſettlement I have to mention, and to ſay truth is difficult enough to determine whether it be ſettled or no; however, they claim it, and as they reckon it part of their poſſeſſion, ſo ſhall I.

The author's remarks on Governor Pullen's project of ſettling colonies in Chili.

I come in the laſt place to give my own thoughts on Mr. Pullen's project, in caſe we ſhould ever have another war with Spain; and muſt agree with the Governor that nothing could more ſenſibly affect the enemy than the interrupting their trade with Peru and Chili, and that a ſquadron might be well employ'd in the South-ſea for that end; but I ſhould rather chuſe the iſland of Chiloe for a ſtation for our ſhips than that of John Fernando's, becauſe the latter lies four hundred miles from the coaſt, and the other in ſight of it, within three or four leagues of the continent in many places; beſides, the iſland of Chiloe is ten times larger, already well ſtock'd with cattle, has many good harbours in and near it, and is known to be well watered and fruitful where it is cultivated. And if any thing ſhould be wanting for the fleet or land-forces, proviſions might eaſily be procur'd from the neighbouring continent, which is in view of it. Beſides, Chiloe is known to have gold mines in it, which might be wrought by our Negroe ſlaves; and were we once fix'd here, we ſhould command the whole coaſt of Chili, if not that of Peru. It would not be poſſible for the Spaniards, tho' aſſiſted by the natives, to expel us from that important iſland of Chiloe; and as it lies between the latitudes of 41 and 44 the climate is not diſagreeable to Britiſh conſtitutions in point of health and convenience. All manner of European grain and fruits grow here, our cattle multiply and improve to a miracle, and it might be ſtock'd with them in a few hours from the adjacent continent if they were not to be met with there already.

But further: The town of Baldivia, near which are the richeſt gold mines of America, lies almoſt in ſight of the iſland of Chiloe, and would infallibly fall into the hands of the Engliſh if they were poſſeſs'd of that iſland, there being no naval power in thoſe ſeas that could protect that port againſt us. And tho' I don't ſuppoſe the Chileſe would willingly ſuffer us to open thoſe mines at firſt, yet were we once eſtabliſh'd on the continent, and ſupported by the garriſons I propoſe to leave in Chiloe, and a ſquadron of men-of-war, we might traffick with the natives, as the Spaniards do for the gold they pick up, and poſſibly in time, by one means or other, procure the mines to be opened and wrought by our own Negroes; for the great objection the natives have againſt working them is, leſt they ſhould be put to that drudgery themſelves, as they formerly were by the Spaniards.

Objections to the ſetting colonies on the coaſt of Chili conſider'd.

But I muſt confeſs there are ſome very conſiderable objections againſt our attempting to plant colonies on the coaſt of Peru or Chili. As firſt, That it is a very long and hazardous voyage of five or ſix months, and if any misfortune ſhould happen by tempeſts, or the ſickneſs of our men, it would probably be defeated: That the Dutch actually attempted this, and fix'd themſelves at Baldivia, and yet were forced to relinquiſh it again: Nor have they ever thought fit to attempt it a ſecond time, tho' they have frequently been at war with Spain.

It may be objected further, That neither the French or Dutch would ſit ſtill and ſee the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of the gold and ſilver mines of America, but would aſſiſt both the Spaniards and natives in expelling us from thence.

As to the firſt, I do not think the hazard ſo great as to deter us from attempting an enterprize that would enrich the nation to ſo great a degree, and weaken our enemies (as this ſcheme ſuppoſes the Spaniards to be). And as to the miſcarriage of the Dutch in the like attempt, it is evident their ſquadron and land-forces were too weak for ſuch an enterprize; and their loſing their General, who projected it, was another great diſadvantage to them. But their principal misfortune was his being ſucceeded by a perſon that wanted addreſs, and gave the natives ſuch jealouſies of their deſign to enſlave them, as made them his enemies. But what diſcourag'd the Dutch moſt from purſuing this deſign, and making another attempt, was a ſuſpicion very well founded, that neither the French or Engliſh would ſit ſtill and ſee them in poſſeſſion of the treaſures of Peru and Chili.

And this is indeed the grand objection againſt our attempting to fix colonies there, and getting poſſeſſion of the gold and ſilver mines of Peru and Chili. The French and Dutch would no more permit us to be maſters of them than we ſhould ſuffer either of thoſe nations to monopolize that treaſure: We are all agreed that they are much better in the hands of the indolent unactive Spaniard, who makes but little uſe of them to the prejudice of his neighbours. Nay, moſt of the plate he brings from America is employ'd in paying for the merchandize of Britain, France, Holland, Italy, &c. which countries perhaps have this way had as great a profit, or a greater (at leaſt ſome of them) than they could expect if they were maſters of the mines. We ſhould but ſend the ſame goods to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies directly which we now ſend by the Spaniſh Flota: And had Britain as great a ſhare in that traffick now as formerly, ſhe would have no reaſon to covet thoſe treaſures; but unhappily for us, ever ſince the French uſed thoſe ſeas, and have had ſo good an underſtanding with Spain, they have ſupplanted us, and we are now in a manner beaten out of that moſt valuable branch of our commerce, where for our woollen manufactures, which were diſperſed all over Spain and Spaniſh-America, we received chiefly bullion in return: This traffick is

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* This was wrote during the wars in Queen Anne's reign.

now in a manner loſt to us, as we too ſenſibly feel at this day.

And ſince we have loſt the affections and trade of Spain in a great meaſure, and are never likely to recover them again by fair means, the next beſt thing we can do is to render ourſelves as formidable to the Spaniards as poſſible. It is certainly our wiſdom at this day, if they perſiſt to quarrel with us and inſult our merchants, to poſſeſs ourſelves of ſome port-towns, either on the iſlands or continent of America, that they may fear us, and be compell'd to admit us into a good ſhare of that trade again, on pain of ſeeing their own commerce with Mexico and Peru interrupted and ruined; which I am apt to think might be more effectually done by planting colonies and erecting forts on the iſthmus of Darien than by any ſettlements on the coaſts of the South-ſea; for the firſt would give us the command both of the North and the South-ſeas, and make us maſters of the trade and navigation both of Mexico and Peru: Not a Spaniſh ſhip could ſtir either way if we had once fix'd ourſelves on the iſthmus of Darien. We might then preſcribe to the Spaniards what goods they ſhould take of us, and upon what terms we pleaſed, which would be more to our purpoſe than poſſeſſing the mines of Spaniſh-America, if that was feazible; for by this means all our handicrafts and mechanicks would have full employment, our woollen manufactures would be diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage, and the commerce of our neighbours with the Spaniſh-Weſt-Indies leſſen'd in proportion to the increaſe of ours.

The advantage of erecting forts on the iſthmus of Darien.

Another reaſon for planting colonies on the iſthmus of Darien rather than on the coaſts of the South-ſea is, that the voyage to Darien is but ſhort, not above ſix weeks or two months, whereas that into the South-ſea is a voyage of five or ſix months, and in caſe of a misfortune we have no friendly port to ſuſtain or refreſh our people.

We have alſo the iſland of Jamaica a little diſtance from Darien, from whence our garriſons might be ſupply'd with arms, ammunition and proviſions from time to time, and even with men inured to the ſame climate, and conſequently not ſo ſubject to the diſeaſes of hot countries, as our northern people are. Though it appears, that there are ſome ſituations even upon the iſthmus of Darien that are agreeable to Europeans. The Scots actually found ſuch a one when they erected their fort of New-Edinburgh, which was naturally ſo ſtrong that with a very ſmall force they could have maintain'd againſt all the power of Spain, if we had not inhumanly and impolitickly denied them proviſions at Jamaica and other Engliſh ſettlements.

I know every one will be apt to object the misfortunes of Admiral HOSIER and his ſquadron to this ſcheme: But that was a very different caſe. They were oblig'd to lie before Porto Bello, the moſt unhealthful place in Spaniſh-America, for an unreaſonable time, without going on ſhore, or receiving any refreſhments from thence. The Scots fared much better, who pitch'd upon a place, for aught appears, as healthful as any in England; and why we ſhould not plant the ſame, or find out another as good, in caſe of a rupture, I can't ſee. Nay, why we ſhould not immediately endeavour it, ſince great part of this country is not under the dominion of the Spaniards, I can ſee no manner of reaſon. It would make them cautious how they diſturbed our trade by their Guard de Coſta's, and readier to make us ſatisfaction for their repeated depredations.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
LA PLATA,
OR,
PARAGUA.

CHAP. I.

Of the name, ſituation, and extent of LA PLATA, *and of the face of the country.*

CHAP. I.

Plata the name.

THE province of La Plata (ſometimes call'd Paragua) receiv'd its name from the river Plata, which riſing near the city of that name in Peru, runs to the ſouth-eaſt through this country.

Its ſituation and extent.

It is bounded by the country of Amazons on the north, by Brazil on the eaſt, by Patagonia on the ſouth, and by Peru and Chili on the weſt, lying between the 12th and 37th degrees of ſouth latitude, and between the 50th and 75th degrees of weſtern longitude, being about 550 in length, from north to ſouth, and near as many leagues broad in the middle of it; but towards the north, where it is bounded by Brazil on the eaſt, and by Peru on the weſt, it is not 200 leagues broad.

Face of the country.

That part of this country which lies weſt of the great river Paragua conſiſts of large plains extending two or three hundred leagues in length, without any trees, at leaſt any thing that looks like timber, and ſcarce a hill or a ſtone to be ſeen in them; but in the country to the eaſtward of that river which borders on Brazil, there is a variety of hills and valleys, woods and champaign.

CHAP. II.

Of the ſeas, lakes, ſprings, rivers, and ſeaſons of La Plata.

CHAP. II.

Seas.

THIS is for the moſt part an in-land country, and only borders upon the Atlantic-ocean on the ſouth ſide of the mouth of the river La Plata, near which the city of Buenos Ayres is ſituated.

Lakes.

Lakes they have in great abundance, and ſome of them very large, particularly that of Xarayes, which our Geographers place in 15 degrees ſouth latitude, and out of which the great river Paragua is ſaid to riſe.

There is another call'd the Lake of Venoras, in 31 degrees ſouth latitude, about eighty miles weſt of the river Paragua; and a third call'd Caracaroes, in 30 degrees, 20 leagues eaſt of the river Paragua, which is an hundred miles in length and upwards; but there are not many ſprings in the flat country.

CHAP. II.

Rivers.

The ſources of their rivers are ſome of them in the mountains of Andes; thoſe that riſe there run to the ſouth-eaſt, and fall into the great river Paragua: Others riſe in the hills which ſeparate this province from Brazil, and running ſouth-weſt, fall into the ſame river Paragua, which riſes, as has been ſaid, out of the lake Xarayes, in 15 degrees, and running almoſt directly ſouth, unites its waters with the Uragua, in 34 degrees; after which it is call'd the river of Plata 'till it reaches the Atlantic-ocean.

Paragua river.

Plata river.

2. As to that which is properly call'd the river of Plata, it riſes, as has been obſerv'd, near the town of La Plata in Peru, and running to the ſouth-eaſt, falls into the river Paragua, in 28 degrees ſouth latitude, after which it loſes the name of Plata, and the united ſtream is call'd the Paragua 'till it meets with the river Uragua, and then it reſumes the name of Plata again 'till it diſcharges itſelf into the ocean.

This river is ſaid to have obtain'd its name of Plata upon a double account; 1. Becauſe it riſes near the town of La Plata; and, 2. Becauſe the plate is ſometimes brought down this ſtream from Peru to Buenos Ayres.

Uragua river.

3. The third conſiderable river is that of Uragua, which riſing in the mountains that divide Brazil from this province, runs almoſt due ſouth 'till it unites its waters with the Paragua, in 34 degrees ſouth latitude, and is almoſt as large as that river, being navigable for ſhips ſeveral hundred miles.

Parana river.

4. Out of the ſame mountains to the northward riſes the river Parana, another very large ſtream, which running almoſt parallel to the former, falls into the Paragua in 28 degrees ſouth latitude.

Salado river.

5. The fifth river I ſhall mention is the river Salado, ſo named from the ſaltneſs of its waters. This river riſes in the Andes, and running to the ſouth-eaſt falls into the Paragua in 33 degrees, ſouth latitude.

Tercero river.

The river Tercero, which riſes in the mountains of Andes, and running almoſt due eaſt, falls into

CHAP. II.

the Paragua in 34 degrees, not far from the town of Spirito Sancto.

There are a multitude of other rivers both on the eaſt and weſt of this province which fall into the great river Paragua, and ſo fertilize the plains that they abound in good meadow and paſture grounds, which feed innumerable herds of European cattle, viz. horſes, cows, ſheep and goats, which, from a few of each ſpecies that were carry'd thither by the Spaniards two hundred years ago, are multiply'd to admiration.

Seaſons.

Periodical ſtorms and floods.

As to the ſeaſons, the north part of this country, which lies within the Tropic of Capricorn, has in November and December annually, when the ſun is vertical, very heavy rains, ſtorms and tempeſts, as other countries which lie in the ſame latitude within the ſouthern Tropic have: And at this time all the flat country is over-flow'd, their ciſterns and reſervoirs of water are repleniſh'd, which ſerve them the reſt of the year 'till the rains return: Their lands are moiſten'd and made capable of tillage, and whenever theſe rains fail it occaſions a famine amongſt them. The beginning of the rainy ſeaſon is the time of ſowing and planting, and the fair ſeaſon, which follows upon the retreat of the ſun to the northward, is their harveſt.

But directly contrary, in that part of the country which lies ſouth of the Tropic of Capricorn, it is their ſummer (their fair ſeaſon, when the ſun is neareſt them, viz.) in November, December, and January: And thoſe rivers which riſe within the Tropics, particularly La Plata, Paragua, and Parana, after the rains are fallen within the Tropics, ſwell and overflow their banks as they paſs through the ſouth part of this country, rendering it as fruitful as the Nile does Egypt; and indeed this is the caſe in almoſt every part of the world where the rivers riſe within the Tropics; the periodical rains ſwell them, and occaſion them to over-flow their banks, ſo that the flat country near their mouths appears like a ſea, and as the water goes off the huſbandman begins to ſow and plant his lands, which are render'd exceeding fruitful by the inundation; whereas without this it would be impoſſible for him to raiſe a crop in many places. Their plains are ſo exceeding hot and dry, and there falls ſo little rain in the countries which lie juſt without the Tropics, as this and Egypt does, that they would produce ſcarce any thing if they wanted theſe annual floods. And I am apt to think it is when theſe are at the height, that the mouth of the river Plata appears to be two or three hundred miles broad; for the ſame thing happens annually near the mouth of the river Niger in Africa, near the mouth of the Ganges, in the Eaſt-Indies, and at the mouth of every river almoſt that has its ſource within the Tropics, where the rain falls in vaſt quantities whenever the ſun is vertical.

CHAP. III.

Of the provinces, chief towns, and buildings of La Plata.

CHAP. III.

Provinces.

LA Plata may be thrown into two grand diviſions almoſt equal in extent, viz. 1. The provinces on the eaſt ſide of the river Paragua; and, 2. Thoſe that lie weſt of the ſaid river. The provinces on the eaſt ſide of the Paragua are thoſe of, 1. Paragua Proper; 2. Guayra; 3. Parana; 4. Uragua. Thoſe on the weſt ſide of the Paragua are, 5. Tucuman; and 6. La Plata Proper.

CHAP. III.

Paragua province.

1. Paragua Proper is bounded by the country of the Amazons on the north, by Brazil on the eaſt, by Guayra on the ſouth, and by the river Paragua, which ſeparates it from Tucuman and Peru, on the weſt; at leaſt theſe are the boundaries aſſign'd by Geographers. But it muſt be acknowledg'd that Paragua Proper is a perfect Terra incognita. I meet with no author or traveller that pretends to give any deſcription of it, or to know the extent of it: And our map-makers are ſo ingenious as not to incumber their maps with the name of one town in all the country.

Guayra province and town.

2. Guayra is bounded by Paragua Proper on the north, by Brazil on the eaſt, by Parana on the ſouth, and by the river Paragua on the weſt. The chief towns whereof are,

1ſt, Guayra, ſituate on the river Parana, in 24 degrees ſouth latitude.

St. Xavier town.

2dly, St. Xavier, ſituate on the confines of Brazil, about 100 leagues to the eaſtward of Guayra.

Conception town.

3dly, Conception, ſituate on a river about 100 leagues ſouth-weſt of St. Xavier.

Parana province.

3. The province of Parana is bounded by that of Guayra on the north, by Brazil on the eaſt, by the province of Uragua on the ſouth, and by La Plata Proper on the weſt. The chief towns whereof are,

Acarai town.

1ſt, Acarai, ſituated in 26 degrees ſouth latitude, at the mouth of a ſmall river which falls into the Parana.

Ignatio town.

2dly, Ignatio, ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the river Parana, in 30 degrees, 30 minutes ſouth latitude.

Itapoa town.

3dly, Itapoa, ſituated to the northward of the river Parana, in 27 degrees ſouth latitude.

Uragua province.

4. The province of Uragua, bounded by the province of Guayra on the north, by Brazil on the eaſt, by the river Plata and Paragua on the ſouth and weſt. The chief towns whereof are,

Purification town.

1ſt, Purification, ſituate on the river Uragua, in 29 degrees ſouth latitude.

Tapia town.

2dly, La Capia, or Tapia, ſituate on the eaſt ſide of the river Paragua, in 32 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude.

Tucuman province.

5. The province of Tucuman (in which I include that of Charco) bounded by Peru on the north, by the river Paragua and La Plata Proper on the eaſt, by La Plata Proper on the ſouth, and by Chili on the weſt. The chief towns whereof are,

St. Jago town.

1ſt, St. Jago de Iſtero, ſituate almoſt in the middle of the province in 29 degrees ſouth latitude, being a Biſhop's ſee and univerſity, the capital of Tucuman, and lies in the mid-way between the mines of Potoſi and Buenos Ayres, being about 250 leagues from each. The plate is brought from Potoſi hither on the backs of mules, the country of the Charcas, which lies to the northward of this province, being very mountainous; but from St. Jago to Buenos Ayres the plate is carry'd in waggons over one continued plain, in which there are neither woods or hills to be ſeen.

Cordua.

2dly, Cordua, or Corduba, is ſituated about an hundred leagues ſouth of St. Jago, on the road to Buenos Ayres. It is a Biſhop's ſee, and univerſity, and has ſeveral fine convents in it, but the Jeſuits infinitely excels all the reſt. As the inhabitants trade chiefly to Peru and Chili, and take gold and ſilver in return for their merchandize, they are vaſtly rich, and the Clergy ſtill richer than the Laity: Their churches and monaſteries are magnificently built and adorned.

Salta.

3dly, Salta is ſituated on the road from St. Jago to Potoſi, almoſt in the mid-way.

La Plata Proper.

6. The province of La Plata Proper is bounded by the river Plata towards the north, by the river Paragua and the Atlantic-ocean on the eaſt, by Pa-

tagonia on the ſouth, and by Chili and Tucuman on the weſt. The chief towns whereof are,

Buenos Ayres.

1ſt, Buenos Ayres, ſaid to be ſo named from its healthful ſituation. It ſtands on the ſouth ſide of the river La Plata, 50 leagues from the mouth of it, in 36 degrees ſouth latitude, and in 60 degrees of weſtern longitude, the river La Plata being ſeven leagues broad at this town, and navigable for ſhips twenty miles higher, but there they meet with a cataract that ſpoils the navigation. Buenos Ayres is a Biſhop's ſee; there are in it five churches beſides the cathedral, and ſeveral convents, and it is defended by a caſtle regularly fortify'd with upwards of forty guns mounted on the walls. It is a very great mart, for hither all European merchandize is brought, and ſent from hence to Peru and Chili; and hither greater numbers of Negroes alſo are brought and ſold to Peru and Chili, which traffick the Engliſh have the advantage of at preſent by virtue of the Aſſiento contract, and lands are aſſign'd them to keep their Negroes upon 'till they meet with a ſale. From Buenos Ayres are exported to Europe part of the gold and ſilver of Peru, with vaſt quantities of hides and tallow, and ſuch other merchandize as this part of America affords.

Santa Fé

2dly, Santa Fé, or St. Faith, a well-built town, ſituate in 32 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude, at the conflux of the rivers Salado and Paragua, being almoſt ſurrounded with their waters, and lies between two and three hundred miles north-weſt from Buenos Ayres on the road to Peru.

Aſſumption town.

3dly, Aſſumption, ſituate in 25 degrees, odd minutes, at the conflux of the rivers La Plata and Paragua, between four or five hundred miles north of Santa Fé. It is ſaid to be a well-built populous town, and the ſee of a Biſhop, Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of La Plata in Peru. As to the natives, before the Spaniards came amongſt them, they lived in tents or ſlight huts, wandering from place to place like the wild Arabs. But this is to be underſtood of thoſe that inhabited the plains on the weſt ſide of the great river Uragua. Thoſe that dwelt on the eaſt ſide of the river lived in woods or caves; but neither the one or the other had any thing like a town amongſt them 'till the Spaniards taught, or rather compell'd them to alter their way of life.

The Indian towns.

The Jeſuits, who are now in a manner Sovereigns of that part of the country which lies between Brazil on the eaſt, and the great river Paragua on the weſt, boaſt of their having reduced theſe ſavage nations to civility, and made Chriſtians of them purely by their preaching. Certain it is, they govern them abſolutely both in ſpirituals and temporals. There is no place in the world where the people expreſs a more profound ſubmiſſion to their ſuperiors. Among other things the Jeſuits relate, that they have prevail'd on them to abandon their bruitiſh and vagrant way of life, and dwell in towns and cantons, as the Miſſionaries call them, the ſituation whereof is always choſen and aſſign'd them by theſe Fathers. And as the flat country near the rivers is annually over-flow'd (as has been related already) and yet in the dry ſeaſon it is abſolutely neceſſary to have their habitation near ſome water, as well on account of their plantations and huſbandry, there being the greateſt increaſe where the inundation has been, as alſo for the conveniency of water-carriage, and an eaſy communication with the ſeveral cantons: for theſe and many other reaſons, the Fathers pitch upon ſome fair eminence on the ſide of a lake or river where they have plenty of wood, and here they lay out a town after the Spaniſh model; that is, they firſt form a ſquare, on the ſide of which uſually ſtands a handſome church, their ſchools, the Father's hoſe, who preſides in the canton, and the halls and offices of their Courts of juſtice, and from the ſquare run broad handſome ſtreets of a great length, having other ſtreets croſſing them where the canton is large.

Buildings.

Father Sepp informs us, that they have twenty-ſix of theſe cantons on the banks of the rivers Uragua and Parana, each of them containing eight hundred or a thouſand houſes, and ſeven or eight thouſand ſouls, under the government of two Miſſionaries. The church of each canton is uſually built of brick or ſtone, and has a lofty ſteeple, containing four or five bells. It is as richly furniſh'd and adorn'd with plate, veſtments, and utenſils as the Spaniſh churches in Europe: And beſides the high-altar, they have frequently ſeveral ſide-altars and chapels. They have alſo organs, trumpets, hautboys, violins, and other inſtrumental muſick, and ſome exceeding good voices; ſo that few cathedrals are better accommodated than the churches of theſe cantons.

The Father further relates, that the ſtation allotted him was the canton of Japegu, the firſt of the twenty-ſix converted cantons, ſituated on an eminence near the river Uragua, in 29 degrees ſouth latitude, in a place form'd for pleaſure and delight; for to the eaſtward of it runs that noble river, the banks whereof are planted with large timber-trees for ſeveral hundred leagues, and there are ſome iſlands in it lying in view of the canton, which he deſcribes as a perfect paradiſe. On this river and the iſlands in it, ſays the Father, I frequently take the air, attended by my diſciples and a numerous band of muſick. On the ſouth-weſt and north the canton is ſurrounded with the moſt fruitful paſtures in the world, of a vaſt extent, and ſtock'd with incredible numbers of European cattle; veniſon alſo is in great plenty, ſuch as deer, wild goats, and Indian ſheep; and they do not want partridges, pigeons, and other fowls wild and tame. They have alſo ſhoals of excellent fiſh in their rivers.

Furniture.

But notwithſtanding the pleaſant and advantageous ſituation of theſe Indian towns thus laid out by the Jeſuits, the buildings were generally mean at firſt: A brick and tiled houſe was very rare. The materials were uſually thatch and clay, and one room ſerv'd the whole family: Here they lay promiſcuouſly, ſome on the ſkins of beaſts on the floor, and others in hammocks of net-work; their kitchen utenſils being only ſome few pots, pans, and calabaſhes, with wooden ſpits, and gridirons, on which they dry'd rather than broil'd their meat.

But the Father tells us they begin to improve both in their buildings and furniture ſince the Jeſuits have taught them to make tiles, and inſtructed them in other mechanick arts. He had in his canton particularly ſix long ſtreets, the houſes whereof were cover'd with tiles.

CHAP IV.

Of the perſons and habits of inhabitants of La Plata; their genius and temper, food, exerciſes, and diverſions; and of their mechanick arts.

La Plata.

IN this country, as in every other part of South-America almoſt, the firſt Diſcoveries were pleas'd to affirm the natives were giants and canibals, though we meet with neither of them here at this day. Father Sepp is perfectly ſilent in the article of canibals; though he lived long amongſt them, and mentions

Perſons. tions the reſt of the food they eat: And as to their perſons he relates, that they are ſo far from being of a gigantic ſtature, that they are not ſo tall as the Europeans. However, he deſcribes them to be big-boned, ſtrong, well-ſet men, and their legs uſually pretty thick: That their faces are flat, and rather round than oval, and their complexion olive: That they have black hair as ſtrong as horſe-hair, which they wear very long before they are converted; but then the Fathers oblige them to cut it ſhorter: That thoſe who have not yet conformed to the Spaniſh Habits. cuſtoms, wear only the ſkin of ſome beaſt about the middle of their bodies; and the better ſort have another ſkin which ſerves for a cloak or mantle; the ordinary women have their arms, ſhoulders and breaſts bare, and no covering on their heads but their hair, which they wear of an immoderate length. Their ornaments are glittering fiſh-bones, which they wear in their ears, and about their necks and arms in chains, and their Chiefs have a kind of triple crowns upon their heads. Boys and girls go perfectly naked.

Genius and temper. They ſeem to be a brave people, having defeated ſeveral conſiderable bodies of Spaniards when they firſt invaded their country. It was a great many years before the Spaniards could fix themſelves even in the plains: But in the woods and mountains, to the eaſtward of the river Uragua, the natives defended themſelves ſo well that they were never ſubdued, 'till the Jeſuits found means in the laſt century to inſinuate themſelves into their good opinion, and in a manner wheedled them into a ſubmiſſion without making uſe of force.

Food. The ſame Father Sepp informs us, that their principal food is Turky or Indian-corn, which they beat to flour in a a mortar and boil with fleſh, or make cakes of it on the hearth: That they eat all manner of fiſh, fleſh, and fowl, and are the greateſt gluttons in the world: That they are extreme lazy and indolent, and dull at invention, but will imitate almoſt any thing you give them a pattern of: That Excellent mechanicks. ſeveral of them are lately become ſuch excellent mechanicks that they make organs and other muſical inſtruments as good as thoſe that are brought from Europe; others are watch-makers, painters and muſicians, in all which arts they have been inſtructed by the Jeſuit-Miſſionaries, who are taught the mechanick as well as liberal arts before they are ſent abroad, that they may have an opportunity of rendering themſelves uſeful and agreeable to every claſs of men, and without which they could never have propagated their ſuperſtition with that ſucceſs in every kingdom almoſt upon the face of the earth: But this they have done no where with ſuch ſucceſs as here, where the country is their property, and may juſtly be ſtil'd, The Jeſuits earthly paradiſe.

Exerciſes and diverſions. The exerciſes and diverſions of theſe people are at preſent either rural ſports, ſuch as hunting, fiſhing and fowling, or dancing and feaſting, as in other countries: But their principal diverſion, or rather buſineſs, before the Spaniards brought them to remain in fix'd habitations, was to rove about the country from place to place, and view new ſcenes every day they lived.

CHAP. V.

Of their huſbandry, plants, animals, and minerals.

CHAP. V. Huſbandry. Corn. THEY have a wooden plough which does not enter the ground above three inches deep, and yet they have uſually a very plentiful crop however of Turky or Indian-corn. The Miſſionary of every canton has commonly forty or fifty acres ſown with European-wheat, and frequently gives his Indian diſciples enough to ſow their grounds and make proviſion for their families; but inſtead of putting it to that uſe, they uſually devour it as ſoon as they have it. The Father adds, It may truly be ſaid of theſe Indians, that they follow our Saviour's rule, Not to be concern'd for the next day; for if I happen to allot a cow to a family enough to ſerve them three or four days (ſays he) they will often eat her in one, and come the next morning for more; ſo that we are forc'd to give to the father, mother, ſon, and daughter, and to the young children to each his piece of fleſh of five, ſix, ſeven, nay eight pounds, and that twice a day; for if they had it at once, they would eat it all at noon, and want more by night; for they are ſo voracious that the mother will ſnatch the meat from her child, and eat all that comes in ſight of them: For which reaſon each Miſſionary has a great barn, into which he forces them to lay up a certain proportion of corn, which he gives them back at ſeed-time: Notwithſtanding which they ſometimes deceive the Miſſionary, or rather themſelves. It is to be obſerv'd, that their ſeed-time is in June or July, when the Miſſionary allots each Indian two or three oxen to plow withal. One of theſe Indians, after a quarter of an hour's plowing, began to grow weary of the ſport, and finding himſelf and his wife very hungry, they agreed to kill one of the oxen, which they did accordingly, and having quarter'd the ox (as they uſually do) they put the fleſh on a wooden ſpit, and (for want of other fuel) made a good fire with the plow, throwing into it ſome of the ſuet to increaſe the flame; and thus they roaſted and eat it. The Miſſionary perceiving the ſmoke in the field, began ſhrewdly to ſuſpect the truth; and making the beſt of his way to the field, he ſoon ſaw by the bones that he had not been miſtaken in his gueſs. He fell to chiding the Indian, who gave no other anſwer, but that he being both tir'd and hungry, he had made bold with the ox, begging the good Father to give him another, which he was oblig'd to do, unleſs he would ſee him and his family want bread all the year after. Such things often happen to the Miſſionaries, theſe Indians being naturally ſo lazy, that often (unleſs compell'd thereunto by blows) they will not carry in their Turky-wheat when it is ripe.

You wonder, perhaps, which way they can be compell'd by blows: This is done in the ſame manner as we do our children, only that inſtead of birch they make uſe of a ſcourge: This is perform'd by ſome Indian or other, who gives the delinquent twenty-four or more ſtrokes, according to the Miſſionary's order. This correction they take very patiently, without any curſing or ſwearing, nay, without making the leaſt noiſe; and if they happen to make any exclamations, it is by the name of Jeſu Maria. The correction being over, they kiſs the Miſſionary's hand, and return him thanks into the bargain, their love and reſpect being ſuch towards the Miſſionaries, that they take every thing without the leaſt regret at their hands; which being imprinted in them from their tender age, they can never ſhake off afterwards.

Fruits. As to their fruits and kitchen-gardens, Father Sepp gives us the beſt account of them I meet with, in the deſcription of his own gardens in the canton of Japega. Next to my apartments, ſays that Father, I have a garden divided into ſeveral partitions, one whereof is my flower-garden, another my phyſick-garden (for they know not what a Phyſician or Apothecary means) another my kitchen-garden, beſides an orchard and vineyard. In the kitchen-garden grow all the year round divers ſorts of ſallad-herbs, Endive curl'd and not curl'd, Cichory-roots, Parſnips, Turnips, Spinage, Radiſhes, Cabbages, Carrots, Beet-roots, Parſley, Aniſeed, Fennel-ſeed, Coriander-ſeed, Melons, Cucumbers, and divers ſorts of Indian-roots. In my phyſick-garden I have Mint, Rue, Roſemary, Pimpernel, Sweet-marjorum, &c. My flower-garden produces White-lillies, Indian-lillies, yellow and blue violets, Poppies, and many ſorts of Indian flowers.

In my orchard I have Apple and Pear-trees and Hazel-nut-trees; but theſe two laſt will bear no fruit here, though they grow very lofty; Peaches, Pomegranates, ſweet and ſour Lemons, ſweet and ſour Citrons, Vaminceys, and divers other Indian fruits.

My vineyard has ſo many vines, that ſometimes it may produce five hundred large caſks of wine in one year, but this year I have ſcarce had Grapes enough for my table; the reaſon is the vaſt number of piſmires, waſps, wild-pidgeons, and other birds, which have devour'd all, though I have conſtantly kept eight Indian boys on purpoſe to cleanſe them of the piſmires: Add to this the north-wind, which has blown continually all this year: A ſlender recompence for the pains I have taken in pruning, ſhaving, and attending the vines; but patience!

However, theſe frequent miſcarriages of the vines make wine here a dear commodity, a caſk being ſold ſometimes for twenty or thirty crowns, a great price for ſuch an unwholeſome wine as this, which is not to be preſerv'd without a great deal of lime, without which it would turn to vinegar in a little time. This makes us uſe the wine very ſparingly, and ſometimes we have ſcarce any in ſix months, it being ſo ſcarce that we ſhall not have enough for the Communion-table.

No wood in the plains.

He relates alſo, that in the plains on the weſt ſide of the river Uragua, and particularly between the city Buenos Ayres and St. Jago, there is not a tree to be ſeen fit for timber or fuel of the natural growth of the country; but that the Spaniards have of late years planted ſuch abundance of peaches, almonds, and figs, that there are now vaſt woods of them, which ſerve for fuel at Buenos Ayres and other Spaniſh towns: On the contrary, that the country to the eaſt-ward of the river Paragua, has large woods and foreſts well repleniſh'd with timber, extending ſeveral hundred leagues on both ſides the river Uragua, and that they have the fineſt paſtures and meadows in the world, both in the eaſt and weſtern parts of La Plata; however, there is no mowing of graſs, or making of hay here, becauſe their cattle feed all the year up to the knees in graſs.

Woods in the hilly country.

They have alſo whole fields of cotton, but no hemp or flax growing in the country, which makes linnen exceſſive dear.

Beaſts.

They had no great ſtock of cattle before the Spaniards imported European animals; the principal were their Indian ſheep, goats, ſwine, and deer, already deſcrib'd, with a ſort of hares, armadillo's, and other American animals, already deſcribed in treating of Mexico and Peru; but the European cattle are ſo vaſtly increaſed of late years in La Plata, that there is ſcarce a canton which has leſs than three or four thouſand horſes and mules, with black cattle in proportion, and thirty or forty thouſand European ſheep in ſome of them: They abound alſo in hogs, goats, and poultry, and have plenty of fiſh in their rivers.

The ſame Father aſſures us, that they ſee ſometimes fourteen or fifteen thouſand oxen feeding together that have no particular owner, but any one ſends and takes what he pleaſes: And that the Jeſuits at Buenos Ayres ſold at one time, to the ſhipping that came thither, twenty thouſand tall oxen for twelve thouſand crowns, which were valued only for their hides, their carcaſes being devour'd by wild dogs or birds of prey.

In another place the Father relates, that his canton ſent out a party of Indians two days journey into the country, who within two months brought in fifty thouſand cows, which were to ſerve for proviſions for the canton the following year; for they eat cow's-fleſh altogether, and kill the bulls only for their ſkins, there being no oxen, properly ſo call'd, in that country. He adds, that the three ſhips he went over with carry'd back to Spain thirty thouſand bulls hides, without any cows ſkins amongſt them: And theſe they had for little or nothing; tho' every ſkin would make ſix crowns in Spain, ſo prodigiouſly are European cattle multiply'd in La Plata: And 'tis obſerved, than one ſheep is more valued there than three horſes, on account of their wool; for a good horſe may be purchaſed for a knife of the value of ſix-pence, and a bridle is of more value than three horſes, and a horſe-ſhoe is worth ſix horſes; but they ſeldom ſhoe their horſes here on account of the ſcarcity of iron, nor do they much need it, the turf or ſurface of the ground being very ſoft, and few ſtones in the country.

Minerals.

As to minerals, it is certain there are few or none in the plains or flat country; and tho' 'tis reported the Jeſuits have diſcover'd ſome gold mines in the mountains that divide La Plata from Brazil, thoſe Fathers do not acknowledge there are any.

CHAP. VI.

Contains an abſtract of the hiſtory of La Plata, and treats of the religion of its ancient and modern inhabitants, and of their marriages.

CHAP. VI.

Hiſtory.

AS the natives of La Plata were divided into a multitude of tribes commanded by their reſpective Chiefs, they knew nothing of the general hiſtory or ſtate of their country when the Spaniards arriv'd: And what they receiv'd by tradition relating to their particular clans could be very little relied on as they were not acquainted with letters, and had no way of recording the actions of their anceſtors. All that we know of their hiſtory is, that thoſe on the weſt ſide of the river Paragua lived a wandering life like the Arabs, and thoſe on the eaſt-ſide of that river in caves: That the Spaniards and Portugueſe made ſeveral attempts in vain to ſubdue the inhabitants of the plains from Brazil and the mouth of the river La Plata, in which they met with very great oppoſition and loſſes, 'till the Spaniſh Governors of Peru and Chili attack'd them from the weſt, and then they made a compleat conqueſt of that country.

The firſt Adventurer that penetrated into this country was ALEXIUS GARCIA, a Portugueſe, who was ſent upon that enterprize by the Governor of Brazil, in the year 1524. He march'd quite croſs La Plata, as far as the borders of Peru, where having amaſs'd a vaſt quantity of plate, he was cut off in his return with moſt part of his men; and GEORGE SEDENHO, with ſixty Portugueſe, having been ſent out to ſupport him before the death of GARCIA was known, was alſo cut in pieces by the Indians with all his party.

In the year 1526, Sebastian Cabot being employ'd to make a further diſcovery of South-America by the Emperor Charles V. enter'd the mouth of the river La Plata (firſt diſcover'd by John Diaz de Solis, in the year 1515) and ſailing up that river as far as the place where Garcia was kill'd, there met with the plate he had got on the confines of Peru, which he purchas'd of the natives, who did not know the value of it, for a trifle, and imagining it to be the product of that country, concluded he had made a very important diſcovery. Whereupon he erected a fort on the north ſide of the river, near the place where the town of Aſſumption now ſtands; he alſo detach'd Alvaro Ramon with one of his ſhips to ſail up the river Uragua, and get further intelligence of the mines he ſuppoſed were to be found near the banks of it; but Ramon having proceeded three days in that voyage, his ſhip run a-ground, and he and all his people were cut off by the natives. After which accident, Cabot remov'd from that ſhore, and built another fort on the ſouth-ſide of the river of Plata, where the town of Spirito Sancto now ſtands, and leaving a garriſon of one hundred and twenty men in it, he return'd to Spain for a re-inforcement of troops to proſecute his diſcoveries: But the natives ſurpriz'd the fort ſoon after he was gone, and put the garriſon to the ſword.

However, Cabot repreſenting to the Court of Spain that Plata was one of the richeſt countries in the world; and bringing ſo much plate and treaſure along with him as ſufficiently confirm'd his report in the opinion of the Spaniards, ſeveral of the beſt families of that kingdom made intereſt to be ſent on an expedition thither. Whereupon a body of two and twenty hundred land-men, beſides mariners, were embarked for the river of Plata, among whom, it is ſaid, there were thirty heirs of noble families, the whole being commanded by Don Peter de Mendoza, the Emperor's Sewer; who arriving at the mouth of the river La Plata, founded the town of Buenos Ayres, in the year 1535, but not without great oppoſition from the natives, for they attacked a body of three hundred Spaniards, commanded by James Mendoza, the Governor's brother, and killed him with two hundred and fifty of his men upon the ſpot; and proviſions growing very ſcarce at the ſame time, the Governor thought fit to return to Spain, leaving Oyola his Deputy-governor behind him with part of the troops. But Oyola thought fit to abandon Buenos Ayres, and built the fort of Aſſumption, on the north-ſide of the river Plata, whither he removed with his half-ſtarv'd garriſon. The Governor Alvaro Nunez Cabeza de Vaca afterwards made further diſcoveries, planting colonies as far as the north of Tucuman, and he and his ſucceſſor rebuilt Buenos Ayres and ſome other towns near the mouth of the river La Plata. And in 1553, Francis de Acquire being detach'd from Chili with two hundred men by Valdivia, built the city of St. Jago, the metropolis of La Plata; and two years afterwards John Gomez Zarita was ſent from Chili to La Plata with another body of troops, who built the town of Cordua, and made an entire conqueſt of all the country as far as the river Paragua; but the provinces to the eaſtward of that river were never conquer'd by force, but reduc'd, as has been ſaid, by the addreſs of the Jeſuits under the dominion of the Crown of Spain; and that Court, in return for this ſervice, conferr'd the property of that country on thoſe Fathers. If it be demanded how the Jeſuits were able to effect this, I have already intimated, that they are inſtructed in every art and ſcience when they are ſent upon theſe miſſions. They don't only underſtand phyſick and the mathematicks, but almoſt every mechanick art, by which means they become exceeding uſeful where they reſide. Their adminiſtring phyſick gratis infinitely obliges the people, and by their ſkill in mathematicks they ſurprize the ignorant natives, who are ready to adore them as gods, and readily reſign their underſtandings and conſciences to their direction. But what prevail'd ſtill more on theſe people to ſubmit to the Jeſuits was, the protection they gave them againſt the Spaniſh officers and ſoldiers, and preventing their impoſing on them thoſe rigorous ſervices they did on other Indians under their government. They even furniſhed the natives with arms and ammunition, and inſtructed them in the art of war, whereby they were enabled to repel the attacks both of the Spaniards from the weſt, and of the Portugueſe from Brazil on the eaſt, who harraſs'd their country for ſeveral years till they found they had ſo formidable an enemy to deal with, that they loſt more than they got by their incurſions into La Plata; and the Jeſuits and their ſubjects who inhabit one of the fineſt countries in the world between the river Paragua and Brazil, have of late years enjoy'd an uninterrupted peace in the greateſt affluence and plenty imaginable.

Qualifications of the Jeſuit Miſſionaries.

Religion of the natives, according to Techo.

As to the religion of the natives of La Plata, if we are to credit Techo the Jeſuit, he relates, that they worſhipped the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and Thunder and Lightning, as the Peruvians did, and had temples dedicated to the Sun; which is not at all improbable, ſince this country is contiguous to Peru, and part of it was under the dominion of their Inca's; and in ſome parts of the country, the Jeſuits relate, they worſhipped trees, ſtones, rivers, animals, and almoſt every thing animate and inanimate; which likewiſe may be true, becauſe other nations in South-America have done the like. But as to the great ſerpent the Fathers tell us of, that was as big about as an ox, and one of the objects of their adoration, we may without offence ſuſpend our belief of ſuch relations till we find it prov'd that there ever were any ſuch monſters on the face of the earth.

But whatever the ancient religion of La Plata was, the people are now in general as good catholicks as the Jeſuits can make them, and the moſt obedient vaſſals of that order.

Marriages according to Father Sepp.

As to the marriages of theſe Indians, anciently they allow'd both of poligamy and concubinage, and the greateſt objection they have to Chriſtianity the Fathers inform us is, their confining them to one woman. At preſent the Jeſuits have the entire direction of this matter: And Father Sepp tells us, when a virgin is fourteen and a lad ſixteen, they do not ſuffer them to remain longer unmarried for fear of worſe conſequences, having found by experience, that when the maidens and young men continue in a ſingle ſtate for any conſiderable time, they have found means to pair themſelves. The objection which in other places is made againſt ſuch young marriages takes no place here, where there is no diſpute about dowry or ſettlements, or which way they will maintain themſelves; all this they leave to God Almighty and our care (ſays this Father) never applying themſelves to any trade or profeſſion unleſs we oblige them to it, and upon the marriage it is the Miſſionary that provides the hutt, it is he that provides the wedding-cloaths, viz. five yards of coarſe woollen ſtuff for each; a bed they never want, bull-hides being cheap enough; and the wedding dinner is made with a fat cow, which is likewiſe preſented by the Miſſionary.

Their marriage agreement conſiſts only in two articles, viz. The woman promiſes to fetch what water the huſband wants from the river, in lieu of which he engages to furniſh the kitchen with fuel. We allow them no muſick nor dancing at their weddings, but ſo ſoon as they are marry'd and have heard maſs, the bridegroom goes his way and the bride her's: And if the Miſſionary has preſented them with a fat cow, a little ſalt, and a few loaves, they invite their parents to dinner, and ſo make the beſt cheer they can. There is one thing peculiar in their marriages, viz. that here the man does not woe the woman, but on the contrary the woman the man: In this caſe the maid comes to the Miſſionary and ſays, Pay, i. e. Father (for ſo they call us) I have an inclination to marry ſuch or ſuch a one, if you will be pleaſed to give your conſent. Whereupon the Miſſionary ſending for the perſon, ſays, my ſon (for ſo we call them) ſuch or ſuch a one is deſirous to be marry'd to you, are you contented ſhe ſhould? Unto which if he replies yes (as they ſeldom do otherwiſe) then the match is made, and wants nothing but the Prieſt's bleſſing.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
AMAZONS.

Name of the country.

THE country of the Amazons obtain'd its name from a ſuppos'd nation of female warriors that were ſaid to inhabit the banks of one of the greateſt rivers in the world, which runs through this country from weſt to eaſt. There is not a circumſtance related by the ancients of the Aſiatic Amazons which has not been applied to theſe by the moderns, tho' all the ground there was for theſe fictions ſeems to have been, that there were ſeen ſome women mingled with the men that came to gaze on the Spaniards when they firſt invaded their country.

And here it is not eaſy to avoid reflecting how exactly the firſt Spaniſh Adventurers copied after the romantic writers among the ancients.

In one part of America they furniſh us with Giants, in another with Monſters, in a third with Canibals, and here with a race of Amazons. They ſeem to have been a little dull of invention, that they ſtruck out no new whimſeys or monſters in nature, but barely tranſcrib'd or imitated the fabulous relations they met with in the ancient poets and other writers, who intended no more perhaps than beautiful allegories, or to diſplay their talents at invention, never dreaming that after-ages would look upon ſuch flights of fancy as hiſtorical facts. But to proceed in the deſcribing the ſituation of this country, which has obtain'd the name of the Amazons. It is bounded by the Equator, which ſeparates it from Terra-Firma on the north, by Brazil and the Atlantic-ocean on the eaſt, by Brazil and La Plata toward the ſouth, and by Peru on the ſouth-weſt, lying between the Equator and the 15th degree of ſouth latitude, and between 50 and 75 degrees of weſtern longitude.

The ſituation and extent.

As we have no other accounts of this country than what we have receiv'd from thoſe who have been ſent by the Spaniards and Portugueſe to make diſcoveries either up or down the river Amazon, I ſhall give an abſtract of the ſeveral Adventurers of this kind, and then collect from them the ſtate of the country.

The river Amazon diſcover'd by Gonzalo Pizarro.

GONZALO PIZARRO, brother to the Marquis (Conqueror of Peru) was the firſt that accidentally diſcover'd this mighty river, in the year 1540, when he was Governor of Quitto, the moſt northern province of Peru. Some Indians had aſſur'd him, that to the eaſtward of Quito, on the other ſide the mountains of Andes, were countries that abounded not only in cinamon but in gold, more than any countries the Spaniards had hitherto diſcover'd, tho' they were exceeding difficult of acceſs on account of the rocks and precipices they muſt firſt paſs, and the woods and moraſſes on the other ſide of them, and the little proviſions they muſt expect to meet with in a deſart and uninhabited country; and what would render their march extremely troubleſome were the heavy rains that fall under and near the Equator for the greateſt part of the year. But nothing could deter PIZARRO from an expedition wherein he expected to meet with mountains of gold in a literal ſenſe. He made extraordinary preparations therefore for this difficult and hazardous undertaking, aſſembled three hundred and forty veteran Spaniards, of whom one hundred and fifty were horſe, and took with him four thouſand able body'd Indians, ſome of them ſoldiers, but moſt of them employ'd in carrying his ammunition, proviſions and baggage, and driving ſome thouſands of Indian-ſheep and hogs before them, which he propos'd to kill by the way. And thus provided, he ſet out from the city of Quitto at Chriſtmas, in the year 1539.

An account of which expedition we find thus related by DE LA VEGA, in his Royal Commentaries of Peru. The General (ſays the royal hiſtorian) having continued his march ſome few days, there happen'd ſo terrible an earthquake that many houſes in the villages where they then were, fell to the ground; the earth opened in many places, and ſo terrible were the lightnings and thunder, and ſo very quick and almoſt without intermiſſions, and ſo fierce were the rains, which pour'd down like buckets of water, that the Spaniards much admir'd at the nature of that climate, ſo different from any thing they had ever ſeen in the northern parts of Peru.

After this ſtorm was over, which continued forty or fifty days, they prepar'd to paſs the Andes, or ſnowy mountains, for which tho' they had made good proviſion, yet the climate was ſo extremely cold by the great quantities of ſnow which fell, that many Indians who went thin in their cloathing periſh'd. The Spaniards, that they might make haſte out of the ſnow and cold, left their cattle and proviſion behind them, expecting to find ſufficient ſupplies of all things at the next place where the Indians inhabited. But the matter ſucceeded otherwiſe; for having paſs'd the mountains, they enter'd into a country ſo barren that it was void of all inhabitants, whereof doubling their journies to get out of it, they came at length to a province and people call'd Cumaco, ſituated at the foot of a vulcano, where they found plenty of proviſions; but the country was ſo wet, that for the ſpace of two months they remain'd there it never ceas'd one day from raining.

In this province, call'd Cumaco, or Canela, which is ſituate under the Equinoctial, or very near it, grow the cinamon-trees, as they call them, which they went in ſearch of as well as gold. Theſe trees are lofty, bearing a leaf as big as the laurel, with a ſmall ſort of fruit which grows in cluſters like the acorn: Some grow wild in the mountains, and produce fruit, but not ſo good as that which is gather'd from the trees which the Indians plant and cultivate in their own grounds.

The Spaniards found that in Cumaco and the adjacent countries the Indians went naked, without any cloaths, only the women, for modeſty ſake, wore a little flap before them: the climate is ſo exceſſively hot that they need no cloaths (ſays De la Vega) and is ſo ſubject to rains, that they would become rotten in a ſhort time if they had them.

Gonzalo Pizarro leaving the greateſt part of his people in Cumaco, took with him a ſmall party of ſuch as he eſteem'd moſt active, to ſearch for ſome paſs leading out of the country; for as yet the way for an hundred leagues together had been nothing but mountains, deſarts and woods, which they were forced to lay open by the hatchet and ſtrength of their arms; and ſometimes the Indians, who were their guides, deceiv'd them, carrying them out of the way by mountains and deſarts and difficult paſſages (where they ſuſtain'd hunger and cold, without any other ſuſtenance than herbs and roots, and wild fruit) and conducting them through by-ways, to avoid the country of their friends and confederates.

With ſuch labours and ſufferings as theſe, which may rather be fancy'd than deſcrib'd, they came at length to a province call'd Cuca, which was more populous than any they had formerly paſſed. Here proviſions were plentiful, and the Cacique, or King of the country, came in a peaceable manner to welcome them, and brought them proviſions.

In theſe parts they remained two months, in expectation of the coming of thoſe Spaniards whom they had left in Cumaco, and had directed to follow them by ſuch traces and marks as they ſhould find of the way they had taken before them. Their companions being come up and refreſh'd after their journey, they march'd by the banks of a great river for the ſpace of fifty leagues, in all which way they neither found bridge nor ford.

At length they came to a place where the whole river falls from the top of a rock above two hundred fathom high, which cataract, or falling of the waters, makes a noiſe that is heard above ſix leagues from the place, at which, tho' the Spaniards were amazed, yet it was much more wonderful to ſee, above forty or fifty leagues lower, that immenſe quantity of water contracted and ſtraitened within a channel made by one great rock. This channel is ſo narrow, that from one ſide to the other it is not above twenty foot wide; but ſo high, that from the top, where the Spaniards made their bridge, was two hundred fathom from the water. Gonzalo Pizarro and his Captains conſidering there was no other paſſage to be found over the river, and that it was neceſſary to paſs to the other ſide, becauſe the country was barren on that ſide where they then were, agreed to make a bridge over the top of the rock.

The Indians on the oppoſite ſide, tho' few in number, ſtoutly defended the paſs, but were driven from it by the fire of the muſkets; and the paſs being now clear, the Spaniards fell to work on the bridge of timber, which coſt much labour before the firſt beam could be paſſed over to the oppoſite rock, by the help of which a ſecond was more eaſily laid, and then other pieces of timber, ſo that by degrees they formed a bridge, over which both men and horſe ſecurely paſſed: After which they march'd by the ſide of the river over mountains ſo thick with wood, that they were forced to open their way again with the hatchet. Through theſe difficulties they came at length to a country call'd Guema, where the Spaniards and their Indian ſervants were forced again to ſuſtain themſelves with herbs and roots, and with the tender ſprouts of trees. Thus with famine and the perpetual rains many of the Spaniards fell ſick and died. They arriv'd afterwards at a country where the natives were more civiliz'd than the former; for they eat maiz or Indian-corn, and cloathed themſelves with garments of cotton; but ſtill the climate was ſubject to violent rains.

They build a brigantine.

Whilſt they ſtay'd in this place they ſent ſmall parties out every way to ſee if they could diſcover a better country; but they all return'd with the ſame news, that they met with nothing but wild mountains full of bogs, lakes and mooriſh grounds, over which was no paſſage. Hereupon they reſolved to build a brigantine or veſſel to ferry over from one ſide of the river to the other, which now was become two leagues broad. In order whereunto, the firſt thing to be done was to ſet up a ſmith's forge for nails and iron-work, which they made of the horſes ſhoes they had kill'd for food, and ſome iron bars they had carry'd with them; but iron was now become more ſcarce than gold.

Gonzalo Pizarro, tho' Chief Commander, was the firſt that laid his hand on the ax to hew down the timber, and to make the charcoal which was requiſite to forge the iron, and was always the moſt forward in every office, tho' never ſo mean, that ſo giving a good example, none might excuſe himſelf. The roſin which iſſued from certain trees ſerved them inſtead of pitch, and their old ſhirts and rags were made uſe of inſtead of ockam to caulk the ſeams of their veſſel, which being in this manner finiſh'd, they launched into the water with great joy and triumph, imagining that herewith they ſhould quickly eſcape out of all their dangers and difficulties. But it proved otherwiſe; for a few days ſhewed the contrary, and gave them cauſe to repent that they had ever made it.

They embark their gold and baggage.

All the gold they had gather'd, which amounted to above the value of one hundred thouſand pieces of eight, with abundance of emeralds, ſome of which were of great value, as alſo their iron and iron-work, and whatſoever was of any eſteem, they laded on their veſſel; and ſuch as were weak and ſick and not able to travel were alſo put on board. And now after a journey almoſt of two hundred leagues they departed from this place, taking their courſe down the ſtream, ſome by water and others by land, keeping ſuch a convenient diſtance each from the other, that at night they always join'd and lodg'd together; which journey was perform'd with great difficulty, for thoſe on the land were forced to open a great part of their way with hatchet and bill, and thoſe on the water were put to hard labour to keep the veſſel from being forcibly carry'd down by the current from the company on ſhore, when at any time their paſſage was interrupted by ſome mountain; ſo that they could not keep near the river: They then ferried to the other ſide by help of their veſſel and four canoes they had made; but this was a great hindrance to them, and very grievous to men ſtarving and periſhing with hunger.

Having in this manner travelled for the ſpace of two months, they at length met with certain Indians, who by ſigns, and by ſome words which were underſtood by their Indian ſervants, gave them intelligence that about ten days journey from thence they would find a country well peopled, plentiful of proviſions, and abounding with gold and other riches of which they were in purſuit; and farther ſignified to them, that this country was ſituated on the banks of another great river which join'd and fell into that wherein they now were. The Spaniards being encourag'd with this news, GONZALO PIZARRO made FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA Captain of his brigantine or veſſel, and thereon put fifty ſoldiers aboard, giving them orders to paſs down the ſtream to that place where the two rivers met, and that there leaving the goods he had then on board, he ſhould lade his veſſel with proviſions, and return towards them with all the ſpeed imaginable to relieve them in that great diſtreſs, many of the Spaniards being already dead, and more Indians, who from four thouſand were now reduc'd to half the number.

Orellana with fifty ſoldiers embarks on board the brigantine.

He runs away with the veſſel.

According to theſe orders, FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA enter'd on the voyage, and in the ſpace of three days, without oars or ſails, only by force of the current, was carry'd to the confluence of the two rivers mention'd by the Indians, but found no proviſions there; whereupon ORELLANA pretending it was impoſſible to return to PIZARRO againſt the ſtream, reſolved to ſet up for himſelf, and accordingly caſting off all care and regard for PIZARRO and his companions then in diſtreſs, he reſolved to continue his voyage to the mouth of the river, and then go over into Spain and obtain the government of thoſe countries for himſelf: But this cruel reſolution was oppoſed by many of thoſe who were then with him, who told him plainly, that he was not to exceed the orders of his Captain-General, and that it was inhuman to forſake his companions in their great diſtreſs, knowing how uſeful and neceſſary that brigantine was to them. In this point none were more zealous than Friar GASPAR CARVAJAL, and a young gentleman native of BADAJOZ, named HERNANDO SANCHEZ DE VARGAS, whom thoſe of the contrary opinion made their Chief, and were ſo warm in their debates on this ſubject, that the quarrel had come to blows had not ORELLANA with fair words appeaſed the tumult: However, he manag'd ſo artfully afterwards with thoſe who had oppoſed his intention, that he entic'd them all over to his party, and then rudely treated the poor Friar whom he had expos'd to the ſame famine and miſery (had it not been for reſpect to his habit and profeſſion) as he did SANCHEZ DE VARGAS, whom he left in that deſart encompaſſed with high mountains on the one ſide, and a great river on the other, to periſh by famine.

FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA afterwards found ſome proviſions amongſt the nations on the river below; but becauſe the women came out at firſt with their huſbands to oppoſe his landing, he gave it the name of the river of Amazons.

Orellana comes into the Atlantic-ocean.

Sails to Spain and obtains the government of the Amazon country.

Proceeding yet farther down this river, they found theſe Indians more civil than the other, who received them amicably, admiring the brigantine and men ſo ſtrangely habited. Theſe treated the Spaniards hoſpitably, and furniſh'd them with as much proviſion as they had occaſion for. ORELLANA remain'd here therefore ſeveral weeks, and built another brigantine, for they were much ſtraitned for room in the firſt, and having fitted it up as well as they were able, they adventur'd out to ſea, ſailing along the coaſt of Caribiana, about 200 leagues to the northward, 'till they arriv'd at the iſland of the Holy Trinity, having eſcap'd ſuch dangers that they often gave themſelves over for loſt. At this iſland ORELLANA bought a ſhip, with which he ſail'd into Spain, where he requeſted his Majeſty's commiſſion for the conqueſt and government of the country of the Amazons, as he was pleas'd to ſtile it. To make this enterprize appear the more deſirable, he alledg'd that it was a country abounding with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, and in teſtimony thereof produc'd the riches which he had brought with him; whereupon his Majeſty granted the requeſt he made for the government of what he ſhould conquer there, and ORELLANA was join'd by five hundred volunteers, the greateſt part of them briſk young gentlemen, and perſons of honour, with whom he embark'd at St. Lucar for the river Amazon, in the year 1554; but he loſt one of his ſhips in his voyage thither, and met with ſo many difficulties and misfortunes before he had ſail'd an hundred leagues up the river, that he abandon'd the enterprize, and died in his return home.

Dies in an attempt to ſubdue it.

And now let us return to GONZALO PIZARRO, whom we left in ſuch diſtreſs after FRANCISCO DE ORELLANA was run away with the brigantine: And firſt he built ten or twelve canoes and other floats to paſs from one ſide the river to the other, as often as his march was interrupted by impaſſable mountains or moraſſes, and proceeded in that manner down the river in hopes to meet the brigantine they had diſpatch'd for proviſions.

At the end of two months they arriv'd at the point where the two rivers met; but inſtead of their brigantine and the proviſions they expected to meet with, they found only the honeſt HERNAN DE VARGAS, who with conſtancy of mind, like a man of honour, had endur'd with great reſolution famine and all the miſeries to which he was expoſed in that ſolitude; and from him they receiv'd a particular account of the villainy of the perfidious ORELLANA, which PIZARRO could ſcarce credit, having hitherto entertain'd an entire confidence in the man.

Pizarro's diſtreſs.

The General however, putting a good face upon the matter, cheer'd up his men, and encourag'd them with hopes of better fortune, telling them, that they ought, like Spaniards, to bear with equality of mind theſe labours and diſappointments, and yet greater if any ſuch could be: That the more danger the more honour, and the greater would their renown be in hiſtory, which would tranſmit the fame of their adventures down to future ages. The ſoldiers obſerving the chearfulneſs of their General, who had moſt cauſe to reſent ORELLANA's uſage of him, took heart and continued their march by the banks of the river, ſometimes on one ſide and ſometimes on the other.

But the difficulty of carrying the horſes over upon floats (for there ſtill remain'd about fifty of their number) cannot be expreſs'd, any more than the famine they were expos'd to: However, the Indians who remain'd alive ſerv'd their maſters with great faithfulneſs and affection in theſe extremities, bringing them herbs, roots, wild fruit, ſnakes, and other vermin they found in thoſe mountains, all which went down with the Spaniards; nor could they have ſubſiſted without ſuch kind of food.

Pizarro returns to Quitto.

And now GONZALO PIZARRO being reſolved to return to Peru, left the river and took his way more to the northward, which proved ſhorter by 100 leagues than the way they came, but no leſs difficult, being forced to cut their way frequently through the woods, and for want of other proviſions they now eat up all their remaining horſes and dogs; for the four thouſand Indians, who uſed to purvey for them, all died in this expedition; and there were but fourſcore Spaniards who return'd to Quitto alive, and theſe almoſt without cloaths, and ſo ſun-burnt and emaciated with the fatigue and want of food, that their neareſt friends ſcarce knew them.

With ſuch inſupportable hardſhips and hazards did the firſt Spaniſh Adventurers ſtruggle in ſearch of gold, even when they had before acquir'd enough one would have thought to have ſatisfy'd the moſt boundleſs avarice. I queſtion whether GONZALO PIZARRO, who was one of the proprietors of the mines of Potoſi, had not amaſs'd more than a million of crowns before he enter'd upon this expedition.

Peter de Orſua attempts to diſcover this country.

PETER DE ORSUA, who afterwards obtain'd a commiſſion from the Governor of Peru, in the year 1550, to ſubdue the provinces bordering on the river Amazon, embark'd on the river Xauxa in Peru with ſeven hundred armed Spaniards and two thouſand Indians, and ſail'd down the ſtream two or three hundred leagues, 'till he came to the confluence of the two rivers Amazon and Xauxa, and continuing his voyage afterwards 200 leagues further, was kill'd in a mutiny of his men, which put a period to that enterprize.

Two Friars ſucceſsful in diſcovering it.

Several other Adventurers made the like attempts afterwards, but moſt of them prov'd unfortunate, 'till two Monks and ſome Soldiers, who ſet out with JOHN DE PALACIOS from Quitto in Peru, in the year 1635, and embarking on the river Amazon, where it firſt becomes navigable, ſail'd the whole length of it 'till they arriv'd at Paria in Brazil, which lies on the ſouth ſide of the mouth of this great river: But their Captain, JOHN PALACIOS, was kill'd in a ſkirmiſh with the natives in their paſſage.

Texeira ſails up the river to Peru.

The Friars having given an account of their voyage to the Governor of Brazil, he order'd ſloops and boats to be provided, on which he embark'd ſeventy Portugueſe and two thouſand Indians, and in October, 1637, order'd them to ſail up the river, under the command of TEXEIRA, a mariner of great ſkill and experience, who by the help of the eaſterly wind, which generally blows here, ſail'd up againſt the current 'till he arriv'd at Les Reyes, a town of Quitto in Peru; and the river not being navigable higher for his veſſels, he left them there and went by land to the city of Quitto, where he was kindly receiv'd by the Spaniſh Governor, and furniſh'd with whatever he wanted to facilitate his return to Brazil: And the Governor ſent Father DE ACUNA and another Spaniſh Jeſuit down the river with him, ordering them to embark for Spain when they arriv'd at Brazil, and communicate the obſervations they ſhould make in this voyage to his Catholick Majeſty; and TEXEIRA embarking again at Les Reyes, on the river Amazon, with the two Jeſuits, in the month of February, 1638-9, arrived at Paria in Brazil the December following; from whence DE ACUÑA and his companion went over to Spain, and publiſh'd a relation of their voyage in 1640, which is the beſt account of this river and the countries bordering upon it that is extant.

The ſources of the river Amazon.

Its courſe and magnitude.

From theſe ſeveral relations we learn that the head of the river Amazon riſes in Quitto, almoſt under the Equator, in 76 degrees of weſtern longitude, and running ſouth-eaſt 'till it unites its waters with the river Xauxa, continues its courſe almoſt due eaſt in the latitude of 4 degrees for 26 degrees of longitude, and then returning to the north, by many mouths diſcharges itſelf into the Atlantic-ocean, almoſt under the Equator. They compute, that with all its turnings and windings it does not run leſs than 1800 leagues; and obſerves that it is ordinarily 2 or 3 leagues broad; but in the rainy ſeaſon over-flows the flat country on the right and left, and at the mouth of it is fifty or ſixty leagues broad; that from the river Negro, which falls into it about five hundred leagues from the mouth, it is generally thirty or forty fathom deep, and up higher from eight fathom to twenty; that there is one ſtraight where it is not above a quarter of a mile over, and that there are near two hundred rivers which fall into it from the north to ſouth.

The air.

Weather.

Winds.

Thunder.

Seaſons.

The Adventurers in general agree that the air is cooler than could be expected ſo near the Equator, which proceeds from the heavy rains that occaſion the numerous rivers to overflow their banks one half of the year; from the cloudy weather, from the ſhortneſs of the days, which are never more than twelve hours long, and from the briſk eaſterly wind that blows frequently from the Atlantic-ocean quite through the country ſo ſtrong that veſſels are enabled thereby to ſail againſt the ſtream, and perform the voyage almoſt as ſoon up the river Amazon as down it, which I perceive is a voyage of eight or ten months, where no ill accident interrupts the paſſage. Travellers alſo obſerve, that they have moſt terrible thunder and lightning great part of the year; but this is no more than what is uſual in other countries that lie under the Equinoctial: And it may properly be ſaid they have two ſummers and two winters every year; that is, fair weather when the ſun is at the greateſt diſtance from them in either Tropic; and foul when it is vertical, as it is at the vernal and autumnal Equinox.

Trees and fruits.

The trees here are ever-greens, and they have fruits, flowers and herbage all the year round. Their fruits are Cocoa-nuts, Anana's, or Pine-apples, Guava's, Banana's, and ſuch other fruits as are uſually found between the Tropics. Their foreſt and timber-trees are Cedar, Brazil-wood, Oak, Ebony, Log-wood, Iron-wood, ſo call'd from its weight and hardneſs, the Canela, or Cinamon, as it is call'd from its ſpicy bark, and ſeveral ſorts of dying-wood.

Corn, roots, and plants.

They have alſo Indian-corn, and the Caſſavi-root, of which they make flour and bread, Tobacco, Cotton, Sugar, Yams, Potatoes, Sarſaparilla, and other roots. They have alſo plenty of veniſon, fiſh and fowl, among which they mention Deer, Indian-ſheep, and Goats, Guano's, Manatee, Armadillo's, Tortoiſe, and vaſt flocks of Parrots of all colours; which ſerve them for food, and their feathers for ornament.

Animals.

Perſons of the natives.

The natives are of the ordinary ſtature of men: They have good features, long black hair, and black eyes, and their complexion is a copper colour, whereas the natives of Africa in the ſame latitude, on the oppoſite ſide of the Atlantic-ocean, are all Negroes.

The ſtories of Amazons, &c. fictitious.

As to the nation of Amazons, which were ſaid to give name to this river and country, they are now no where to be found, any more than the Giants and Canibals the firſt Adventurers mention'd. The people are generally acknowledg'd now to have as much humanity or more than the Europeans who invaded them, and to have a genius for painting and ſome mechanic arts, particularly they make good joiners-work, though they have no other tools than ſuch as are edg'd with ſharp ſtones. They alſo ſpin and weave themſelves cotton garments, and are pretty decently cloath'd: Their earthen-ware alſo is much admir'd; but I don't perceive they have learnt to make bricks, or build with ſtone, the materials of their houſes being of wood, thatch, and clay, but one floor, and built uſually on ſome eminence near the river-ſide to avoid the inundation.

Genius.

Habits.

Government.

The banks of every river, as they relate, are inhabited by a diſtinct people, commanded by their reſpective Caciques or Sovereigns, who are diſtinguiſh'd from their ſubjects by coronets of beautiful feathers: Their arms are bows, arrows, and ſpears, and they make war on each other by water as well as land, but have no other boats than canoes, which are great trees made hollow: Whatever their pretenſions are for war, their principal end in it is to make ſlaves; however, 'tis ſaid, they uſe their ſlaves with great humanity, and never ſell them to foreigners.

Wars.

Religion.

They worſhip images, and carry them with them in their expeditions; but I don't find they have temples dedicated to any god, or any order of Prieſts. They countenance both poligamy and concubinage. As to the gold and ſilver mines the Spaniards went in ſearch of when they firſt diſcover'd the river of Amazon, I can't learn they have yet met with any here, though they find ſome gold in the rivulets that fall into the river Amazon near its ſources in Peru. After the river is ſwoln to any magnitude there is no more gold to be found; and this I don't doubt is the reaſon that neither the Spaniards or Portugueſe have planted any colonies in the lower part of it. The Spaniards made great efforts from Peru to ſubdue this country while they had a notion it abounded in gold, but ſeem to have neglected the diſcovery ever ſince they were undeceiv'd in this particular; and indeed they have a larger dominion already in America than they can defend, which is a ſufficient reaſon for their ſlighting ſuch countries as do not produce gold or ſilver.

No gold in this country.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
Spaniſh ISLANDS.

CHAP. I.

Of the iſland of Cuba.

CHAP. I.

THE three principal Spaniſh iſlands that remain to be deſcrib'd are thoſe of Cuba, Hiſpaniola, and Porto Rico.

Situation and extent.

The iſland of Cuba is ſituated between the 20th degree of northern latitude and the Tropic of Cancer, and between the 74th and 87th degrees of weſtern longitude, 30 leagues north of Jamaica, and about as many ſouth of Cape Florida, being 300 leagues in length, and generally between 20 and 30 leagues broad.

Name.

The natives had given it the name of Cuba before COLUMBUS arriv'd there, who at firſt call'd it Juanna, 'tis ſaid, and afterwards Ferdinandino, from King FERDINAND, who was King of Spain when this iſland was diſcover'd; but it ſoon recover'd its American name of Cuba, which it retains to this day.

CHAP. I.

Face of the country.

A ridge of mountains run almoſt through the iſland from eaſt to weſt, well repleniſh'd with timber and other trees, but the land near the ſhore is generally a plain champaign country.

Rivers.

There are abundance of rivulets which run from the mountains north and ſouth, but none of them large, falling into the ſea after a very ſhort courſe, Harbours.

and no place in the world has better harbours, the chief of which are St. Jago, at the bottom of a large bay at the eaſt-end of the iſland, and that of the Havana, on the north-weſt, which is one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt commodious havens in America.

Seaſons.

They have no winters here, but great rains and tempeſts uſually when the ſun is vertical in July and Auguſt, which cools the air however, and renders the climate tolerable. The faireſt ſeaſon is when the ſun is at the greateſt diſtance from them, and then the morning is much the hotteſt part of the day; for towards noon the ſea-breeze begins to blow pretty briſkly, and continues to do ſo till the evening. From October to April they have briſk north or north-weſt winds in theſe ſeas at the full and change of the moon, and in December and January they frequently increaſe into ſtorms, though this be their fair ſeaſon: And DAMPIER obſerves of the iſle of Pines, ſituated near the ſouth-weſt coaſt of Cuba, that it rains there when it is fair every where elſe; and if we may credit our mariners, they ſcarce ever have a fair day on the Iſle of Pines. The trade-wind in theſe ſeas blows from the north-eaſt.

Provinces.

I don't find the iſland of Cuba divided into provinces, though ſome relate that the eaſt part of it is ſubject to the Governor of St. Jago, and the weſt to the Governor of the Havana.

Chief towns.

The chief towns in the iſland are, 1. St. Jago; 2. The Havana; 3. Baracoa; 4. Porto del Principe; 5. Santa Cruz; 6. Trinidad; and 7. Spirito Sancto.

St. Jago.

1. St. Jago is ſituated (as has been already obſerv'd) at the bottom of a fine bay in the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland, which with ſome ſmall iſlands in the bay, form a very commodious harbour: It was built by General JAMES VELASQUEZ, who reduc'd this iſland under the dominion of the Spaniards about the year 1514: And it may ſtill be ſtil'd the capital of Cuba, being the only Biſhop's ſee in it, but is very much upon the decline at preſent, both the Biſhop and Civil Governor reſiding at the Havana, for the moſt part.

The Havana.

2. The Havana, ſituate at the north-weſt part of the iſland, about five hundred miles to the weſtward of St. Jago, of which that celebrated traveller GEMELLI CARRERI, who was at the Havana in the year 1698, gives us the following deſcription, together with ſome other particulars relating to the country, and the voyage of the galleons from thence to Spain, which I am confident will be acceptable to my readers.

Some deſcription of the people.

The Havana (ſays GEMELLI) is a little city half a league in compaſs, ſeated in a plain, and in the latitude of 23 degrees, 20 minutes. It is almoſt round, incloſ'd with poor low walls on the land ſide, and defended on the other part by water. The inhabitants are about four thouſand ſouls, Spaniards, Mulatto's, and Blacks, who live moſt of them in low houſes. The women are beautiful, and the men ingenious. The Governor hath the title of Captain-General of the iſland, and adminiſters juſtice with the aſſiſtance of an Aſſeſſor, call'd a Lieutenant, who is appointed by the Council of the Indies.

It is very dear living there; for three ounces of bread coſt fifteen grains of Naples money; that is, about three-pence Engliſh, and half a pound of meat the ſame price. A hen is worth a noble, and fruit and other things proportionably; ſo that a man can ſcarcely live under two pieces of eight a day, eſpecially when the galleons are there: Though the climate is temperate, wheat has not throve there for ſome years, and the reaſon is not known; ſo that what comes from abroad to the bakers is dearly paid for: But this want is in ſome meaſure ſupply'd by a root call'd Yuca (the Caſſavi-root) whereof they make bread, boiling and then preſſing it to get out a venomous juice there is in it. They bake it upon little earthen ſtoves, and this bread ſerves not only the poor, but the better ſort who have large families. This root produces neither leaves nor ſeed, but they ſet bits of it into the ground to grow again.

The iſland is three hundred leagues in length from eaſt to weſt, and about thirty in breadth. The inhabitants are poor, having no trade but tobacco and ſugar; and all the labour falls upon the Blacks, of whom their maſters exact four rials (two ſhillings) a day, and ſix when the fleet is there, and at leaſt three of the women: Now what can a miſerable Black do who has two maſters, as it often happens? In Peru the maſter's avarice is greater; for they ſend the Black women to be got with child, like cows, and if they prove barren they ſell them.

Fortifications of the Havana.

The city Havana is encompaſſed on two ſides by its ſafe harbour, which is ſo deep that the ſhips anchor within a few ſteps of the ſhore. It is defended by three caſtles, the chief of them call'd Del Morro, on the left-hand of the mouth of it; the ſecond De la Punta, or Of the Point, on the right; and the third call'd only The Fort, on the right of the laſt: We ſhall ſpeak of them at large hereafter.

Churches.

Friday the 3d, I ſaw the little, but neat, church, call'd Santo Chriſto del Buen Viage, ſerv'd by Secular Prieſts. Next day that of the Recolets, ſeated on the beſt ground in the city, and in it twelve beautiful chappels, and in the monaſtery cells for fifty Fathers.

Weather.

The weather, which had continued ſerene and warm as ſummer, on Thurſday the 9th, chang'd ſo cold, with rain, that I believe the like has ſcarce ever been felt in a place lying in 23 degrees and 20 minutes of latitude.

Wedneſday the 15th I heard maſs in the church of St. Clare, which has ſeven altars well adorn'd. The monaſtery will contain an hundred religious women and ſervants, who are there cloath'd in blue.

Treaſure of the galleons.

Thurſday the 16th the cheſts of pieces of eight (crowns) began to be put on board the galleons, the King's held three thouſand each, and the reſt two thouſand, in all amounting to thirty millions, as well belonging to the King as Merchants, for goods ſold at the fair of Porto Bello, carry'd on between the traders of Seville and thoſe of Lima. The great faith theſe traders repoſe in one another is very remarkable; for when once agreed about the price, they interchangeably deliver one another the bales of goods and cheſts of pieces of eight without ſeeing any thing of the contents, but giving entire credit to the written particulars they deliver to one another; for afterwards the bales and cheſts are opened in the preſence of Publick Notaries, and if they find any thing amiſs, the Companies of Seville and Lima are to make all good. This year the Company of Lima traders paid five thouſand pieces of eight for goods found over and above in the bales at the foregoing fair. The ſame is practiſed at Acapulco when the galleon comes from Manila.

A rich pearl.

There was alſo deliver'd to the Maſter of Plate (which is an officer on board the galleons, who had charge of all the plate and jewels) aboard the Admiral, a pearl weighing ſixty grains, ſhaped like a pear, by F. FRANCIS DE LA FUENTE a Jeſuit, to be deliver'd to the King. This pearl was taken at Panama in the King's iſland, by a Black belonging to a Prieſt, who being rich would not ſell it to the Preſident of Panama for fifty thouſand pieces of eight, nor to the Vice-roy of Peru for ſeventy thouſand, both of them being to ſend it to the King, but ſaid, “He would carry it to his Majeſty himſelf.” Being come to Porto Bello with the pearl, which he call'd La Perſeguida, or the Perſecuted, he there died before he went aboard, and therefore committed it to the care of the aforeſaid F. FUENTE, who told me that it was larger than that call'd La Peregrina, but ſomewhat duller. The Black had his liberty for his reward.

Peruvians rich.

There went on board the galleons twenty Doctors of Peru, being the ſons of Spaniards and Indian women going to Court for preferment, and the leaſt that every one of them carry'd was thirty thouſand pieces of eight.

Birds.

Monday the 20th, going abroad a ſhooting, I kill'd a great many of thoſe birds they call Cotorrera's; ſome of them have black and green feathers, and others blue, others black and green wings, their breaſts red, and half the head white. They are not amiſs to eat. Returning home I kill'd two Guacamaija's, which though they do not talk, are ſo finely colour'd, that the beſt pencil can ſcarce equal them. The country is very delightful, being full of little houſes with gardens and farms where there is no want of Indian fruit. I found a ſort of ſnails, very large like the ſea-ſnails.

Churches.

Friday the 24th, I ſaw the church and monaſtery of the Auguſtinians; the firſt has thirteen little altars, the latter very poor dormitories.

Sunday the 26th, I was at the mother-church of the city, where the Biſhop officiates with the Clergy belonging to it, his reſidence being at Havana, tho' the cathedral is at St. Jago where the Canons reſide.

Tueſday the 28th, I heard maſs in the church of St. John de Dios, which is ſmall and has nine altars. The monaſtery is alſo ſmall, and the hoſpital is for ſoldiers; its revenue is twelve thouſand pieces of eight per annum.

On Saturday, the 1ſt of February, arriv'd the long-wiſh'd for veſſel with proviſions for the fleet, being ſeventeen hundred quintals, or a hundred weight of biſcuit, ſix hundred load of meal, fiſh, and other neceſſaries for the galleons.

Tueſday the 4th I went to the hermitage of St. James, a church built by the Biſhop within the walls of the city for his own particular devotion, well adorn'd, and with an apartment for him to retire to ſometimes.

Wedneſday the 5th, I ſaw the caſtle of the Point, which is very ſmall, and has four baſtions.

Forts.

Monday the 10th, going to viſit the Caſtellan D. ANTONY DE ROXAS, I had the opportunity of ſeeing the caſtle they call The Fort: Its compaſs is ſmall, but it has four good baſtions, and a platform towards the mouth of the port, well furniſh'd with braſs cannon.

Fruits.

There are two particular ſorts of fruit at Havana, which do not grow elſewhere. One is like a heart, call'd Guanavana, green without, and has ſome thorny prickles within, made up of white morſels of an unpleaſant taſte, between ſweet and ſour, with ſome ſtones. The tree is as big as that which bears the anana's, or pine-apple; the other is exactly like an orange on the out-ſide, and within has a white and red pulp of a ſweet taſte. The tree is as tall as a pear-tree; the leaf on the one ſide is green, and on the other of a cinnamon colour. Of European fruit there grow quinces, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and other ſorts.

Cattle.
Birds.

The mountains are full of wild Hogs, Cows, Horſes, and Mules. Of birds there are abundance, eſpecially Parrots and Partridges, with blue heads, and as for thoſe that are fit for the cage, there is great plenty of thoſe they call Chambergos.

Forts.

Monday the 3d of March, I ſaw the caſtle Del Morro, built upon a rock on the left of the mouth of the harbour, which it defends with a platform of twelve pieces of cannon, call'd the Apoſtles, which lie level with the water. There are in all about fifty-five guns in the caſtle. The ditch about it is cut out of the rock and filled by the ſea. Abundance of the birds call'd Cardinals are brought over from Florida; I ſaw the people belonging to the galleons give ten pieces of eight a-piece for ſome of them, and ſix for the worſt. Upon computation, they ſaid, there had been eighteen thouſand pieces of eight laid out upon thoſe fooliſh birds, notwithſtanding the deplorable loſs of Cartagena, and the expenſive delay of keeping the fleet three years in America.

Saturday the 8th, proclamation was made, forbidding any that belong'd to the fleet to ſtay in Havana upon pain of death, and in the evening a cannon was fir'd to warn all aboard.

Baracoa.

To return to the deſcription of the towns; 3. Baracoa is ſituated at the north-eaſt part of the iſland, upon a good harbour for ſmall veſſels, but is not capable of receiving large ſhips.

Porto del Principe.

4. Porto del Principe, ſituated on the north-ſide of the iſland, about three hundred miles to the eaſtward of the Havana.

SantaCruz

5. Santa Cruz, ſituated alſo on the north ſide of the iſland, thirty miles eaſt of the Havana, upon a very good harbour.

Trinidad.

6. Trinidad, ſituate at the bottom of a bay on the ſouth ſide of the iſland; and

Spirito Sancto.

7. Spirito Sancto, ſituate alſo on the ſouth-ſide of the iſland, about thirty miles ſouth-eaſt of Trinidad.

Animals.
Crocodiles.
Tortoiſes.
Manatee.
Cattle.
Trees and fruits.

This iſland produces the ſame animals as the neighbouring continent; but there is no place where the ſeas and rivers abound more with crocodiles, from whence ſeveral ſmall iſlands upon this coaſt have obtain'd the name of Caymans, or the Crocodile Iſlands. Tortoiſes and Manatee are alſo exceeding plentiful here, and the European cattle the Spaniards brought hither are ſo vaſtly increas'd, that they run wild, and are killed chiefly for their hides and tallow, and their horſes are ſaid to be the beſt bred in America. Their timber-trees are cedar, cotton, oaks, pines, palms, cocoa-nut-trees, and ſuch others as are uſually found between the Tropics. Their fruits plantains, panana's, anana's, guava's, oranges, lemons, grapes, and other fruits introdued by the Spaniards; but their wine turns ſour and will not keep, as is the caſe in other countries ſituate in hot climates. They have alſo ginger, caſſia, fiſtula, aloes, and long-pepper; but as to cinamon, which our voyage-writers talk of, and other fine ſpices, they are only to be found in the Eaſt-Indies.

Bitumen.
Stones.

There are a kind of bituminous fountains in the iſland, which produce a ſubſtance that ſerves inſtead of pitch: And there is a ſtone-quarry, we are told, where vaſt quantities of flints are found of the ſhape and ſize of cannon-balls.

Mines.

Travellers mention alſo gold mines in this iſland; but if there were any they are exhauſted, tho' there are ſome of copper not far from St. Jago.

CHAP. I. History.

Columbus firſt diſcover'd this iſland in the year 1492, as related in the introduction in this volume; but in all the voyages he made to America, he never found that it was an iſland, and the Spaniards fixing firſt at Hiſpaniola on account of the gold mines there, this iſland of Cuba was not entirely conquer'd till the year 1512, or 1514, Don James Velasquez having the honour of reducing it. The Spaniards having frequently been diſturb'd in the poſſeſſion of it by their enemies and the Buccaneers, particularly Captain Cliff took the capital city of St. Jago in the year 1601, and Captain Morgan the town of Porto del Principe in the year 1669; for the reſt I muſt refer to the introduction.

CHAP II.

Of the iſland of Hiſpaniola.

CHAP. II. Situation.

THE iſland of Hiſpaniola is ſituated between 18 and 20 degrees of north latitude, and between 66 and 75 degrees of weſtern longitude, being about 80 leagues in length, and generally about 40 leagues broad, and lies 15 leagues to the eaſtward of Cuba, 20 leagues eaſt of Jamaica, and upwards of 100 leagues north of Terra-Firma.

Name.

The name the Indians gave it anciently was Bohio, but Columbus call'd it Hiſpaniola, or Little Spain, probably in honour to the Crown of Spain, which employed him in this diſcovery; and it was frequently call'd Dominica, or Domingo, from its capital.

Face of the country.

As to the face of the country, there are mountains in the middle of it well planted with foreſt-trees, and other mountains more barren, in which formerly were gold mines, that ſeem to be entirely exhauſted at this day. On the north and ſouth are fine fruitful plains, watered with abundance of pleaſant rivers which fall from the mountains, of which thoſe on the ſouth-ſide of the iſland are the largeſt. There are alſo ſeveral woods and groves of timber and fruit-trees: And no iſland hath more ſecure and commodious ports. The air and ſeaſons are much the ſame here as in the iſland of Cuba. The iſland may be thrown into two grand diviſions, viz. The ſouth-eaſt part which is ſubject to the Spaniards, and the north-weſt now ſubject to the French.

Diviſion.

Chief towns of the Spaniards.

The chief towns under the Dominion of the Spaniards are, 1. St. Domingo, or Dominica; 2. Higuey; 3. Zibo; 4. Cotuy; 5. Aſo, or Azua; and 6. Conception.

Domingo.

1. The city of St. Domingo, ſituated on a commodious harbour on the ſouth-ſide of the iſland, near the mouth of the river Hayna, in 18 degrees, 20 minutes ſouth latitude, and in 70 degrees of weſtern longitude. This town is built after the Spaniſh model, having a large ſquare in the middle of it, about which are the cathedral and other publick buildings; and from this ſquare run the principal ſtreets in a direct line, being croſs'd by others at right-angles; ſo that the form of the town is almoſt ſquare. It is moſt delightfully ſituated, having a fine fruitful country on the north and eaſt, a large navigable river on the weſt, and the ocean on the ſouth, and is the ſee of an Archbiſhop, to whom the Biſhop of St. Jago in Cuba and ſeveral others on the continent of Honduras and Terra-Firma are Suffragans. It is alſo a royal audience, the moſt ancient in America, and the ſeat of the Governor of the iſland. There are in it ſeveral fine churches and monaſteries, and it is ſo well fortify'd that it defended itſelf in the year 1654, againſt one of the moſt formidable fleets and armies that ever was ſent to America by the Engliſh. The inhabitants are Spaniards, Meſtices, Mulatto's, and Albatraces, a ſixth part of which may be Spaniards: And in its flouriſhing ſtate, when its audience received appeals from every province of Spaniſh-America, it might contain about two thouſand houſes; but is very much declin'd of late years. It was founded by Bartholomew Columbus, brother to the Admiral, in the year 1594, who gave it the name of Domingo, or Dominic, in honour of their Father who was of that name.

Higuey.

2. The town of Higuey, ſituated 30 leagues to the eaſtward of Domingo, moſt conſiderable for its ſugar-works.

Zibo.

3. Zibo, 20 leagues eaſt of Domingo.

Cotuy.

4. Cotuy, ſituated near the eaſt-end of the iſland formerly a rich town when there were gold mines in its neighbourhood, but now an inconſiderable place.

Aſo.

5. Azua, or Aſo, a good port-town at the bottom of a bay on the ſouth-ſide of the iſland, 8 leagues weſt of Domingo.

Conception.

6. The city of Conception de la Vega, ſituate 25 leagues north of St. Domingo, in which is a cathedral and ſeveral parochial-churches, and others belonging to convents, being heretofore a Biſhop's ſee, founded by Columbus, who from this town had the title of Duke De la Vega conferr'd on him by his Catholick Majeſty.

Towns ſubject to the French.

The towns ſubject to the French are, 1. Petit Guaves; 2. Logane; 3. Port Lewis; and 4. Cape St. Francis.

Petit Guaves.

1. Petit Guaves is a port-town ſituated in a great bay at the weſt end of the iſland, the principal ſettlement the French have upon it.

Logane.

2. Logane, another port belonging to the French in the ſame bay.

Port Lewis.

3. Port Lewis, a good harbour on the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland.

Cape St. Francis. Port Paix.

4. Cape St. Francis, the moſt eaſterly ſettlement the French have on the north-ſide of the iſland, near which they have the Fort De Paix. Beſides theſe there are at this day a great many more thriving French colonies on the north and weſt part of the iſland.

Inhabitants.

As to the inhabitants, it has been already hinted that the ſouth-eaſt part is under the dominion of the Spaniards, and the north-weſt ſubject to the French, and conſequently the Spaniards and French are Lords of their reſpective diſtricts; but theſe are not a fifth part of the people upon the iſland; the Crioli, Meſtices, Negroes and Albatraces are much more numerous than their European Lords, tho' their ſlavery and dependance are as intolerable here as upon the continent; but there is this difference between the French and the Spaniſh ſettlements, that the French work and apply themſelves to buſineſs ſometimes themſelves, whereas the Spaniards live a lazy indolent life, depending on their vaſſals and ſlaves entirely for their ſubſiſtance.

Perſons.

The ſtature and complexion of the natives are the ſame as in the like climates on the continent. There may be obſerv'd a great variety of features and complexions here, and in all European colonies in America; ſome of the native Spaniards and French are fair, and others tawny: The deſcendants of theſe are a degree browner, and the next generation ſtill of a darker colour: Whereas on the other hand the imported Negroes and their iſſue are as black as poſſible, and their features like thoſe of other African Blacks; but mixing with Europeans or Indians, their children are tawny, and in ſome generations theſe tawny creatures cohabiting with other Europeans, their children and grandchildren are ſcarce to be diſtinguiſh'd from native Spaniards or French by their features or complexions; and when their original is forgot have the ſame privileges as thoſe deſcended from French or Spaniſh anceſtors on both ſides, provided they have acquir'd fortunes or eſtates to ſupport their pretenſions.

Quadrupedes.

It is very remarkable that when the Spaniards firſt diſcover'd Hiſpaniola and the neighbouring iſlands, there was not one four-footed animal upon them, unleſs ſome little Cur-dogs that could not bark: But the Spaniards afterwards importing horſes, oxen, aſſes, mules, ſheep, hogs, dogs, and cats, they multiplied prodigiouſly, and the Spaniards afterwards deſerting this iſland in a manner, having firſt deſtroy'd the natives, the black cattle run wild in the mountains and foreſts, and for many years were kill'd by the Hunters and Buccaneers chiefly for their hides and tallow, of which incredible quantities were exported to Europe: And here the Buccaneers uſed to victual their ſhips with beef and pork and ſell the ſame kind of proviſions to the ſhipping that touch'd there; but ſince the French became maſters of the north-weſt part of the iſland, and the number of cattle is decreaſed by the continual ſlaughter that was made of them, they have apply'd themſelves to the planting ſugar, tobacco, &c.

Fowls.

As to the feather'd kind, there is a ſort of fowls in their woods equal to our poultry, which the Spaniards call Pintado's, and great numbers of Parrots of various colours. Here is alſo the Carpenter-bird, ſo call'd from his pecking holes in trees, with the Cabrero, a ſort of Cormorants, Men-of-war birds, Ravens, Crows, Swallows, Ducks, Teal, and many more ſuch as are found in the ſame latitude on the continent.

Reptiles and inſects

As to reptiles and inſects, there are ſerpents of various kinds, but none of them venomous; Chego's, Muſketo's, Fire-flies, Crickets, and Millipedes.

Crocodiles Tortoiſes.

The Caymans, or Crocodiles, and Tortoiſes alſo are as numerous here and in the ſmall iſlands on the coaſt as in any place of the world, and they have plenty of fiſh in their ſeas and rivers.

Fiſh.

Foreſt-trees.

The principal foreſt-trees on Hiſpaniola are the Cedar, the Oak, the Pine, the Maho-tree, the Acoma-tree, Braſil, and other dying woods, and the Manchinil, the fruit of which laſt is poiſonous, and the very ſaw-duſt of this wood has been fatal to the workman. They have alſo ſeveral ſorts of Palms, as the Latimer-plam, the Prickle-palm, the Wine-palm, and the Roſary-palm, with ſeveral kinds of fruit-trees, ſuch as Banana's, Plantains, Guava's, Anana's, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, Limes, Grapes, Apricots, Caramite-trees, whoſe fruit reſembles Damaſcene-plumbs, the Genipa-tree, not unlike our cherry-trees, but the fruit bigger than a tennis-ball, and the Abelcoſe, which yields a fruit as big as a Melon.

Fruits.

Sugar.

But the principal produce of the iſland at this day is Sugar, of which the French, as well as the Spaniards have very large plantations: And the great plenty of proviſions, or rather the frugality and parſimony of the French, enables them to ſell this kind of merchandize cheaper than the Britiſh colonies can do, and conſequently muſt diminiſh our trade in that particular; for which I know no remedy but to adviſe our Planters to live as frugally as the French, and then poſſibly they may recover the trade they have loſt.

Tobacco. Drugs.

They plant Tobacco alſo in Hiſpaniola, and have ſeveral gums and drugs that are uſed in medicine, ſuch as Gum-elema, Guaiacum, Aloes, Caſſia, and China-root.

The Hiſtory.

The firſt diſcovery of this iſland, in the year 1492, and part of its hiſtory have been already treated of in the introduction in this volume. I ſhall take leave to add in this place, that the Spaniards, after they had made an entire conqueſt of it, lived in great ſplendor here for many years, 'till they had exhauſted the gold mines and worn out the natives in the working of them, and in other rigorous ſervices, inſomuch that of three millions of Indians that were found here there was not one Indian left upon it. After which the Spaniards (who at one time, 'tis ſaid, amounted to fourteen thouſand families) deſerted the iſland themſelves, and went over to the continent, moſt of them to Peru and Chili, where they underſtood there was the greateſt plenty of gold and ſilver. Whereupon this iſland became the habitation of wild beaſts 'till a people no leſs ſavage than theſe brute creatures, conſiſting of Out-laws, Buccaneers, and Pirates of all nations, began to make ſettlements here, and maintain themſelves by hunting the wild cattle on ſhore, and the prizes they made at ſea; or by plundering the maritime towns in thoſe ſeas. The Spaniards finding their commerce very much interrupted by theſe Free-booters, and apprehenſive that other European nations might at length take poſſeſſion of Hiſpaniola, and diſpute their dominion in that part of the world, thought fit to ſend colonies thither, and repoſſeſs themſelves of the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland again, but could not entirely drive the Buccaneers from the north-weſt coaſt and the little iſland of Tortuga over-againſt it, where they had fortify'd themſelves; and theſe being moſt of them French, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at length ſent a Governor thither, and oblig'd theſe diſorderly people to build towns, cultivate the lands, and live in ſubjection to the laws of France, ſince which time they have made prodigious improvements, inſomuch that Hiſpaniola may now be look'd upon as one of the moſt valuable acquiſitions the French have in America, particularly with regard to their ſugar-plantations (as has been intimated already) and the noble harbours and forts they are now in poſſeſſion of on that coaſt, which gives them an opportunity of diſturbing and ruining the commerce of other nations they happen to be at war with, as the Spaniards experienc'd in King WILLIAM's war, and the Engliſh in that of queen ANNE.

One reaſon of the Spaniards deſerting this fruitful iſland of Hiſpaniola, 'tis ſaid, was their being perpetually harraſs'd and plunder'd by the Engliſh and Dutch in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH; and why neither of thoſe nations poſſeſs'd themſelves of this important iſland when they had driven the Spaniards from thence is not eaſy to be conceiv'd; for were either of the maritime Powers poſſeſs'd of it, there are ſo many fine harbours for the ſecurity of their ſhips, and ſuch plenty of proviſions, that here they might ride maſters of the American ſeas, and gives laws to all other Powers.

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, in the year 1586, took the capital city of St. Domingo by ſtorm with twelve hundred men, and then quitted it again, as he had done ſeveral other Spaniſh ports in America. It ſeems to have been a maxim then in the Court of England, to humble the pride of the Spaniards, but not abſolutely to drive them from their ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies.

Cromwell attempts the conqueſt of Hiſpaniola.

But CROMWELL and his Miniſtry were of a different mind. There is no one enterprize that cunning Uſurper ſeem'd to have ſet his heart upon more than the poſſeſſing himſelf of this important iſland, which he evidently ſaw muſt give him the command of thoſe ſeas, if it did not let him into a ſhare of the treaſures of Mexico and Peru. He ſent Admiral PENN and VENABLES thither therefore, in the year 1654, with a fine fleet and ten thouſand landmen on board, who had infallibly made themſelves maſters of the iſland, if ſome that envied CROMWELL that glorious conqueſt had not defeated the deſign by unneceſſarry delays in executing his orders, and ſending ſuch proviſions, arms, and ammunition on board the fleet, that when they came to uſe them were found to be good for nothing. However, tho' theſe forces were not ſo fortunate as to ſubdue the iſland of Hiſpaniola, they did the nation the next beſt ſervice they could poſſibly have perform'd in making a conqueſt of Jamaica, which the Engliſh have kept poſſeſſion of to this day.

His forces reduce Jamaica.

Iſlands of Savona. St. Catalina. Navaza. Guanabo. Tortuga.

There are ſeveral ſmall iſlands near the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, of which the chief are Savona and St. Catalina, at the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland; Navaza, at the weſt end of Hiſpaniola; Guanabo, in the bay of Leogane; and, laſtly, Tortuga, on the north-weſt coaſt, an iſland of between twenty and thirty leagues in circumference, in which there is an excellent harbour of difficult acceſs.

Buccaneers, their original.

Here the Buccaneers and Free-booters of all nations had their firſt rendezvous, and fortifying the iſland, bid defiance to all mankind for ſome years. They conſiſted chiefly of the French Hunters of Hiſpaniola, who poſſeſs'd part of that iſland on the Spaniards deſerting it, and ſpent their time in hunting, and taking the black cattle that run wild there. Theſe were joined by great numbers of Engliſh and Dutch and other ſeamen, who having been barbarouſly treated by the Spaniards, form'd conſiderable fleets, and made all Spaniſh ſhips prize that came in their way; and ſometimes, 'tis ſaid, they made no ſcruple of ſeizing the ſhips of other nations, or at leaſt plundering them of their ammunition and proviſions when they wanted themſelves; but ſince the French King has oblig'd thoſe people to ſubmit to a regular form of government, and eſtabliſh'd his dominion in the north-weſt part of the iſland of Hiſpaniola, the Buccaneers have diſuſed their depredations at ſea as well as their hunting by land, and apply'd themſelves to cultivate the ſoil, and particularly to improve the ſugar-plantations there, in which they have been very ſucceſsful. This colony, as has been intimated already, does not only prejudice the Britiſh ſugar-plantations extremely, but will ever remain a thorn in our ſides in time of war; for from hence they will be in a condition to diſturb the trade of our American colonies, unleſs we can find means to remove them: And one reaſon why the Spaniards have of late years favour'd the French more than the Engliſh may be, that they dread the power of the French more than the Engliſh, ſince they have poſſeſs'd themſelves of the north-weſt part of Hiſpaniola, where they have a variety of commdious harbours for the greateſt fleets, with which they can at any time cut off the trade between Spain and America.

CHAP. III.

Of the iſland of Porto Rico.

CHAP. III.

Porto Rico. Situation and extent.

THE iſland of Porto Rico is ſituated in 18 degrees of northern latitude, and between 64 and 66 degrees of weſtern longitude, being of an oblong form, about forty leagues in length from eaſt to weſt, and twenty in breadth from north to ſouth, and lies about twenty leagues eaſt of Hiſpaniola.

Name.

The Indian name was Boriquen, and COLUMBUS when he diſcover'd it call'd it St. John, but the chief town being afterwards built upon a commodious harbour, call'd Porto Rico, or the Rich Harbour, the iſland loſt both its former names, and goes by the name of Porto Rico to this day.

Face of the country.

The whole iſland is pleaſantly diverſified with woods, hills, and valleys, but has few large plains, and is well watered with ſprings and rivers; only on the little iſland, on which the city of Porto Rico ſtands, they have neither ſpring or brook, but fetch their freſh-water from the main iſland, or preſerve it in the time of the rains in ciſterns and reſervoirs: However, as two of the moſt conſiderable rivers diſcharge themſelves into the ſame bay, they eaſily import freſh-water from thence in boats.

The chief towns are, 1. Porto Rico; and, 2. St. Germains.

Porto Rico city.

1. The town of Porto Rico, or St. John's, is ſituated on a ſmall iſland in the harbour from whence it takes its name, the iſland being about two miles in length, and join'd to the main iſland by a narrow cauſey. The town ſtands upon an eminence, and is about half a league in circumference, built after the Spaniſh model; and being a Biſhop's ſee, has a handſome cathedral and ſix or ſeven parochial and conventical churches. The entrance of the harbour is very narrow, and defended by ſtrong forts and batteries, which render the town inacceſſible by ſea.

Nor is the place leſs pleaſant than it is ſtrong, for its elevated ſituation gives it the command of the ſea on the one ſide, and of the main iſland on the other, and the ſmall iſland in which it ſtands is planted with fruit-trees which are green all the year long.

St. Germains.

2. The town of St. Germains is ſituated at the weſt end of the iſland of Porto Rico, about four miles from the ſea; but of this I do not meet with any particular deſcription.

Seaſons.

Winds.

Their rainy and tempeſtuous ſeaſon is in the months of June, July and Auguſt, when the ſun is near them, and then the winds in theſe ſeas are at ſouth-eaſt, though they are north-eaſt at other times; but the hurricanes (which they are ſubject to as well as the Caribbee iſlands in their neighbourhood) blow from every point of the compaſs; and it is about Midſummer, or ſomething later, that they expect theſe ſtorms, though they do not happen every year.

It is very fortunate that it rains here in thoſe months, which would otherwiſe be the hotteſt: And the ſea-breezes are another great relief; for about eight in the morning there riſes a freſh gale of wind and blows 'till four in the afternoon: From ſix in the morning 'till the ſea-breeze riſes is very hot, but five in the afternoon is the hotteſt time of the day: From three in the morning 'till ſix it is the cooleſt, then a man may bear the bed-cloaths upon him very well.

The time of the rains is uſually unhealthful; foreigners eſpecially find it ſo, as the Earl of CUMBERLAND experienc'd, who, after he had taken the town of Porto Rico with its caſtles, was forc'd to abandon them again, having loſt the greateſt part of his men by the flux; which leads me to give a ſhort abſtract of the hiſtory of this iſland.

Hiſtory of this iſland.

St. John de Porto Rico was diſcover'd by COLUMBUS in his ſecond voyage, in the year 1493, who informs us that he met with ſome elegant buildings and gardens in this iſland; but being employ'd in diſcoveries on the continent afterwards, it was not reduc'd under the obedience of the Spaniards, or planted by them 'till the year 1510, when

JOHN POUNCE DE LEON, Deputy-governor of Hiſpaniola, being inform'd there were gold mines in Boroquen, obtain'd leave of NICHOLAS OBANDO, the Governor, to plant a colony there, and embarking with ſome few Spaniards, arriv'd at Boroquen; where pretending he only came to eſtabliſh a friendly commerce with the natives, the chief Cacique, or Lord of the iſland, made an alliance with the Spaniards, and treated them very hoſpitably, ſhewing them two rivers wherein were ſome gold ſands. Whereupon POUNCE DE LEON introducing a good number of Spaniards, and building ſeveral forts in the iſland, uſurp'd the dominion of it: And not content with taking the country from the inoffenſive natives, he obtain'd a commiſſion from the Court of Spain to be Governor of the iſland, under colour whereof he made all the people ſlaves, dividing them among his captains and followers, who employ'd thoſe poor people in digging for gold (of which it ſeems there was little to be found) and in all manner of drudgery, ſuch as building, planting, carrying burthens, &c. uſing them as unmercifully as the Spaniards had done the natives of Hiſpaniola. Whereupon ſome of the Indians run away to the woods and mountains, and others ſtood upon their defence; but not being in a condition to reſiſt the fire-arms, horſes and dogs of the Spaniards, they were at length moſt of them compell'd to ſubmit to that cruel bondage, and thoſe that would not were tortur'd or torn in pieces with dogs. The Spaniſh writers relate abundance of incredible ſtories of the ſagacity of their dogs in diſtinguiſhing between thoſe who ſubmitted to this ſlavery and thoſe that refuſed to obey them: However, all agree that their country-men hunted thoſe naked people with dogs in the woods and mountains as they would wild beaſts or other game, and frequently tore in pieces men, women, and children in mere ſport, turning them looſe before their dogs, as they would a hare or a fox: And when repeated orders came from Spain to uſe the people better, and to prohibit the making the Indians ſlaves, thoſe Adventurers repreſented to his Catholick Majeſty that they were canibals, and procur'd leave to make ſlaves of all they were pleas'd to denominate ſuch. And this is one reaſon ſo many of the American nations have been repreſented as canibals in Europe; nothing ſhort of ſuch prejudices could have induc'd any Chriſtian Prince to have ſuffer'd his ſubjects to be treated ſo barbarouſly as the Indians were by the Spaniards; for though they claim'd their country by virtue of the Pope's grant, no Prince would ever have authoriz'd them to worry and tear in pieces whole nations after they had ſubmitted to the Spaniſh yoke, if theſe ſavage Adventurers had not firſt dreſs'd them up in horrid colours, and falſely accus'd thoſe inoffenſive people of the moſt barbarous and unnatural cuſtoms: And ſtrange it is (as has been obſerv'd on other occaſions) that if almoſt all the American nations were canibals, as the Spaniſh writers affirm'd, that there ſhould not be one of thoſe nations left at this day in the inland-countries that were never under the dominion of any European power, and conſequently have not been brought off theſe cuſtoms by any ſuch Catholick reformations. But to return to the hiſtory.

The Spaniards cruelty to the natives.

The city of St. John de Porto Rico was founded in the year 1514, and continued in a flouriſhing condition for many years. Sir FRANCIS DRAKE having a good fleet under his command, with land-forces on board, gave ſeveral aſſaults to the town in the year 1595, but was beaten from it. The Earl of CUMBERLAND had better ſuceeſs; for with a much leſs force he made himſelf maſter of the place the next year with a fleet ſet out at his own expence, aſſiſted by two regiments of the Queen's, for it was Queen ELIZABETH's good huſbandry to encourage private men to be at the expence of ſuch expeditions to the Weſt-Indies, only lending them her ſhips and men. It was not often ſhe put the publick to the whole expence of them. But it was with great hazard and difficulty the Earl carry'd the town of Porto Rico, tho' thus aſſiſted; for in an aſſault he made upon the place, he fell from a rock into the ſea in his armour, and remain'd ſo long under water before his people could get him out, that he was almoſt dead; and Sir JOHN BARKLY continued the attack, 'till the Earl recover'd; ſoon after which the enemy abandon'd the town and retir'd into their forts, and theſe alſo ſurrender'd two or three days afterwards. The Earl had determined to take poſſeſſion of Porto Rico, and from thence to have attack'd the Spaniſh ſettlements on the continent and iſlands after he ſhould have been reinforc'd from England; but loſing more than half his men by the bloody-flux in a very ſhort time, he was compell'd to ſet ſail for England on the 14th of Auguſt, with much leſs treaſure than he expected to have met with here; for the Spaniards having notice of his coming, had carried off or conceal'd all that was valuable. The beſt prize he made was eighty pieces of braſs cannon he found in the town and forts. He demanded a great ſum of the Spaniards to ranſom the town from being burnt, which they promiſed to pay him; but finding his men rot ſo faſt they neglected to pay the money, and though the Earl was preſs'd to ſet the city on fire on their diſappointing him, he left the town ſtanding, and only demoliſh'd their forts.

Porto Rico founded.

Drake repuls'd there.

The Earl of Cumberland takes the town.

Loſes his men by ſickneſs, and forced to quit it.

There is no doubt but Porto Rico would have been of vaſt advantage to the Engliſh if they could have kept it; and had they come before it in the dry ſeaſon, poſſibly that mortality among the ſoldiers had not happen'd; which the Earl aſcrib'd partly to the great labour his men ſuſtain'd in this ſervice, but more to the heavy rains that fell at that ſeaſon, and obſerves when there was no rain the dews that fell in the evening were no leſs fatal to his men, who choſe to lie in the open air in that hot country in fair weather: The fruits of the country alſo might contribute to this diſtemper; which brings me to treat of the produce of the iſland of Porto Rico.

The ſoil is rich, producing long coarſe graſs, which they feed their cattle with, but never make into hay. They have good timber fit for the building of ſhips, and variety of fruit-trees, ſuch as Cocoa's, Pine-apples, Mammeys, Guava's, Banana's, Plantains, Palms, Oranges, Limes, Citrons, Jamaica-Pepper, and the baſtard Cinamon. The country alſo produces Rice and Indian-corn, but they make more bread of the Caſſavi-root than of corn, being too lazy to cultivate the ſoil. The principal produce of the iſland for exportation is Ginger, Sugar, and Hides, for they have vaſt numbers of black cattle here as well as in the neighbouring iſland of Hiſpaniola; but they have more Goats and Hogs than they have of European Sheep, and the mutton they have is poor dry food: Their pork is excellent, and their Kids are pretty good meat: They have alſo all manner of European poultry, and plenty of fiſh. Parrots are as common as Crows in England, and they are well ſtocked with Wood-pidgeons as well as Guanoes, a kind of great Lizard, which they eſteem good food in the Weſt-Indies. They have alſo Land-crabs, not unlike the Sea-crab, which burrow in the ground like Rabbets; but theſe are the food of dogs more than of men. Thoſe who were in the expedition

Produce of PortoRico.

Their dogs feed on land-crabs.

dition againſt Porto Rico with the Earl of CUMBERLAND relate, that the Earl propoſing to make this an Engliſh colony, tranſported the Spaniſh inhabitants to other places; whereupon the dogs ſet up a diſmal howl, which they continued all night after their Spaniſh maſters were gone, and run away to the woods next day, which the Engliſh apprehended was in ſearch of their maſters. However, the dogs returned to the town again in the evening; and after they were acquainted with the Engliſh, left off their howling in the night-time, but ſtill went every day to the woods by the ſea-ſide, where the Engliſh at length obſerv'd that they devour'd the Land-crabs, theſe being their principal food.

Gold, none here.

As to the gold mines that travellers relate there are in this iſland, there are none wrought at this day; nor was there ever any that were very conſiderable, but poſſibly there might be ſome little gold found in their rivulets formerly, which invited the Spaniards to take poſſeſſion of the iſland; though I believe their chief reaſon for keeping Porto Rico at preſent is, that it may not fall into the hands of ſome other European power that might diſturb their commerce with their American dominions, and perhaps endanger the loſs of their more valuable ſettlements on the continent.

The Virgins iſlands

The Virgins Iſlands are the laſt Spaniſh iſlands I ſhall mention. Theſe are a cluſter of barren rocks, a little to the eaſtward of the iſland of Porto Rico, through which the paſſage is ſomething difficult. They are ſcarce worth claiming by the Spaniards, or any other nation; though they are generally ſaid to belong to Spain.

THE CONCLUSION OF Spaniſh-AMERICA.

IN this ſurvey of the Spaniſh territories in America, it appears that they are the richeſt (if gold and ſilver are to be accounted riches) and the moſt extenſive that ever any Monarch poſſeſs'd ſince the flood. What are the conqueſts and acquiſitions of ALEXANDER or CÆSAR if compar'd with theſe? eſpecially at a time when CHARLES V. was upon the throne, who was Emperor of Germany, Sovereign of Spain, Italy, and the Low-Countries, and had part of Aſia and Africa under his dominion?

The vaſt extent of the Spaniſh territories in America. Charles V. the grand Knight-errant.

This Prince was actually engaged in war with the Turk, the French, the Flemmings, the Africans, and Indians of north and South-America almoſt at the ſame inſtant: And in every part of the world was generally ſucceſsful: But the empire of Mexico and Peru, a dominion of ſeven thouſand miles extent almoſt, was entirely ſubdu'd by the Spaniards during his reign; ſo numerous were the enterprizes his forces were engaged in, that he might well be deem'd the grand Knight-errant of his times; and CERVANTES is ſuppoſed by ſome to have had an eye to CHARLES V. in his Don QUIXOT, eſpecially where he brings in the hero charging the flock of ſheep, to which the naked Indians might properly be reſembled when they were attack'd by men arm'd cap a-pee on horſeback, with the advantages of artillery and fire-arms. In this and in ſhipping, it muſt be acknowledged that CHARLES V. had the better of ALEXANDER and CÆSAR, and other Knight-errants of antiquity; for though the Greeks and Romans excell'd in military diſcipline, which enabled them to ſubdue the nations about them, their conqueſts probably would have been ſwifter and more extenſive if they had known the uſe of fire-arms, and been better ſkill'd in navigation. Theſe render'd the Spaniards ſo much ſuperior to the Indians, that they might well be looked upon as ſheep, if compar'd with their Conquerors, as they were call'd, though with as little property as a troop of horſe may be ſaid to conquer a flock of ſheep or hares they trample under their feet without reſiſtance. They might have ſtiled their expeditions to America executions, or barbarous maſſacres; but the name of conqueſt (which carries in the notion of it hazard and difficulty, and preſumes the enterprize to be juſt and honourable) ought never to be profaned and apply'd to butchers and hangmen, to robbers, pirates, and uſurpers, who make no ſcruple of torturing and murdering the inoffenſive or induſtrious part of their own ſpecies to poſſeſs themſelves of their country and treaſures.

America poſſeſs'd by the Spaniards alone for 100 years.

But how barbarouſly or unjuſtly ſoever the Spaniards acquir'd the dominion of America, they remain'd in the uninterrupted poſſeſſion of it (except Brazil) for an hundred years and were poſſeſs'd of that too for threeſcore years and upwards, namely, while Portugal was in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards.

The Engliſh and other European nations ſeem'd to have reſign'd the dominion of that new world to the Spaniards, ſcarce endeavouring to make a ſettlement, The firſt attempt of the Engliſh, &c. on Newfoundland, 1560.

tlement, or ſend a colony thither for three or fourſcore years after it was diſcovered. SEBASTIAN CABOT was employ'd indeed by HENRY VII. of England to find out a paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies by the north-weſt, in the year 1496, and in that attempt diſcover'd the north-eaſt coaſt of America; but no endeavours were made to improve that diſcovery till the year 1560, when the Engliſh and ſome other European nations began to promote a fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland.

The French attempt to ſettle colonies in Florida, 1562.

Monſieur CHATILLON carried a colony of the French to Florida, in the year 1562, and call'd that part of the country Carolina, in honour of CHARLES IX. of France, which name it retains to this day; but the French were driven from it ſoon after by the Spaniards, which they revenged and then abandon'd this country again. In the year 1567, DRAKE ſailed with Captain HAWKINS, who had five ſhips under his command, to Guinea, and from thence to Vera Cruz in Mexico, with Negroe ſlaves, where the Spaniards agreed to traffick with them, but ſurpriz'd HAWKINS and three of his ſhips in the harbour; and DRAKE return'd to England, having loſt all he had in the world, which he revenged on the Spaniards two or three years after by plundering Nombre de Dios, and ſeizing abundance of treaſure that was coming from Panama: And on his return to England made preparations for that memorable voyage round the world, which he enter'd upon in the year 1577, and being come into the South-ſea, took and plunder'd ſeveral Spaniſh towns and made prize of their ſhips; after which he came home by the Eaſt-Indies and the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1580. The ſame bold Seaman took and plunder'd ſeveral Spaniſh ſettlements in the North-ſea afterwards, but planted no colonies in America. Sir WALTER RALEGH procur'd the firſt patent to govern ſuch countries as he ſhould diſcover in America, in the year 1584, and ſent a colony to Virginia, which was driven from thence by famine again. The Engliſh miſcarry'd a ſecond and third time in their endeavours to ſettle a colony at Virginia in the years 1586 and 1587 (but here it is neceſſary to obſerve, that Sir WALTER RALEGH gave the name of Virginia to all the north-eaſt coaſt of America, now in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, in honour of Queen ELIZABETH his Sovereign.) The firſt ſettlement the Engliſh actually made and eſtabliſh'd in America, was that at James-Town in Virginia, in the reign of King JAMES I. 1606: And eight or ten years afterwards colonies were ſent to New-England: And about the ſame time the French made ſome acquiſitions in Canada. From whence it appears that the Spaniards had the ſole dominion in America for upwards of an hundred years (except that the Portugueſe were maſters of Brazil part of the time.) And the Spaniards look'd upon themſelves to be ſo much the proprietors of thoſe countries, that they ſunk the ſhips of every nation they met with in thoſe ſeas, and hang'd up the men; which put both the Engliſh and the Dutch on making repriſals, queſtioning by what title the Spaniards claim'd the ſole right of that part of the world; and theſe diſputes continue in ſome meaſure to this day, the Spaniards ſeldom failing to make prize of ſuch ſhips they find in the gulph of Mexico, or on the coaſt of Terra-Firma, when they find themſelves ſtrong enough; and we are become ſo very tame as to put up theſe inſults for the moſt part, while the French have in a manner bullied the haughty Spaniards into a ſubmiſſion ſince their fixing themſelves on the north-weſt of Hiſpaniola, and may now be looked upon as the moſt formidable power in thoſe ſeas; and indeed that nation ſeems to aſſume the privilege at preſent of giving laws to the Engliſh as well as the Spaniards both on the continent and iſlands. But to return to Spaniſh-America.

James-Town in Virginia, the firſt colony of the Engliſh in America, ſettled in 1606.

The Spaniards in America in a perpetual ſtate of war with other nations.

But humbled by the French, who are now very formidable in thoſe ſeas.

Notwithſtanding the vaſt addition of dominion and treaſure to the Spaniſh Crown, which their Princes enjoy'd almoſt without a rival for the ſpace of an hundred years, that kingdom has been upon the decline ever ſince they were poſſeſſed of them.

The Spaniards weaken'd by their conqueſts.

One reaſon whereof may be that the countries ſubject to them were too numerous and extenſive for any Prince that had not the capacity of an Angel to govern them. Even CHARLES V. who had ſo vaſt a genius, and who actually attempted and made ſome progreſs in the conqueſt of three parts of the world, and was not without hopes of reigning ſole Monarch of it, this great Prince ſunk at laſt under the weight of that unweildy empire. Some repulſes he met with abroad, and the ſtubborn oppoſition of his ſubjects at home ſo ruffled his ſoul, that he abandon'd the world, and retir'd in diſcontent to a cloiſter; and, fully convinc'd that he had graſped too much for any mortal man to govern, divided his dominions between his brother and his ſon.

Another reaſon given for the decline of the Spaniſh Monarchy on the conqueſt of the new world, is, their ſending over annually ſuch numbers of their beſt men thither for the ſecuring this foreign prize, and neglecting their affairs in Europe. And there is ſtill a third cauſe more fatal than both the former, namely, that the prodigious treaſures which at firſt flowed in upon them render'd their people proud, lazy, and inactive, inſomuch that moſt of their manufactures were neglected, and at length the greateſt part of that treaſure they received from America came to be diſtributed among their more induſtrious neighbours for the merchandize they received from them, and the Spaniards were little more than factors for the reſt of Europe: The gold and ſilver of America indeed paſſes through their hands, but very little of it remains long in their country; from all which conſiderations it is pretty evident that the Spaniards are rather loſers than gainers by that envy'd conqueſt.

The Americans the worſe for the Spaniards.

The next enquiry which it is natural to make is, whether the Americans have been any great gainers by their intercourſe with the Spaniards. It is true that they firſt inſtructed them in the Chriſtian religion, introduced learning, with the liberal and mechanic arts; and that the Spaniards firſt imported European cattle, corn, and fruits, by which no doubt America is or might have been abundantly improved, and a more elegant way of living introduced than the Indians were before acquainted with.

But how dear did the firſt generation of Indians pay for this! and in what a miſerable ſervitude do their poſterity ſtill remain! The Spaniards indeed had religion and reformation in their mouths, but practiſed the greateſt cruelty, injuſtice and oppreſſion: And religion was only made a pretence for their barbarity. They repreſented the natives as ſodomites, canibals, and monſters, and then uſed them as ſuch. Inſtead of reforming they actually extirpated the greateſt part of the natives, and the reſt were reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery: And as to the Chriſtian religion, it was ſo diſguiſed by ſuperſtitious rites, and its doctrines ſo perverted, that inſtead of improving their morals, the natives who live under the Spaniſh government are become the moſt vicious mortals upon earth: And all the preſent

ſent inhabitants, whether deſcended from European, Indian, or African anceſtors, are oppreſs'd to a very great degree. Neceſſitous and rapacious Governors are ſent over from time to time, who make merchandize of all places of truſt and profit to their inferior officers; and theſe again fleece the miſerable inhabitants in their reſpective governments till they have repaid themſelves what has been extorted from them by their ſuperiors, to whom it is in vain to complain or petition for juſtice, while a continued ſeries of bribery runs through the whole adminiſtration.

The communicating the Chriſtian religion, arts, and ſciences, and the importing ſo many valuable ſpecies of animals, corn and plants, might have been eſteem'd a very great happineſs to the Americans, if they had not been compell'd to reſign their country and liberties in exchange for them. But what pleaſure can ſlaves take in the midſt of the greateſt affluence? They ſee indeed all that is deſirable in life with their eyes; but as they can call nothing of all this their own, it does but add to their miſery when they find they have no ſhare in theſe bleſſings, or none at leaſt but what they are liable to be depriv'd of every moment by their imperious maſters. As it ſeems evident therefore that the Americans are not much the better for their commerce with Europe, ſo ſome make it a queſtion whether the inhabitants of this continent have gain'd any great advantage by their intercourſe with the new world.

We have certainly received great quantities of gold and ſilver from thence, but the multiplication and increaſe of theſe metals does not ſeem to have added much to our happineſs. In proportion to the importation the value of them has decreaſed; and ſince eſtates have been converted into money, which may be hoarded up or lodg'd in banks, hoſpitality has viſibly declin'd. The money'd man is generally the moſt uſeleſs member in a commonwealth, where he does not apply it to traffick. An ordinary Farmer employs more people, and does more good in his neighbourhood than a man that is poſſeſs'd of ten thouſand pounds and lives on the intereſt of it.

But if we are not much better for the gold and ſilver of America, it muſt be acknowledged, however, that Europe reaps great advantages from the reſt of the produce of that new world, which furniſhes us with abundance of valuable drugs and merchandize we wanted. Our colonies alſo take off vaſt quantities of our manufactures, and conſequently employ great numbers of people on this ſide. Navigation and the knowledge of nature alſo has been extremely improv'd ſince our diſcovery of theſe countries; and in time, when we come to know one another better, and come to treat each other with more humanity, there is no doubt but that they and we ſhall receive great advantages by a mutual intercourſe, and the communication of the produce of the reſpective continents.

The uncertainty of the Spaniſh accounts.

The laſt obſervation I ſhall make is, that the beſt Spaniſh hiſtorians cannot be relied on: They have evidently made ſuch repreſentations of the country and the natives, as their intereſt, their vanity or ſuperſtition prompted them to make, and have had very little regard to the truth of things; and how falſe ſoever their relations have been, they have generally been tranſcribed and copied by other nations, who had no other opportunity of informing themſelves of the ſtate of thoſe countries before the Spaniards arrived, inſomuch that I have found as much difficulty in diſcovering the true ſtate of thoſe countries as if we had but juſt heard of them, eſpecially as to the religion and morals of the Indians when the Spaniards came amongſt them.

As to the numerous nations of canibals, giants, and monſters that were ſaid to be found in America, I am perfectly ſatisfied that theſe relations were all pure fiction: And as to their human ſacrifices, I am very much in doubt upon the moſt ſtrict and impartial review whether there were any ſuch. Certain it is theſe matters were very much aggravated, if there was ever any foundation for them: And it is ſtrange, if many Indian nations did formerly ſacrifice men, there ſhould not be one left among the nations unſubdu'd and unconverted that ſacrifice men at preſent. Their celebrated Acosta and other Spaniſh writers do charge both the Peruvians and Florida-Indians with ſacrificing children, which is now known to be falſe: Why may we not then ſuſpect the truth of the human ſacrifices they pretend there were among the Mexican nations?

Another thing I cannot help doubting of is, the noble and elegant buildings that are ſaid to be found in the city of Mexico and ſome other cities at the arrival of the Spaniards. I muſt confeſs, when I firſt obſerved the concurrent teſtimony of the Spaniſh writers in theſe particulars, I did give credit to them, as the reader will obſerve in the deſcription of the Mexican cities; but having obſerved ſince, that there are no ſuch buildings to be found in any other parts of America, I think we have ſome reaſon to queſtion whether theſe were not ſet in a better light than they deſerved: As to the largeneſs of their buildings, and the vaſt ſtones they were compoſed of, theſe particulars poſſibly may be true, ſince the whole country were ſlaves to their Princes, who could command as many of them as they pleaſed to aſſiſt in building their palaces, temples, or fortreſſes. But when it is related, that the materials of their buildings were of jaſper and other poliſh'd marble, when they had no iron tools to form or beautify the ſtone; and when there are no ſuch works to be found in any part of the country which the Indians poſſeſs at this day, and when ſo many other particulars in the Spaniſh hiſtorians have been found to be falſe, I cannot give entire credit to all that has been written on this head.

THE PRESENT STATE OF BRAZIL.

CHAP. I.

Of the ſituation and extent of BRAZIL; *of its name, the face of the country, ſprings, rivers, lakes, ſeas, air, winds and ſeaſons.*

CHAP. I.

Situation.

I COME now to the ſecond grand diviſion of America, I propoſed to deſcribe, namely, that of Brazil, under the dominion of the King of Portugal, which is ſituated between the mouth of the great river Amazon, under the Equator, and the mouth of the river La Plata, in 35 degrees ſouth latitude, being bounded by the Atlantic-ocean on the north and eaſt, by the river La Plata on the ſouth, and by the province of La Plata, or Paragua, and the country of the Amazons on the weſt, being two thouſand, four hundred miles and upwards in length from north to ſouth, if we meaſure in a direct line, and near four thouſand if we take in all the turnings and windings of the coaſt, but is not in many places more than two thouſand miles broad, though in ſome the Portugueſe may have penetrated four or five hundred miles into the country.

Name.

The Portugueſe, who firſt diſcover'd this country, gave it the name of The Holy Croſs, but it afterwards obtain'd the name of Brazil (by which it is now univerſally known) from the great abundance of Brazil-wood which grows here.

Face of the country.

As to the face of the country, the land is rather low than high near the coaſt, but exceeding pleaſant, being chequer'd (according to **DAMPIER**'s expreſſion) with woods and ſavannahs, or meadow-grounds, and the trees, for the moſt part, ever-greens: But on the weſt ſide of it, far within land, are high mountains, which ſeparate it from the Spaniſh province of La Plata, and in theſe are innumerable ſprings and lakes, from whence iſſue abundance of rivers that fall into the great rivers Amazon and La Plata, or run croſs the country from weſt to eaſt, and fall into the Atlantic-ocean, which laſt are very numerous, and of great uſe to the Portugueſe in turning their ſugar-mills, and meliorating their lands, which they over-flow annually, as the Nile does Egypt.

Springs, lakes and rivers.

Through every province of Brazil there runs a great river (beſides ſeveral leſſer ſtreams) which communicates its name to the province, the courſe whereof will be deſcrib'd in treating of the reſpective provinces.

The ſea.

CHAP. I.

Harbours and capes.

The only ſea that borders upon Brazil is that of the Atlantic-ocean, which waſhing its coaſts for the ſpace of three hundred miles and upwards, forms ſeveral fine harbours, bays, capes, and promontories, the principal whereof are, 1. Cape Roque, in 4 degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude. 2. The harbour of Pernambuco, or Recief, in 7 degrees 30 minutes ſouth latitude. 3. Cape St. Auguſtin, in 8 degrees. 4. The harbour or bay of All Saints, in 13 degrees odd minutes. 5. The harbour of Porto Seguro, in 16 degrees 30 minutes. 6. The port and bay of Reio Janeiro, in 23 degrees ſouth latitude. 7. Cape Frio, ſome few minutes eaſt of Reio Janeiro. 8. The port of St. Vincent, in 25 degrees ſouth latitude. 9. Cape St. Mary, the moſt ſoutherly promontory of Brazil, in 34 degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude. 10. The port of St. Gabriel. And, 11. The port of St. Salvador, ſituate on the north ſhore, at the entrance of the river La Plata: The reſt of the ports and bays will be taken notice of in the deſcription of the reſpective provinces.

Air, winds, and ſeaſons.

As to the ſeaſons, air and winds, they are not the ſame throughout this extenſive country, but vary with the ſeveral ſituations. I ſhall divide it therefore, in reſpect of the ſeaſons, into three parts, viz. 1. The moſt northerly, which lies next the Equator; 2. That part of it which extends from 5 degrees ſouth latitude to the Tropic of Capricorn; and, 3. That part of the country which is ſituated between the Tropic and 35 degrees of ſouth latitude.

Near the Equator.

As to the north of Brazil, which lies almoſt under the Equator, this, like other countries in the ſame ſituation, is ſubject to great rains and variable winds, particularly in the months of March and September, when they have deluges of rain, with ſtorms and tornadoes; the country is overflow'd, and the air unhealthful; but this part is very little inhabited: The Portugueſe only keep poſſeſſion of the coaſts to keep foreigners out. As to the air, winds and ſeaſons in that part of Brazil which lies between 5 degrees ſouth latitude and the Tropic of Capricorn, Mr. **DAMPIER** has given us this account of it.

In the middle of Brazil.

He obſerves, that the winds and ſeaſons are the very reverſe here to what they are in other parts of the world in the ſame latitudes; for whereas the dry ſeaſon comes on in other places ſouth of the Equinoctial, when the ſun goes to the northward of the Equator, and the wet ſeaſon begins when the ſun returns to the ſouthward; here the wet ſeaſon begins in April, when the ſouth-eaſt winds ſet in with violent tornadoes, thunder and lightning: And in September, when the wind ſhifts to eaſt-north-eaſt, it brings with it a clear ſky and fair weather, and this is the time of their ſugar-harveſt.

There are but two winds blow upon this coaſt, viz. the ſouth-eaſt from April to September, and the north-eaſt from September to April again: But thirty or forty leagues out at ſea they meet with the conſtant trade-wind, which blows in the Atlantic-ocean all the year round from the eaſtward with very little variation.

There is no country between the Tropics where the heats are more tolerable, or the air more healthful than this, being conſtantly refreſh'd with breezes from the ſea, and abounding in lakes and rivers, which annually overflow their banks: And in the in-land part of the country the winds from the mountains are ſtill cooler than theſe that blow from the ocean.

In the ſouth of Brazil.

3. I proceed in the next place to enquire into the air and ſeaſons of the moſt ſoutherly part of Brazil, which lies without the Tropic of Capricorn, and this appears to be like other countries in the ſame climate, one of the moſt deſirable parts of the world, having a greater ſhare of fair weather, and a more temperate air than thoſe countries that are nearer, or thoſe that are remov'd further from the Equator, and are generally bleſs'd with a moſt fruitful ſoil. The winds here are variable, at leaſt beyond the latitude of 30, and the little winter they have is when the ſun is in the northern ſigns; but the territories of the Portugueſe are but very narrow here, lying between the ſea and the mountains which divide them from that part of La Plata ſubject to the Spaniſh Jeſuits, deſervedly call'd The Jeſuits Paradiſe, from the excellency of the ſoil and climate.

CHAP. II.

Of the provinces and chief towns of Brazil, and the buildings of the natives.

CHAP. II.
Provinces of Brazil.

BRAZIL is uſually divided into fifteen provinces, or captainſhips (viz.) 1. The captainſhip of Paria. 2. Maragnan. 3. Siara. 4. Potigi, or Rio Grande. 5. Parayba. 6. Tamara. 7. Pernambuco. 8. Seregippe. 9. Batria de Todos Santos. 10. Ilheos. 11. Porto Seguro. 12. Spirito Sancto. 13. Rio Janeiro. 14. St. Vincent. And, 15. del Rey.

Paria.

1. The captainſhip of Paria, or Para, is bounded by the mouth of the river Amazon and the ocean on the north, by the province of Maragnan on the eaſt, by the country of the Tapuyers on the ſouth, and by the country of the Amazons on the weſt. The principal river, which gives name to the province, runs through it from ſouth to north, and falls into the mouth of the river Amazon; and the chief town, call'd alſo Para, or Belem, is ſituated at the mouth of the river Amazon, in 1 degree of ſouth latitude, and 47 degrees odd minutes weſtern longitude, where 'tis ſaid the Portugueſe keep a garriſon of four or five hundred ſoldiers. 2. Corupa, ſituated about fifty leagues ſouth-weſt of Para.

Para town.
Corupa town.

Maragnan province.

2. The captainſhip of Maragnan, bounded by the ocean on the north, by the province of Siara on the eaſt, by the Tapuyers country on the ſouth, and by Paria on the weſt.

Chief town St. Lewis.

The chief towns are; 1ſt, St. Lewis de Maragnan, ſituated in 2 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude, on an iſland in a fine bay made by the mouths of their three principal rivers, viz. 1. Mary, or Maragnan; 2. Tapucary; and, 3. Mony.

Maragnan.

The town and iſland of St. Lewis were formerly poſſeſs'd by the French, and then by the Dutch, but both nations were driven from thence by the Portugueſe, who are now in poſſeſſion of it.

Cuma.

2dly, Cuma, ſituated on the continent, over-againſt the ſaid iſland of Maragnan.

Siara province.
Siara river and town.

3. The captainſhip of Siara, bounded by the ocean on the north and eaſt, by the province of Potigi, or Rio Grande, on the ſouth, and by Maragnan and the Tapuyers country on the weſt. The river Siara, which gives name to the province, runs from the ſouth-weſt to the north-eaſt, and falls into the ſea in 4 degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude, at the mouth whereof ſtands the town of Siara, and about twenty leagues to the eaſtward of it the fort of St. Luke.

Potigi province.
Rio Grande river.
Chief town Tiguares.

4. The captainſhip of Potigi, or Rio Grande, bounded by Siara on the north, by the ocean on the eaſt, by the province of Payraba on the ſouth, and by the country of the Tapuyers on the weſt. The chief river of Rio Grande gives name to the province, runs from weſt to eaſt, and falls into the ocean in 5 degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude, on which river ſtands the town of Tiguares, being the only town I meet with in this province.

Payraba province.

5. The captainſhip of Payraba, bounded by Potigi on the north, by the ocean on the eaſt, by Tamaraka on the ſouth, and by the country of the Tapuyers on the weſt.

Payraba river, and town.

The river Payraba running from weſt to eaſt, divides this province in two equal parts, and falls into the ocean in 6 degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude.

Lucena harbour.

The town of Payraba lies on the ſouth ſide of this river, about five leagues from the ſea. There are in it ſeveral churches and cloiſters, and it is defended by a wall and forts; and two leagues to the north of this town lies the port of Lucena, which is a good harbour for ſhips.

Tamara province, river, and town.

6. The captainſhip of Tamara, or Tamarica, bounded by Payraba on the north, the ocean on the eaſt, by Pernambuco on the ſouth, and the Tapuyers country on the weſt. The chief river whereof is Tamara, in the mouth whereof lies the iſland and town of Tamarica, which form a tolerable harbour.

Guia town.

There is another town call'd Guia, or Goyana, ſituated on the Goyana, about three leagues from the ſea, but of none of theſe towns do I meet with any particular deſcriptions, only 'tis ſaid the Portugueſe have abundance of ſugar-mills on theſe rivers, ſugar being the principal produce and manufacture of the country.

Pernambuco province.
Pernambuco town, or The Recief.

7. The captainſhip of Pernambuco is bounded by that of Tamara on the north, by the ocean on the eaſt, by Serigippe on the ſouth, and by the country of the Tapuyers on the weſt, extending two hundred miles along the coaſt from north to ſouth, and an hundred and fifty miles in breadth from eaſt to weſt, and was the principal province belonging to the Dutch when they were in poſſeſſion of North-Brazil. The chief town whereof was Pernambuco, or the Recief. This harbour was call'd Pernambuco, or rather Infernoboco, the mouth of hell, by the Portugueſe, on account of the rocks and ſhoals under water at the entrance of it. It is compoſed partly of a peninſula on the continent, and partly of ſeveral ſmall iſlands which were built upon and fortify'd in the time of the Dutch. The peninſula is call'd The Recief, and lies in 7 degrees 30 minutes ſouth latitude, and 35 degrees of weſtern longitude, a little to the north of Cape St. Auguſtin. South of The Receif, and juſt oppoſite to it, is an iſland built upon, and call'd Maurice-town, from the palace of Prince **MAURICE**,

which was ſituated on it, and hath a communication with The Recief by a bridge. It was naturally ſtrong, ſurrounded by water or moraſſes, and defended by ſeveral forts and redoubts; but was however ſurrender'd by the Dutch to the Portugueſe, in the year 1647, for want of ammunition and proviſions, which the Dutch Weſt-India Company did not take care to ſupply their colonies in Brazil with in due time.

Olinda.

2dly, The city of Olinda is ſituated on ſome ſmall hills on the ſea-coaſt, a very little north of The Recief, and before the Dutch took it from the Portugueſe, was the principal port in Brazil, well built and fortify'd, and contain'd two thouſand inhabitants, beſides the religious people and ſlaves, who were both very numerous.

Porto Calvo.

3dly, Porto Calvo, or Cavelo, lies at the conflux of four rivers, about thirty miles ſouth of The Recief, and four leagues weſt of the ſea-coaſt. This place was ſtrongly fortify'd when in the hands of the Dutch.

Cape St. Auguſtin.

4thly, Cape St. Auguſtin harbour is ſituated near the moſt eaſterly promontory of Brazil of the ſame name, in 8 degrees odd minutes ſouth latitude, and 35 degrees of weſtern longitude, and lies about twenty-five miles north of the little iſland of St. Alexio. The entrance of the harbour is dangerous on account of the rocks which lie under water; and this is the caſe of moſt of the harbours upon the coaſt of Brazil, which may however ſafely be enter'd by the aſſiſtance of the pilots of the coaſt.

Captainſhip of Bahia, or Serigippe.

8 and 9. The captainſhip of Bahia de Todos Santos, or of the bay of All Saints, in which I include Serigippe, is bounded by the province of Pernambuco, from whence it is ſeparated by the great river St. Francis on the north, by the ocean on the eaſt, by that of Ilheos on the ſouth, and the Tapuyers country on the weſt, being about two hundred and forty miles in length from north to ſouth along the ſea-coaſt; how far it extends to the weſtward is uncertain, but it is eſteem'd the richeſt and moſt populous province in Brazil. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Serigippe, or St. Chriſtophers; and, 2. Bahia, or St. Salvador.

Serigippe town.

1ſt, Serigippe is ſituated on a bay of the ſea, in 11 degrees ſouth latitude, between the great rivers of St. Francis and Real.

Bahia, or St. Salvador, the capital of Brazil, deſcrib'd.

2dly, Bahia, or St. Salvador, of which the laſt is the true name; but it is generally known by that of Bahia, or the Bay, on account of the commodiouſneſs of the harbour on which it ſtands. It is ſituated on a hill above the harbour, in 13 degrees of ſouth latitude, according to DAMPIER, and is the moſt conſiderable town in Brazil, whether we regard the beauty of its buildings, its magnitude, or its trade or revenue. The harbour is capable of receiving ſhips of the greateſt burthen. The entrance whereof is guarded by a ſtrong fort, call'd St. Antoni, and there are other ſmall forts which command the harbour, one whereof is built upon a rock, about half a mile from the ſhore: Cloſe by this fort all ſhips muſt paſs that anchor here, and muſt ride alſo within half a mile of it at fartheſt between this and another fort (that ſtands on a point at the inner part of the harbour, and is call'd The Dutch fort) but muſt ride neareſt to the former all along againſt the town, where there is good holding ground, and leſs expoſed to the ſoutherly winds that blow very hard here. They commonly ſet in about April, but blow hardeſt in May, June, July, and Auguſt: But the place where the ſhips ride is expos'd to theſe winds not above three points of the compaſs.

Beſide theſe there is another fort fronting the harbour, and ſtanding on the hill upon which the town ſtands. The town itſelf conſiſts of about two thouſand houſes, the major part of which cannot be ſeen from the harbour; but ſo many as appear in ſight, with a great mixture of trees between them, and all placed on a riſing hill, make a very pleaſant proſpect.

There are in the town thirteen churches, chapels, hoſpitals, and monaſteries, and one nunnery, viz. the Eccleſia Major, or cathedral, and the Jeſuits College, which are the chief, and both in ſight from the harbour: St. Antonio, St. Barbara, both pariſh-churches, the Franciſcans, and the Dominicans, and two convents of Carmelites, a chapel for ſeamen cloſe by the ſea-ſide, where boats commonly land, and the ſeamen go immediately to prayers; another chapel for poor people, at the farther end of the ſame ſtreet, which runs along by the ſhore, and a third chapel for ſoldiers at the edge of the town, remote from the ſea, and an hoſpital in the middle of the town. The nunnery ſtands at the outer edge of the town next the fields, wherein, by report, there are ſeventy nuns. Here lives an Archbiſhop, who has a fine palace in the town, and the Governor's palace is a fair ſtone building, and looks handſome to the ſea, tho' but indifferently furniſh'd within, both Spaniards and Portugueſe in their plantations abroad affecting to have large houſes, but are little curious about furniture, except pictures. The houſes of the town are two or three ſtories high, the walls thick and ſtrong, being built with ſtone, with a covering of pantile, and many of them have balconies. The principal ſtreets are large, and all of them pav'd or pitch'd with ſmall ſtones. There are alſo parades in the moſt eminent places of the town, and many gardens, as well within the town as in the out-parts of it, wherein are fruit-trees, herbs, ſallading, and flowers in great variety, but order'd with no great care or art.

Here are about four hundred ſoldiers in garriſon. They commonly draw up and exerciſe in a large parade before the Governor's houſe, and many of them attend him when he goes abroad. The ſoldiers are decently clad in brown linnen, which in theſe hot countries is far better than woollen. Beſide the ſoldiers in pay, he can ſoon have ſome thouſands of men up in arms upon occaſion. The magazine is on the ſkirts of the town, on a ſmall riſing between the nunnery and the ſoldiers church. 'Tis big enough to hold two or three thouſand barrels of powder, but it ſeldom has more than an hundred. There are always a band of ſoldiers to guard it, and centinels looking out both day and night.

Trade and ſhipping.

A great many merchants always reſide at Bahia, for 'tis a place of great trade. DAMPIER found here above thirty great ſhips from Europe, with two of the King of Portugal's ſhips of war for their convoy, beſide two ſhips that traded to Africa only, either to Angola, Gamba, or other places on the coaſt of Guinea, and abundance of ſmall-craft that only run to and fro on this coaſt, carrying commodities from one part of Brazil to another.

The merchants that live here are ſaid to be rich, and to have many Negroe ſlaves in their houſes, both men and women. They are chiefly Portugueſe, foreigners having but little commerce with them; yet here was one Mr. COCK, an Engliſh merchant, DAMPIER relates, a gentleman of good repute, who had a patent to be Engliſh Conſul, but did not care to take upon him any publick character, becauſe Engliſh ſhips ſeldom came hither, and there had been none in eleven or twelve years before

DAMPIER was there in the year 1699. Here was alſo a Dane and a French merchant or two, but all have their effects tranſported to and from Europe in Portugueſe ſhips, none of any other nation being admitted to trade hither. There is a cuſtom-houſe by the ſea-ſide, where all goods imported or exported are enter'd: And to prevent abuſes, there are five or ſix boats that take their turns to row about the harbour, ſearching any boats they ſuſpect to be running of goods.

Goods imported and exported.

The chief commodities that the European ſhips bring hither are linnen cloths, both coarſe and fine, ſome woollens, as bays, ſerges, perpetuana's, &c. hats, ſtockings, both of ſilk and thread, biſcuit-bread, wheat-flour, wine (chiefly port) oil-olive, butter, cheeſe, &c. and ſalt beef and pork would there alſo be good commodities. They bring hither alſo iron, and all ſorts of iron tools, pewter veſſels of all ſorts, as diſhes, plates, ſpoons, &c. looking-glaſſes, beads, and other toys; and the ſhips that touch at St. Jago bring thence cotton-cloth, which is afterwards ſent to Angola.

The European ſhips carry from thence ſugar, tobacco, either in roll or ſnuff, never in leaf. Theſe are the ſtaple commodities; beſides which here are dye-woods, as fuſtick, &c. with woods for other uſes, as ſpeckled wood, brazil, &c. They alſo carry home raw hides, tallow, train-oil of whales, &c. Here are alſo tame monkeys, parrots, parroquets, &c. which the ſeamen carry home.

Claying of ſugar deſcrib'd.

The ſugar of this country is much better than that which we bring home from our plantations: For all the ſugar that is made here is clay'd, which makes it whiter and finer than our muſcovado, as we call our unrefin'd ſugar. Our planters ſeldom refine any with clay, unleſs ſometimes a little to ſend home as preſents to their friends in England.

Their way of doing it is by taking ſome of the whiteſt clay, and mixing it with water 'till 'tis like cream; with this they fill up the pans with ſugar that are ſunk two or three inches below the brim by the draining of the moloſſes out of it, firſt ſcraping off the thin hard cruſt of the ſugar that lies at the top, and would hinder the water of the clay from ſoaking through the ſugar of the pan. The refining is made by this percolation: for ten or twelve days time, that the clayiſh liquor lies ſoaking down the pan, the white water whitens the ſugar as it paſſes through it, and the groſs body of the clay itſelf grows hard on the top, and may be taken off at pleaſure, when ſcraping off with a knife the very upper part of the ſugar, which will be a little ſully'd, that which is underneath will be white almoſt to the bottom: And ſuch as is call'd Brazil-ſugar is thus whiten'd. When DAMPIER was here, this ſugar was ſold for fifty ſhillings per hundred, and the bottoms of the pots, which is very coarſe ſugar, for about twenty ſhillings per hundred, both ſorts being then ſcarce; for here was not enough to lade the ſhips, and therefore ſome of them were to lie here 'till the next ſeaſon.

The voyage from Portugal to Brazil.

The European ſhips commonly arrive here in February or March, and they have generally quick paſſages, finding at that time of the year briſk gales to bring them to the Line, little trouble then in croſſing it, and briſk eaſt-north-eaſt winds afterwards to bring them hither. They commonly return from hence about the latter end of May, or in June.

From Brazil to Guinea.

The ſhips that uſe the Guinea trade are ſmall veſſels in compariſon of the former: They carry out from hence rum, ſugar, the cotton-cloths of St. Jago, beads, &c. and bring in return gold, ivory, and ſlaves, making very good returns.

Whale fiſhery.

Ship-building

The ſmall-craft that belong to this town are chiefly employ'd in carrying European goods from Bahia, the centre of the Brazilian trade, to other places on this coaſt, bringing back thither ſugar, tobacco, &c. They are ſailed chiefly with Negroe ſlaves, and about Chriſtmas theſe are moſtly employ'd in whale-killing; for about that time of the year a ſort of whales, as they call them, are very thick on this coaſt. They come in alſo into the harbours and inland lakes, where the ſeamen go out and kill them. The fat of them is boiled to oil, the lean is eaten by the ſlaves and poor people. Theſe are ſaid to be but ſmall whales, yet here are ſo many, and ſo eaſily kill'd, that they get a great deal of money by it. Thoſe that ſtrike them buy their licence for it of the King, who, 'tis ſaid, receives thirty thouſand dollars per annum for this fiſhery. All the ſmall veſſels that uſe this coaſting traffick are built here, and ſo are ſome men-of-war alſo for the King's ſervice: And the timber of this country is very good and proper for this purpoſe, being more ſtrong and durable than any we have in Europe, and they have enough of it.

The way of life of the Portugueſe at Bahia.

Carriages and viſits.

Beſides merchants and others that trade by ſea from this port, here are others pretty wealthy men, and ſeveral artificers and tradeſmen of moſt ſorts, who by labour and induſtry maintain themſelves very well, eſpecially ſuch as can arrive at the purchaſe of a Negroe ſlave or two. And indeed, excepting people of the loweſt degree of all, here are ſcarce any but what keep ſlaves in their houſes. The richer ſort, beſides the ſlaves of both ſexes whom they keep for ſervile uſes in their houſes, have men-ſlaves who wait on them abroad for ſtate, either running by their horſes ſides when they ride out, or to carry them to and fro on their ſhoulders in the town when they make ſhort viſits near home. Every gentleman or merchant is provided with things neceſſary for this ſort of carriage. The main thing is a pretty large cotton hammock of the Weſt-India faſhion, but moſtly dy'd blue, with large fringes of the ſame hanging down on each ſide. This is carried on the Negroes ſhoulders by the help of a bambo about twelve or fourteen foot long, to which the hammock is hung, and a covering comes over the pole, hanging down on each ſide like a curtain; ſo that the perſon ſo carried cannot be ſeen unleſs he pleaſes, but may either lie down, having pillows for his head, or may ſit up by being a little ſupported with theſe pillows; and by letting both his legs hang out over one ſide of the hammock, when he hath a mind to be ſeen he puts by his curtain and ſalutes every one of his acquaintance whom he meets in the ſtreets; for they take a piece of pride in greeting one another from their hammocks, and will hold long conferences thus in the ſtreets; but then their two ſlaves who carry their hammock have each a ſtrong well-made ſtaff with a fine iron fork at the upper end, and a ſharp iron below, like the reſt for a muſket, which they ſtick faſt in the ground, and let the pole or bambo of the hammock reſt upon them 'till their maſters buſineſs or compliment be over. There is ſcarce a man of any faſhion, eſpecially a woman, will paſs the ſtreets but ſo carried in a hammock.

Artificers.

The chief mechanick trades here are Smiths, Hatters, Shoe-makers, Tanners, Sawyers, Carpenters, Coopers, &c. Here are alſo Taylors, Butchers, &c. which laſt kill the bullocks very dextrouſly, ſticking them at one blow with a ſharp-pointed knife in the nape of the neck, having firſt drawn them cloſe to a rail; but they dreſs them very ſlovenly, DAMPIER ſays. It being Lent when

Slaves.

he came hither, there was no buying any fleſh 'till Eaſter-eve, when a great number of bullocks were kill'd at once in the ſlaughter-houſes within the town, men, women and children flocking thither with great joy to buy, and a multitude of dogs almoſt ſtarv'd following them, for whom the meat ſeem'd fitteſt it was ſo lean. All theſe tradeſmen buy Negroes and train them up to their ſeveral employments, which is a great help to them: And they having ſo frequent a trade to Angola and other parts of Guinea, they have a conſtant ſupply of Blacks both for their plantations and towns. Theſe ſlaves are very uſeful in this place for carriage as porters; for as here is a great trade by ſea, and the landing-place is at the foot of a hill too ſteep for drawing with carts, ſo there is great need of ſlaves to carry goods up into the town, eſpecially for the inferior ſort. But the merchants have alſo the convenience of a great crane that goes with ropes or pullies, one end of which goes up while the other goes down. The houſe in which this crane is, ſtands on the brow of the hill towards the ſea, hanging over the precipice, and there are planks ſet ſhelving againſt the bank from thence to the bottom, againſt which the goods lean or ſlide as they are hoiſted up or let down. The Negroe ſlaves in this town are ſo numerous that they make up the greateſt part or bulk of the inhabitants: Every houſe, as I ſaid, having ſome both men and women of them. Many of the Portugueſe, who are batchelors, keep of theſe black women for miſſes, though they know the danger they are in of being poiſon'd by them if ever they give them any occaſion of jealouſy. Theſe ſlaves alſo of either ſex will eaſily be engag'd to do any ſort of miſchief, even to murder, if they are hir'd to do it, eſpecially in the night.

Thus far Mr. Dampier's deſcription, who was there in the Year 1699: After which it is almoſt unneceſſary to obſerve, that Bahia, or St. Salvador, is the capital of Brazil, the reſidence of the Vice-roy and the Courts of juſtice, and the See of an Archbiſhop, to whom the reſt of the Biſhops of Brazil are Suffragans. This city was founded by Thomas de Sousa, a Portugueſe, in the year 1541, and is obſerv'd not to be very ſtrong on the land-ſide, being commanded by ſome neighbouring hills, and accordingly it has been frequently taken and retaken by the Dutch, the Spaniards, and Portugueſe; but the laſt have now continued in the quiet poſſeſſion of it for fourſcore years and upwards.

The captainſhip of Ilheos.

St. Antonio river.

Ilheos river.

Ilheos town.

10. The captainſhip of Ilheos is bounded by that of Bahia on the north, by the ocean on the eaſt, by the province of Porto Seguro on the ſouth, and by the country of the Tupinambes on the weſt. There are two conſiderable rivers in this province, the one nam'd St. Antonio, which ſeparates it from the province of Seguro, riſing in the weſt and running eaſterly falls into the ocean in 16 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude. 2. The river Ilheos, which riſing in a lake to the weſtward of this province, runs to the eaſt and falls into the ſea about twenty leagues to the north of St. Antonio. The chief town, alſo named Ilheos, ſtands on a promontory near the mouth of the ſaid river in 15 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude, and is only remarkable for the ſugar-mills.

The captainſhip of Porto Seguro.

Dolce river.

Three other rivers.

11. The captainſhip of Porto Seguro is bounded by that of Ilheos, from whence it is ſeparated by the river Antonio on the north, by the ocean on the eaſt, by the province of Spirito Sancto on the ſouth, and by the country of the Tupinambes on the weſt. The river of Dolce, or the river of ſweet-water, is the largeſt in this province. It riſes in the mountains to the weſtward, and running eaſtward falls into the Atlantic-ocean in 20 degrees of ſouth latitude; beſides which there are three other rivers that run parallel to it (viz.) the river of Crocodiles, the Alequa, and the river of St. Michael.

Towns of Porto Seguro, Sancta Cruz, and Sancta Amaria.

The chief towns are, 1ſt, Porto Seguro, ſituate upon a rock near the ſea-coaſt, in 17 degrees ſouth latitude; 2dly, Santa Cruz, about 3 leagues ſouth of Seguro; and Sancta Amaria, a little further to the ſouthward.

The captainſhip of Spirito Sancto.

Pariba river.

Town of Spirito Sancto.

12. The captainſhip of Spirito Sancto, bounded by that of Seguro on the north, by the ocean on the eaſt, by the province of Rio Janeiro on the ſouth, and by the country of the Tupinambes on the weſt. The principal river of this province is that of Pariba, or Parina river, which falls into the Atlantic-ocean in 22 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude. The only town I meet with here is Spirito Sancto, ſituate in 20 degrees, 40 minutes ſouth latitude, on the banks of a river of the ſame name, about twenty-ſix miles from the ſea, a good harbour, but of difficult entrance.

The captainſhip of Rio Janeiro.

Bay and river of Janeiro much reſorted to on account of the gold mines.

13. The captainſhip of Rio Janeiro, ſo call'd from a celebrated bay and river of that name, diſcover'd in the month of January in the year 1515, is bounded by the province of Spirito Sancto on the north, by the ocean on the eaſt, by the captainſhip of St. Vincent on the ſouth, and by the mountains which ſeparate it from La Plata or Paraguay on the weſt, being about two hundred miles long, and as many broad. This bay and river are now reſorted to by the Portugueſe as much as any part of Brazil on account of the rich gold mines that have been diſcovered in the mountains to the weſtward of this and the neighbouring province of St. Vincent; theſe have occaſion'd the building and peopling the banks of the river Janeiro more than any other part of Brazil, and brought hither a very great trade.

Chief town St. Sebaſtian.

Los Reyes.

St. Salvador.

Cape Frio.

The chief city of St. Sebaſtian is ſituated in 23 degrees ſouth latitude, on the weſt ſide of the river, about 2 leagues from the ſea, and defended by ſeveral ſtrong forts. It is the ſee of a Biſhop, Suffragan to the archbiſhop of St. Salvador, or Bahia. 2dly, Los Reyes, or Angra de Los Reyes, ſituate about twelve miles weſt of the bay of Rio Janeiro. 3dly, The town and harbour of St. Salvador, over-againſt which lies the cape or promontory call'd Cape Frio, in 23 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude, and in 42 degrees of weſtern longitude.

The Captainſhip of St. Vincent.

Chief town St. Vincent.

St. Paul.

Santos.

14. The captainſhip of St. Vincent is bounded by that of Rio Janeiro on the north, by the ſea on the eaſt, by the province of Del Rey on the ſouth, and by the mountains which ſeparate it from La Plata on the weſt, extending in length from north to ſouth three hundred miles and upwards, viz. from the Tropic of Capricorn to 28 degrees ſouth latitude, and is reckoned two hundred miles broad at the north end of it, but not more than ninety or an hundred miles broad in the ſouth. The chief towns are, 1ſt, St. Vincent, ſituated at the confluence of three rivers on a fine bay of the Atlantic-ocean, in 24 degrees, odd minutes ſouth latitude, and defended by ſeveral forts. This harbour is at preſent in a flouriſhing condition on account of the gold mines that have been diſcover'd in the mountains to the weſtward; but the town which has the moſt immediate advantage by them is, 2dly, that of St. Paul, built on purpoſe for their ſecurity, and ſituate about an hundred miles north-weſt of the town of St. Vincent: 3dly, The town of Santos, ſituate on the ſame bay with that of St. Vincent, and a little to the northward of it, by ſome reckoned the chief town in the province.

The captainſhip of Del Rey.

15. The fifteenth and laſt province of Brazil is that of Del Rey, bounded by St. Vincent on the north, by the Atlantic-ocean on the eaſt, by the mouth of the river La Plata on the ſouth, and by the country of La Plata, or Paragua, on the weſt, extending from latitude 28 to latitude 34, odd minutes, being four hundred miles in length from north to ſouth, but ſcarce an hundred broad in any place from eaſt to weſt. This province has been pretty much neglected by the Portugueſe till of late years. But ſince they have found gold in the adjoining province of St. Vincent they have built ſeveral forts on the north ſide of the river La Plata, and on the iſlands at the mouth of it, to prevent the Spaniards ſettling there again, who were once poſſeſs'd of the north ſide of that river. This has already occaſion'd ſome hoſtilities between the Spaniards and Portugueſe, and poſſibly may occaſion a war between them one time or other; for the gold mines are ſuch a bone of contention that no peace can be of any long duration between two Powers ſituated as the Spaniards and Portugueſe are, for their territories are divided only by the mountains which ſeparate Brazil from La Plata, or Paragua, in which the gold they both thirſt after is ſuppoſed to be found; but no doubt the Portugueſe conceal the place as well as they can from the Spaniards and all other European nations, as they do their mines of diamonds and other precious ſtones they have diſcover'd in Brazil of late years: However, there is no doubt but they have great plenty of gold and precious ſtones in ſome part of Brazil (and moſt probably to the ſouthward) there being brought great quantities of both from thence annually to Europe, which has pretty much ſunk their value.

Diamonds and other precious ſtones.

No diviſion of the country before the Europeans arrived

Before the Portugueſe planted Brazil, the country was not divided into provinces, but was all one great common, every tribe and family inhabiting and cultivating what part of it they ſaw fit, and removing their dwellings whenever they pleaſed, only every man was looked upon as the proprietor of what he planted or poſſeſſed till he removed and left that part of the country with the fruits and produce of it for another he liked better: And as for their towns, they conſiſted uſually of five or ſix great barns, each of which contained two or three hundred, and ſometimes a thouſand people, and over theſe the head of the tribe or family preſided. The materials of their houſes were only long poles and reeds, or palmeto-leaves for a covering, and conſequently it was no great trouble for them to remove or to erect their town in another place: Nor was their furniture any great burthen to them, which conſiſted of hammocks of cotton net-work, faſten'd to poles, in which they ſlept; ſome earthen pots and pans, and their gourds and calabaſhes which ſerved them cut in half for pails, tubs, and drinking-cups, for they have them of all ſizes; beſides which they had baſkets, in which they carried their proviſions on a march; and the ornaments of their houſes were their bows, arrows, ſpears, and other arms.

Towns, houſes, and furniture of the natives.

Some vagrant nations.

There were ſome vagrant nations alſo that had no ſettled abode, but living in tents were continually removing from place to place, and both the one and the other as often tied their hammocks to the boughs of trees and ſlept without doors as within, but uſed to make fires near their lodging to correct the air, and prevent the ill effects of the cold dews that fell in the night time, or, as others imagine, to keep off wild beaſts and noxious vermine and inſects.

CHAP. III.

Of the perſons and habits of the Brazilians, their genius and temper, arts and ſciences, food, exerciſes, and diverſions.

CHAP. III.

Two great nations of the Brazilians.

THE Portugueſe and Dutch writers give the name of Tapuyers to the natives which inhabit the north part of Brazil, and the name of Tupinambes, or Tupinamboys, to thoſe who dwell in the ſouth of Brazil, but divide theſe again into ſeveral petty nations, differing in language, but not much in manners and cuſtoms; and therefore I ſhall only treat of them under the two firſt grand diviſions of Tapuyers and Tupinambes.

Tapuyers, their perſons.

The Tapuyers are men of a good ſtature (but not the head and ſhoulders taller than Dutchmen, as ſome have related) and as they inhabit a hot climate, almoſt under the Equator, are of a dark copper colour, their hair black, and hanging over their ſhoulders; but they ſuffer no hair on their bodies or faces, and go almoſt naked, the men only incloſing the penis in a caſe, as ſome other Americans do, and the women concealing their nudities with leaves, like their mother Eve. The man has alſo a cap or coronet of feathers, but I don't perceive the women have any covering on their heads.

Wear no cloaths.

Ornaments.

Paint.

Feathers.

Their ornaments are glittering ſtones hung upon their lips or noſtrils, and bracelets of feathers about their arms. Some of them paint their bodies of all manner of colours, whereas others rubbing their bodies with gums, ſtick beautiful feathers upon them, which make them look more like fowls than human creatures at a diſtance.

Tupinambes, their perſons.

The Tupinambes, who inhabit the ſouth of Brazil, are of a moderate ſtature, and not ſo dark a complexion as their northern neighbours who lie nearer the line; but neither the one or the other are ſo black as the Africans are, who lie in the ſame latitude, it having been obſerv'd already that there were no Negroes in America till they were tranſported thither by the Spaniards and Portugueſe. The Tupinambes, however, reſemble the Africans in their flat noſes, which are not natural, but made ſo in their infancy, a flat noſe being eſteemed a beauty among them. They have alſo black curl'd hair on their heads, but ſuffer no hair to grow on their bodies or faces any more than the Tapuyers, and paint themſelves like the northern Brazilians.

Food.

The general food of the Brazilians was the caſſavi, or mandioka-root, dry'd and ground to powder, of which they made cakes, like our ſea-biſcuit. They carry'd this flour with them alſo on journies, and it ſerv'd them, infus'd in water, as the Scots do oatmeal, both as meat and drink; but I don't find they had any ſort of corn till the Europeans carry'd it thither. They uſed alſo to feed on other roots, fruits, and herbs, and ſuch veniſon as they could take in hunting, as alſo on fiſh and fowl, if they lived near the water, and with every thing eat a great deal of pepper; ſome have added, that they were canibals, and eat human fleſh from one end of Brazil to the other; but late travellers obſerving no ſuch thing, little credit can be given to this. The general liquor the natives drink is ſpring-water, of which, 'tis ſaid, they have the beſt and the greateſt variety in the world; but there are other kinds of liquors which have a good body, made of their fruits preſs'd and infus'd, or of honey, with which they ſometimes get very drunk,

ſitting

Arts and ſciences.

ſitting whole days and nights over their cups. They are charged alſo with being a very lazy generation, that will never work or hunt but when neceſſity compels them: And as to arts and ſciences, they were maſters of ſcarce any, unleſs the art of ſpinning and weaving, and forming their arms (which conſiſted of bows, arrows, lances, and darts) and the art of building, which was but mean, for their houſes did not want any great contrivance. As for letters, characters, and arithmetick, they were perfectly ignorant of them.

They had ſome knowledge of the virtues of ſeveral herbs and drugs, which they frequently adminiſter'd with ſucceſs to the ſick; but a merry writer relates, that when they deſpair'd of recovering the patient, all his relations agreed to knock him on the head, which they thought much better than a lingering death; and this may be as true as their devouring human fleſh.

Exerciſes.

Diverſions.

Hunting, fiſhing, and fowling were rather their buſineſs than diverſion, being abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of their families, in a country where they had no tame cattle or corn: Drinking, ſinging, and dancing were more properly their diverſions, theſe they practiſed on their rejoicing days, on a victory, or the birth of their children. They are great ſmoakers, and take the ſtrongeſt tobacco: Their pipes are a hollow reed or cane, and the bowl a large nut-ſhell that holds almoſt a handful of tobacco.

Genius.

They are a tractable and ingenious people, ready to learn any art or ſcience the Portugueſe will teach them, and take nothing ſo kindly of the Fathers as the inſtructing their children; which has given the Jeſuits an opportunity of making abundance of converts; and thoſe who live under the Portugueſe generally conform themſelves to their cuſtoms in eating, drinking, cloathing, &c. Few of theſe go naked.

CHAP IV.

Of the Animals of Brazil.

CHAP. IV.

Animals. Thoſe of Europe carry'd thither.

AS it has been obſerv'd of the reſt of America, ſo here they had neither horſes, cows, ſheep, aſſes, hogs, cats, or dogs (unleſs ſome little mungrel curs) before the Europeans carried them over, of all which they have no great abundance.

Beaſts proper to this country.

The beaſts that were found in this country were the ſame with thoſe already deſcrib'd in Mexico and Peru, particularly the Peruvian ſheep, their peccaree (to which the Europeans gave the name of hogs, from ſome reſemblance they had to our hogs) the ſloth, the armadillo, the opoſſum, the guanoe, the racoon, and flying-ſquirrel, with great variety of monkeys, deer, hares, and rabbets, differing ſomething from ours, the ant, bear, and ſome lions and tygers, but neither ſo large or fierce as thoſe of Africa, and porcupines. Many of theſe animals have different names given us by travellers, but are the ſame already enumerated and deſcribed in Mexico or Peru.

Fowls.

Their fowls are maccaws, parrots, parroquets, the quam, the curaſoe, the bill-bird, the cockrecoe, the partridge, the wood-pidgeon, the heron, the pelican, the crab-catcher, the fiſhing-hawk, the oſtrich, the cormorant, the curlieu, the carrion-crow, and the humming-bird; all which having been already deſcrib'd, I would not tire the reader with repetition. They have alſo great variety of ſinging-birds, ſeveral ſpecies of wild-ducks, wild-geeſe, and dunghil-fowls, and there is not any ſort of poultry in Europe but what has been carry'd thither by the Portugueſe: However, fowls of all kinds are but dry meat in theſe hot climates; nor is their mutton very good; pork is the beſt fleſh we eat between the Tropics, and obſerved to be as eaſy of digeſtion there as any meat.

Serpents and inſects.

The moſt ſurpriſing relations travellers entertain us with are concerning the multitude and monſtrous ſize of their ſerpents. We are told of ſome that are thirty foot long and upwards, as big about as an hogſhead, and which will ſwallow a whole buck, or a man, and that they eaſily take by throwing their tails about them: And I remember, ſome travellers, that have wrote of the Eaſt-Indies, have mention'd ſerpents that have ſwallow'd a buck horns and all; but as I could never hear of any ſuch monſters when I was in the Eaſt-Indies, or of any ſerpents that were any thing near that ſize, I can't help doubting whether there be any ſuch monſters here, how gravely or poſitively ſoever ſuch ſtories are related; and I am apt to think at laſt that they have miſtaken the crocodile for a ſerpent here as well as elſewhere, though even this creature does not come up to the dimenſions of this pretended ſerpent.

The ſame writer (Mr. NIEUHOFF) has furniſh'd us in his cuts with a dragon that has wings and feet, an animal which I am ſtill of opinion had never any other exiſtence than in the brains of the ancient poets. Indeed the word dragon is found in ſcripture, but as the creature is not deſcribed there, the term may belong to an animal of a different form. I believe no one will pretend to affirm that our tranſlators have never miſtaken the nature and form of ſome animals we meet with in ſcripture: For I don't find the learned are agreed about the behemoth and the unicorn any more than they are about the dragon. But commend me to my friend HARRIS, who tells us of a water-ſnake in Brazil near forty foot long, and every way proportionable, in whoſe body were found two whole wild boars he had ſwallowed. One would think our voyage-writers were lying for a wager in theſe caſes. As for the amphiſbena, or ſnake with two heads, I think 'tis agreed now that he really has but one; only ſome ſhort-ſighted people miſtook his tail for a head, it ſeems.

Inſects.

Here is alſo found the rattle ſnake, and ſeveral other ſpecies of ſnakes, which will be deſcrib'd when I come to treat of the Britiſh plantations in America. They have alſo ſcorpions, centepedes, ſpiders, and other venomous inſects of an extraordinary ſize: And their ants are almoſt as troubleſome here as in Africa, marching in great bodies, and devouring every thing in their way, and are only to be deſtroy'd by fire or water, and one ſpecies of them, 'tis ſaid, have wings. Here alſo is the fire-fly, which ſeems to differ but little from the glow-worm, only in its wings: When any of theſe fix on boughs of trees they appear at a little diſtance like ſo many ſtars.

Of bees they reckon up twelve ſeveral ſorts, ſome of which have vaſt neſts in hollow trees in the woods, and others in holes of rocks, and yield them great quantities of honey and wax; and the honey does not only ſerve them for food, but they make a liquor with it that has ſome reſemblance of mead.

Fiſh.

Their ſeas, lakes, and rivers, are full of excellent fiſh, and as DAMPIER has obſerv'd, the lean fleſh of the whales, of which they have great plenty on this coaſt, is eaten by the ſlaves and poor people at Brazil. But the beſt fiſh on their coaſt is the manatee, as big as an ordinary ox, which has been already deſcrib'd in Mexico. They have alſo the ſword-fiſh, thraſher, paracood, old-wife, cavally, gar-fiſh, mullets, ſnooks, herrings, mackerel, and turpoons, already deſcrib'd, oyſters, crabs, ſhrimps, prawns, and other ſhell-fiſh. Their beſt river-fiſh has a reſemblance of our perch, and they have others not unlike jacks and carp.

Amphibious animals.

Of amphibious animals they have tortoiſes of three kinds, viz. the hawkſbill, the loggerhead, and the green tortoiſe; but of theſe it ſeems the Portugueſe never eat, tho' our ſeamen eſteem the green tortoiſe very good food. There are alſo great numbers of crocodiles in their lakes and rivers, but not ſo large as thoſe of Africa; and they have a creature, which the Portugueſe call cachora de agua, or the water-dog, as big as a maſtiff, and hairy from head to tail; he has four ſhort legs and a long head, and is of a dark colour, and lives in freſh-water lakes and ponds, but comes on ſhore to ſun himſelf, and is ſaid to be good food.

CHAP. V.

Of their plants and vegetables.

CHAP. V.

Vegetables.

THE ſoil of Brazil, according to DAMPIER, is generally good, producing very large trees of divers ſorts, and fit for any uſes. Their ſavannahs or paſtures are loaden with graſs and herbs, and being cultivated, produce every thing that is proper for ſuch countries as lie between the Tropics, as cotton, tobacco, indico, ſugar-canes, maiz, or Indian-corn, and fruits.

Foreſt-trees.

Of their foreſt-trees the chief are, the ſapiera, the vermiatico, the commeſſerie, the guiteba, and the ſerrie; the ſpeckled-wood, the fuſtick, and other dying-woods; three kinds of mangrove-trees, and the manchinele-tree.

The ſapiera is a large tall tree, very good timber, and made uſe of in building houſes, as is alſo the vermiatico, a tall ſtreight-body'd tree, which furniſhes them with plank two foot broad, and of the bodies of theſe trees they make their canoes, or little country boats all of a piece, the body of the tree being only ſcoop'd hollow, and ſhap'd ſomething like a boat at the head and ſtern; and though they are ſo narrow that they frequently overſet, they can't ſink, and the Indians, who excel in ſwimming, make no difficulty when they are over-ſet to turn them up again.

The commeſſerie and the guiteba are moſt uſed in building of ſhips, for which purpoſe they are as much eſteem'd as oak with us, and are ſaid to be harder and more durable wood. The ſerrie-tree reſembles the elm, and is very durable in water. Their mangrove-trees are red, white and black, the red being uſed in tanning leather here, of the black they make good plank, and of the white, maſts and yards for their barks, both the black and white being much larger in Brazil than in the gulph of Mexico.

There grows alſo in Brazil a wild cocoa-nut-tree, neither ſo tall or ſo large as thoſe that grow in the Eaſt or Weſt-Indies. They bear nuts as the others, but not a quarter ſo big as the right cocoa-nuts. The ſhell is full of kernel, without any hollow place or water in it, and the kernel is ſweet, but very hard both for the teeth and digeſtion. Theſe nuts are in much eſteem for making beads for pater-noſters, bowls of tobacco-pipes, and other toys; and every ſmall ſhop at the bay has a great many to ſell. At the top of theſe baſtard cocoa-trees among the branches there grows a ſort of long black thread, like horſe-hair, but much longer, which by the Portugueſe is called Treſabo; of theſe they make cables, which are very ſerviceable, ſtrong and laſting; for they will not rot as cables made of hemp, though they lie expoſed to wet and heat. Theſe are the cables which they keep in their harbours to let out to hire to European ſhips, and reſemble the Coyre cables.

There are alſo in Brazil three ſorts of cotton-trees, but very little of the right Weſt-Indian cotton-ſhrub, of which the cotton-cloth is made.

Fruits.

As to fruits they have ſeveral kinds of oranges and limes, pomegranates, pomecitrons, and European grapes; but all theſe have been tranſported thither by the Portugueſe. There were no ſuch fruits in America till the Europeans introduced them. They have alſo plantains, banana's, guava's, the true cocoa-nut, cabbage-trees, cuſtard-apples, ſourſops, caſhews, papahs, jenipahs.

The ſourſop is a fruit as large as a man's head, of an oval ſhape, green on one ſide and yellowiſh on the other when ripe. The outſide or coat is pretty thick and very rough, with ſmall ſharp knobs, the inſide is full of a ſpungy pulp, with black ſeeds or kernels, in ſhape and bigneſs like a pumpkin-ſeed. The pulp is very juicy, of a pleaſant taſte and wholeſome. You ſuck the juice out of the pulp, and ſo ſpit it out. The tree or ſhrub that bears this fruit grows about ten or twelve foot high, with a ſmall ſhort body, the branches growing pretty ſtreight up. The twigs are ſlender and tough, and ſo is the ſtem of the fruit. This fruit grows alſo both in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies.

The caſhew is a fruit as big as a pippin, pretty long, and bigger near the ſtem than at the other end, growing tapering. The rind is ſmooth and thin, of a red and yellow colour. The ſeed of this fruit grows at the end of it. 'Tis of an olive colour, ſhap'd like a bean, and about the ſame bigneſs, but not altogether ſo flat. The tree is as big as an apple-tree, with branches, not thick, yet ſpreading off. The boughs are groſs, the leaves broad and round, and in ſubſtance pretty thick. This fruit is ſoft and ſpungy when ripe, and full of juice. It is very pleaſant, and gratefully rough on the tongue, and is accounted very wholeſome. This fruit alſo grows both in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies.

The jenipah, or jenipapah, is a ſort of fruit, of the calabaſh or gourd kind. It is about the bigneſs of a duck-egg, and ſomewhat of the oval ſhape, and is of a grey colour. The ſhell is not altogether ſo thick nor hard as a calabaſh. 'Tis full of whitiſh pulp mixt with ſmall flat ſeeds, and both pulp and ſeeds are taken into the mouth, but ſucking out the pulp they ſpit out the ſeeds. It is of a ſharp and pleaſing taſte, and is very innocent. The tree that bears it is much like an aſh, ſtreight-body'd, and of a good height, clear from limbs till near the top, where the branches put forth a ſmall head. The rind is of a pale grey, and ſo is the fruit.

Beſides theſe, here are many ſorts of fruits which are not met with any where elſe, as ariſah's, mericaſah's, petango's, &c. Ariſah's are an excellent fruit, not much bigger than a large cherry, ſhaped like a catherine-pear, being ſmall at the ſtem and ſwelling bigger towards the end. They are of a greeniſh colour, and have ſmall ſeeds as big as muſtard-ſeeds; they are ſomewhat tart, yet pleaſant, and very wholeſome, and may be eaten by ſick people.

Mericaſah's are an excellent fruit, of which there are two ſorts, one growing on a ſmall tree or ſhrub, which is counted the beſt, the other growing on a

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kind of ſhrub like a vine, which they plant about arbours to make a ſhade, having many broad leaves. The fruit is as big as a ſmall orange, round and green. When they are ripe they are ſoft, full of white pulp mixt thick with little black ſeeds, and there is no ſeparating one from the other till they are in your mouth, when you ſuck out the white pulp and ſpit out the ſtones. They are tart, pleaſant, and very wholeſome.

Petango's are a ſmall red fruit that grow alſo on ſmall trees, and are as big as cherries, but not ſo globular, having one flat ſide, and alſo five or ſix ſmall protuberant ridges. 'Tis a very pleaſant tart fruit, and has a pretty large flattiſh ſtone in the middle.

Petumbo's are a yellow fruit (growing on a ſhrub like a vine) bigger than cherries, with a pretty large ſtone. Theſe are ſweet, but rough in the mouth.

Mungaroo's are a fruit as big as cherries, red on one ſide and white on the other ſide. They are full of ſmall ſeeds, which are commonly ſwallowed in eating them.

Muckiſhaws are a fruit as big as crab-apples, growing on large trees. They have alſo ſmall ſeeds in the middle, and are well taſted.

Ingwa's are a fruit like the locuſt fruit, four inches long and one broad. They grow on high trees.

Otee is a fruit as big as a large cocoa-nut. It hath a huſk on the out-ſide, and a large ſtone within, and is accounted a very fine fruit.

Muſteran deova's are a round fruit as big as a large hazel-nut, cover'd with thin brittle ſhells of a blackiſh colour. They have a ſmall ſtone in the middle, incloſed within a black pulpy ſubſtance, which is of a pleaſant taſte. The outſide ſhell is chewed with the fruit, and ſpit out with the ſtone, when the pulp is ſuck'd from them.

Palm-berries (called here dendes) grow plentifully about Bahia; the largeſt are as big as wallnuts. They grow in bunches on the top of the body of the tree among the branches or leaves, as all fruits of the palm kind do. Theſe are the ſame kind of berries or nuts, as thoſe they make the palm-oil with on the coaſt of Guinea, where they abound.

Phyſick-nuts, as our ſeamen call them, are call'd here fineon, and agnus-caſtus is call'd here carrepat. Theſe both grow here; ſo do mendibees, a fruit like phyſick-nuts. They ſcorch them in a pan over the fire before they eat them.

They have plenty of callavances, pine-apples, pumpkins, water-melons, muſk-melons, cucumbers; and roots, as yams, potatoes, caſſava's, &c. Garden-herbs alſo good ſtore, as cabbages, turnips, onions, leeks, and abundance of ſallading; and for the pot, drugs of ſeveral ſorts, viz. ſaſſafras, ſnake-root, &c. beſides the wood mention'd for dying and other uſes, as fuſtick, ſpeckled-wood, &c.

DAMPIER relates, that the Jeſuits have introduced the cinamon-tree into their garden at St. Salvador, but it is probable it degenerates, and the bark is not ſo fine a ſpice as that of the Ceylon-cinamon, from whence it is brought; for if it were, there is no reaſon they ſhould not propagate it more; and indeed the cinamon that grows on the Malabar coaſt in the Eaſt-Indies, which is but a few leagues from Ceylon, is not comparable to it; which inclines me to believe that no other ſoil but that of Ceylon will bear the true cinamon. I wiſh it were otherwiſe, that we might ſhare that valuable ſpice with the Dutch, and were not oblig'd to pay what price they are pleaſed to ſet upon it.

The Jeſuits have mango's alſo in their garden at St. Salvador, which is another Eaſt-India fruit, but I find they are not common in Brazil.

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Corn.

As to their corn, there is no ſort that thrives in Brazil like maiz, or Indian-corn. Wheat and rye grow too rank and run up into ſtraw; and the only way to procure a good crop is to make the ſoil poorer by mixing ſand with it inſtead of dung to enrich it: And this is the caſe of moſt foreign ſeeds. Their ſeed-time is at the beginning of the rainy ſeaſon, and their harveſt immediately after it. Their own trees and ſhrubs bear leaves, bloſſoms, and fruit all the year round; and the ſame is obſerved of their oranges, limes, and ſome other fruits that have been carried thither: And thoſe who would have ripe grapes all the year, 'tis ſaid, only prune their vines at different times to effect it, and they produce a fine luſcious grape as ſweet as honey; and yet they can have no wine that will keep here, or in any other country between the Tropics, unleſs in Peru.

And here I muſt caution the reader to underſtand what is ſaid above only of that part of Brazil which lies within the Tropic of Capricorn, which is the beſt planted and peopled of any part of Brazil; for in the countries ſouth of the Tropic of Capricorn, the ſame grain and fruits grow, as do to the north-ward of the Tropic of Cancer, and many kinds of fruit which flouriſh between the Tropics will not come to any thing without the Tropics: As the air and ſeaſons are very different, ſo are their grain, fruits, and plants generally; tho' there are ſome will thrive on either ſide the Tropic.

The ants in Brazil are great enemies to the corn, fruits, and other produce of the earth, which the huſbandmen endeavour to deſtroy by fire and water, but all their care ſometimes proves ineffectual.

Minerals.

As to their minerals, there is no doubt but they have diſcover'd very rich gold mines of late years by the vaſt treaſures of that kind they ſend annually to Europe; and, 'tis ſaid, there are ſome ſilver mines in the country. They have alſo diſcover'd very rich diamond mines, jaſper, emeralds, chryſtal, and other precious ſtones, inſomuch that the value of theſe are much fallen.

CHAP. VI.

Of their hiſtory, government, arms, forces, wars, marriages, women, children, ſlaves, and funerals.

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Hiſtory.

THE firſt Adventurer that diſcover'd the coaſt of Brazil was AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, an Italian, then in the ſervice of the King of Spain: This was in the year 1498, but then he ſail'd no further than to the 5th degree of ſouth latitude. Afterwards, in the year 1500, being employed by the King of Portugal, he ſailed again to Brazil, and extended his diſcoveries to 52 degrees of ſouth latitude; but he does not give us any account of the country, or the natives he ſaw in either of thoſe voyages.

The ſame year, 1500, EMANUEL King of Portugal ſending a fleet of thirteen ſail to the Eaſt-Indies, they were driven from their intended courſe upon the coaſt at Brazil, where meeting with a pretty good harbour, after a ſtorm, wherein they had ſuffer'd much, they gave it the name of Porto Seguro, which lies in ſeventeen degrees of ſouth latitude, and to the country they gave the name of Santa Cruz; tho' it ſoon after loſt it, and obtain'd the name of Brazil, as has been obſerv'd already.

The Admiral of this fleet, PETER ALVAREZ CAPRALIS, ſent one of his ſhips back to Portugal with an account of the richneſs of the country and its agreeable ſituation, and then continued his voyage to the Eaſt-Indies with the reſt.

Several private Adventurers upon this intelligence went over to Brazil with their families, but were moſt of them deſtroy'd by the natives, and no ſettlement was made to any purpoſe 'till the year 1549, when JOHN III. King of Portugal, ſent a great fleet thither with a thouſand ſoldiers on board, under the command of THOMAS DE SOSA their General, and with them a great many Jeſuits, whom Pope PAUL III. deſired might be embark'd in order to endeavour the converſion of the natives.

This fleet arriving at the bay of All Saints, General SOSA there built the city of St. Salvador, of which FERDINANDEZ SARDINIA was appointed the firſt Biſhop in the following year 1550.

The Portugueſe finding the Brazilians divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms and ſtates, at war among themſelves, and joining with one nation againſt another, by this means ſubdu'd firſt their enemies and then their allies, making ſlaves of all without diſtinction. Serigippe, which lies contiguous to the bay of All Saints on the north, and which I have conſider'd as part of this province, was the firſt conqueſt the Portugueſe made.

The French alſo made ſeveral attempts to ſettle colonies on the coaſt of Brazil, but were driven from thence from time to time by the Portugueſe, who at length poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the coaſt from the river Amazon to the river of Plata.

To juſtify their invaſions of this country, and the barbarous maſſacres they committed there, they have repreſented the people as infidels without any notion of God or religion, and even canibals: And whereas we have been told by the Spaniards that the countries of Guiana and Caribiana, which lie contiguous to Brazil, and extend from the Equator to 10 degrees north latitude, were canibals; now the Portugueſe endeavour to perſuade us, that the Brazilians, whoſe country extends from the Equator to 35 degrees of ſouth latitude, were likewiſe canibals and infidels: And indeed this is what the Spaniards and Portugueſe have affirm'd of all the American nations at one time or other. They tell us, they were perpetually engag'd in war with each other, and eat up their enemies that fell into their hands; and yet none of our Engliſh Adventurerers for an hundred years paſt, none of our Buccaneers, that have penetrated through and through the country, and reſided among the Caribbees themſelves, who were moſt fam'd for eating human fleſh, have ever ſeen any ſuch thing.

Knivet's account of canibals, giants, monſters, &c.

About an hundred and forty years ago, indeed, ſome of our people, who had their intelligence, I preſume, from the Spaniards and Portugueſe, pretended that they had ſeen the Brazilians devour their enemies, of whom the moſt eminent is KNIVET. This gentleman tells us he was left ſick on ſhore at Brazil by Captain CAVENDISH, in the year 1592, and being taken priſoner by the natives, together with twelve Portugueſe, his companions were kill'd, broil'd, and eaten, but his life was ſav'd becauſe the natives took him for a Frenchman; and of theſe executions he gives us the following account.

That having taken a priſoner in battle, and convey'd him into their own country, they gave him one of their ſiſters or daughters to ſerve him as a temporary wife, furniſhing him with the beſt food, and all that is deſirable in life; and when they have fatted him, they proclaim the day and place of his execution; in the morning whereof many thouſands of the people aſſemble early, drinking, ſinging, and dancing for ſeveral hours; after which the captive is brought out, bound about the body with cords, which are held by ſix or ſeven people, but his hands at liberty: In this condition the priſoner uſually makes a ſpeech to the people, and tells them, "Thus "have I often bound your friends and relations, "and then broil'd and devour'd them; nor will my "countrymen ſuffer my death to be long unreveng-"ed." Then they bring him ſtones and bid him revenge himſelf, whereupon he throws them among the multitude, of whom he frequently wounds ſeveral; and having continued this ſport ſome time, one advances with the fatal club, and demanding, "Art "thou he that haſt kill'd and devour'd our people? "Take leave of all that is pleaſant and deſirable to "thee, for thou ſhalt ſee them no more; thou ſhalt "be kill'd and devour'd in like manner as thou haſt "kill'd and devour'd our friends;" and then beats out his brains with a club. After which the wife they had given him comes and bewails the fate of her huſband, but eats the firſt ſlice of him, however, when he is broil'd, 'tis ſaid, and then the reſt of the carcaſe is cut in pieces and diſtributed among the people, particularly they give the guts and entrails to the women, and the head and brains fall to the ſhare of the children. PURCHASE, Vol. IV. p. 1217. Vol. V. p. 914.

If any man ſhould be found credulous enough to believe this formal and improbable tale, yet the reſt of the monſtrous relations contain'd in Mr. KNIVET's narrative, which are now known to be falſe, are ſufficient to ſhock his faith in this.

He relates, that the people of Tucuman, a province of La Plata, are pigmies; PURCHASE, Vol. IV. p. 1231. And that at the Straights of Magellan he met with another nation of pigmies, of about five ſpans high, and with mouths from ear to ear, of whom he ſaw ſeveral thouſands; and that they traffick'd with the Engliſh, giving them pearls and feathers for European toys.

That in the ſame Straights he ſaw naked giants ſixteen ſpans high; PURCHASE, Vol. IV. p. 1231.

That he ſaw a monſter of a mermaid, p. 1240.

That he had ſeen a ſnake that ſwallow'd men, ſtags, and oxen, and after ſuch morſels would lie ſleeping 'till his fleſh rotted, or was pick'd clean off the bones by birds of prey; after which new fleſh grew upon the bones again, and the creature awaked, his head having been alive all the while, but bury'd in mud. PURCHASE, Vol. V. p. 914.

That he knew ſeveral Brazilians poſſeſs'd by the devil, and ſome of them kill'd by evil ſpirits. He himſelf heard an Indian diſcourſing with an evil ſpirit, and threatening to turn Chriſtian if the ſpirit did not ceaſe to afflict him. May we not, after ſuch a multitude of idle ſtories, very well ſuſpend our belief of the firſt in relation to canibals? And yet this is the man whoſe accounts of theſe things are moſt depended upon, and which PURCHASE, in his collection, has given ſuch countenance to, that he has compil'd his narratives twice over (viz.) in the fourth and fifth volumes, from whence I took theſe pretty ſtories. But it being acknowledg'd that the Caribbees and other nations charg'd with eating human fleſh have generally left it off at this day; and the reaſon of their preſent abſtemiouſneſs being demanded, one of Mr. PURCHASE's authors informs us, that they happen'd to eat a Friar whoſe fleſh poiſon'd ſeveral of them, and that was the reaſon they never lik'd man's-fleſh ſince. PURCHASE, Vol. III. p. 865.

Religion.

As to religion, the Portugueſe will not allow the Brazilians any, and yet they tell us they have Prieſts, and allow a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments; that the brave go to Elyſium, or Paradiſe, and mean and cowardly ſouls to a place of torment. Purchase, Vol. V. p. 915, &c.

The ſame authors admit, that their Prieſts direct them to bring their offerings to them, and aſſure them, on their doing this, that thoſe inviſible beings who give them food and all the good things they enjoy, will proſper their affairs; and if they neglect this they muſt expect ſome dreadful calamities will overtake them, and that accordingly the people bring them ſuch fruits as they apprehend will be moſt acceptable. They inform us alſo, that they believe their ſouls ſurvive their bodies, and are converted into dæmons, or ſpirits, after death. Purchase. Vol. IV. p. 1289. Vol. V. p. 916, 917.

Another writer in Purchase's collection tells us, they comforted themſelves that they ſhould after death viſit their anceſtors beyond certain mountains. From all which it is evident that this people were not entirely without religion; that they believe ſome inviſible beings are the authors of all their good and bad fortune in the world; and that they ſhall be rewarded and puniſh'd hereafter according to their behaviour in this life, and conſequently are not thoſe infidels they are ſometimes repreſented.

And though the idolatrous Portugueſe make their having no images amongſt them another argument that they have no religion, I preſume that will be of little weight with Proteſtants. But further, we meet with writers in Purchase that tell us ſome of the Brazilians worſhip the New moon, at leaſt that they dance and ſing when it appears: And that others worſhip the conſtellation call'd the Great Bear, rejoicing much when it appears in their hemiſphere.

As to their having no temples, perhaps they look upon the heaven over their heads to be the only proper temple to adore the great Creator in, or at leaſt moſt proper to adore the Sun, Moon, and Stars, if they worſhip them as gods, as ſome relate.

Nor do theſe people live without government. They have Kings in their reſpective territories, who adminiſter juſtice according to the cuſtom of their ſeveral countries, tho' they have no written laws: And where one man has injur'd another, he is obliged to make him ſatisfaction in kind, if it be poſſible: And no people are more kind or hoſpitable to ſtrangers than the Brazilians are, ſo far are they from murdering and devouring foreigners, even by the relation of thoſe very Portugueſe, that have repreſented them as canibals.

Marriages.

In their marriages they are not confin'd to one woman, but enter into a contract, however, with their relations to uſe them well, in which they are uſually as good as their words; and when a man takes home his wife there is great feaſting and rejoicing, but no other ceremony that I can learn.

The women, however, ſeem to have much the greateſt ſhare in the care and trouble of providing for the family; for they are not only employ'd in their domeſtick affairs, but it falls to their lot to plant and gather in their fruits, roots, and other food. The man is only employ'd in making his arms, or in hunting or fiſhing; and upon a march or removal, the women carry all the baggage.

They tell us a great many idle ſtories in relation to their womens bearing children, and particularly that the woman is no ſooner deliver'd but ſhe goes about her buſineſs, and the huſband is put to bed in her ſtead, and the child is left to ſhift for itſelf upon the floor. And yet in other places they tell us, that no people are ſo fond of their children as the Brazilians; and indeed the relations that Purchase has compil'd are ſo inconſiſtent and full of contradictions, that we ſcarce know what to make of them.

Funerals.

The beſt account I can collect of their funerals and mourning is, that upon the death of any perſon, the friends and relations aſſemble and ſet up a howl, not unlike that of the wild Iriſh, repeating by turns the praiſes of the deceas'd, admiring his wealth, his ſtrength, beauty, and excellent parts, the multitude of his friends, ſervants and cattle, concluding with words of the following tenour; "He is "dead; we ſhall ſee him no more until we dance "with him beyond the mountains." Theſe lamentations having continued ſix hours, they prepare to bury the deceas'd, digging a grave like the mouth of a well, in which they place the corpſe in a ſitting poſture, and building a little tomb of the form of a dome over him, they leave at the place all manner of meat and drink, his arms, and whatever was uſeful to him while alive, coming every day with freſh ſupplies to the grave for a month, making the ſame lamentations they did the firſt day, and afflicting themſelves during this time by faſting and other penances; and if he leave wives behind him they cut off their hair. This mourning having continued a month, they reſume their former way of life. The maſter of the family is uſually buried in the middle of the houſe, and his tomb adorn'd with beautiful feathers and other ornaments.

Wars and arms.

As to the wars of theſe people among themſelves, they had no other arms but bows, arrows, and wooden ſwords or clubs, and in ſome places ſhields; and when they charg'd an enemy it was never in rank and file, but in great confuſion if they came to a field-fight, which was not often, for moſt of their actions were perform'd by ſurprize. They would march day and night with great expedition, and lying in woods fall upon their enemies when they were unprepar'd to receive them, carrying away men, women, and children into ſlavery; for their towns had no walls or fortifications to defend them.

St. Salvador retaken by the Spaniards.

The Dutch take Olinda and the whole province of Pernambuco.

To proceed in the hiſtory. I have already obſerv'd that the Portugueſe diſcover'd this country in the year 1500; that they made ſeveral attempts to plant it with ſmall ſucceſs, 'till the year 1549, when they fix'd themſelves at the bay of All-Saints, and built the city of St. Salvador; that the French alſo made ſome attempts to plant colonies on this coaſt, but were driven from thence by the Portugueſe, who remain'd in Brazil almoſt without a rival 'till the year 1623; but being then under the dominion of the King of Spain, with whom the United Provinces were at war, the Dutch Weſt-India Company fitted out a ſtrong fleet, and putting a good body of land-forces on board, ſent them to Brazil, where they attack'd and took the city of St. Salvador, in the bay of All Saints, with very little loſs: But the King of Spain ſending a great fleet and army thither in the year 1625, recover'd the city again, and drove the Dutch out of the country. However, the Hollanders continued to ſend ſtrong ſquadrons to the coaſt of Brazil every year, where they harraſs'd the Portugueſe ſettlements, and made abundance of rich prizes; and making a deſcent near Olinda, in the year 1629, took that city with the fortreſs of The Recief, and being join'd by ſome nations of the Indians againſt the Portugueſe, at length poſſeſs'd themſelves of the entire province of Pernambuco, where they erected a great many forts, and compell'd the Portugueſe who reſided in that part of the country to obey them as their Sovereigns; whereupon Count Maurice of Naſſau was pleaſed to accept the government of the Dutch

Reduces three provinces more.

Dutch territories in Brazil, and remain'd in that capacity at The Recief, or Pernambuco, from the year 1637 to the year 1644; during all which time the Dutch and Portugueſe remaining in a ſtate of war, Prince **MAURICE** recover'd from the Portugueſe three more of their northern provinces: Nor did he content himſelf with taking places from the Portugueſe in Brazil, but detach'd from thence a ſquadron to the coaſt of Africa, and took from them the important fort of Del Mina, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs on the Guinea coaſt, which the Hollanders are in poſſeſſion of at this day. But the Dutch Weſt-India Company not ſupplying the Count with ſuch a number of forces as he apprehended was neceſſary to ſecure their conqueſts againſt the Portugueſe, he return'd to Holland in diſguſt, in the year 1644, after which the affairs of the Dutch in Brazil declin'd apace; for the Portugueſe who lived under the government of the Hollanders, joining their countrymen, by degrees recover'd all the towns which the Hollanders were in poſſeſſion of, and drove them entirely out of Brazil again, in the year 1654.

However, the Dutch ſtill continuing their pretenſions to Brazil, and committing continual depredations on the Portugueſe at ſea, the latter agreed, at a treaty of peace made between the King of Portugal and the States-General, by the mediation of England, in the year 1661, to pay the Dutch eighty tuns of gold to relinquiſh their intereſt in that country; which was accepted, and the Portugueſe have remain'd in the peaceable poſſeſſion of all Brazil from that day to this.

The preſent inhabitants of Brazil.

I come now to conſider the preſent inhabitants of Brazil, which are, 1. Portugueſe; 2. Crioli; 3. Meſtize; 4. Negroes; and, 5. Brazilians. The Portugueſe of Europe, who are the Governors, are the feweſt in number; the Crioli, or thoſe born of Portugueſe parents in Brazil, are more numerous; and the Meſtize, or mingled breed, ſtill more numerous than either; for few of the Portugueſe but have had black or tawny miſtreſſes, and the iſſue of theſe having intermarry'd, they are multiplied to a very great degree: But whether the Negroes do not exceed all the reſt I much queſtion, there having been ſo many imported annually from Africa for an hundred and fifty years paſt. The Dutch relate, that when they were poſſeſs'd of the northern province of Brazil, which are not a third of the whole, they employ'd no leſs than forty thouſand Negroes in their ſugar-works and other huſbandry: And as the Portugueſe employ'd a proportionable number, which have been increaſing and multiplying for upwards of an hundred years, and ſo many thouſands annually imported all the while, they muſt of neceſſity ſwarm upon the Brazil coaſt by this time; and indeed there are ſome Portugueſe Planters, 'tis ſaid, that have ſeveral hundreds of Negroe ſlaves; and when they have not employment for them they ſuffer them to work for themſelves, paying their maſters ſomething weekly out of what they get: And thoſe Negroes which are bred up to any trade, ſuch as Carpenters, Smiths, and Bricklayers, bring in their maſters a handſome income.

As to the native Brazilians, they are partly freemen and partly ſlaves; but the Negroe ſlaves are much more valued than the Brazilians, being of more robuſt conſtitutions, and fitter for labour: As they come from the coaſt of Africa, oppoſite to Brazil, which is much hotter, they indure fatigue in the hot ſeaſon better than the natives. Nor are the latter now very numerous; for the Portugueſe, on their invaſion of this country, like the Spaniards, in their conqueſts deſtroy'd the unfortunate natives by all the cruel ways they could invent, inſomuch that of an hundred thouſand men they found in the ſmall province of Serigippe (if we may credit the Dutch writers) they reduced them in a few years to four or five hundred men.

The force of the Portugueſe in Brazil.

As to the forces and ſtrength of the Portugueſe in Brazil, I don't at all doubt but that it is ſufficient at this day to maintain the dominion of that country againſt any other Power. The Engliſh and Dutch and other Powers may diſturb their navigation, and perhaps now and then ſurprize their maritime places, but I don't apprehend they would any of them be able to take this country from them, if they ſhould attempt it; for that mixture of people, Portugueſe, Crioli, natives, Meſtize, and Negroes, are now in a manner one people, their religion the ſame, and their blood intermix'd by marriages, and would infallibly unite therefore againſt all the reſt of the world, however they may diſagree among themſelves while they have no enemy to contend with. And this is an advantage that the Spaniards, Portugueſe, and French have of the Engliſh in America; theſe nations always make the natives and Negroes, where they have any power, of their own religion, and theſe, in a little time, diſcover as much or more zeal for their ſuperſtition than the Spaniards themſelves, and would never bear that any people, who carried the name of hereticks, ſhould plant themſelves amongſt them, if they had no other reaſon to oppoſe it.

Nor is the circumſtance of marriage and alliance inconſiderable. Blood and relations lay ſtrong obligations upon all people to unite againſt ſtrangers; and this the Engliſh do not enough conſider, when they prohibit their people matching with the natives or Negroes, and we ſeem as averſe to the inſtructing them in our religion as we do to the mingling our blood with theirs; which is the reaſon they generally remain in a ſeparate intereſt, and inſtead of ſerving their allies or maſters faithfully, are ever conſpiring to cut their throats, and eſcape out of their hands, and poſſibly would rather join an enemy than oppoſe him.

But to proceed. Any European Power would find much greater difficulties in driving the Portugueſe from their ſettlements in Brazil than they did to fix themſelves there; for the inhabitants were then a naked defenceleſs people, and divided into a great many little ſtates and kingdoms; whereas the preſent inhabitants are all united and underſtand the art of war as well as we do. They are alſo uſed to that hot climate, which muſt prove fatal to abundance of Europeans on their arrival there, as well as the want of proviſions, which the Portugueſe would not fail to deſtroy in order to diſtreſs their enemies. From all which conſiderations I conclude, that the Portugueſe are now ſo well fix'd in Brazil that it is not in the power of any other nation to expel them from this country and fix themſelves in it.

If the Dutch, who had poſſeſs'd themſelves of four of their provinces, and had ſo many fortreſſes in Brazil, could not maintain their ground, it is reaſonable to believe that no other Power will be able to ſucceed in ſuch an enterprize.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE Britiſh PLANTATIONS.

CHAP. I.

Of the name, ſituation, extent, and ſubdiviſions of the Britiſh plantations on the continent of America; and more particularly of the province of Virginia.

CHAP. I.

British plantations Their ſituation and extent.

THE Britiſh dominions in America come next to be conſider'd: And theſe are divided into, 1. Thoſe that are ſituated on the continent: And, 2dly, the iſlands. The territories ſubject to Britain on the continent (except Hudſon's bay, or New-Britain) lie contiguous, and are extended along the eaſtern coaſt of north-America from 31 degrees of northern latitude to 50 and upwards; lying between the 63d and 83d degrees of weſtern longitude. And as the coaſt runs or extends from the ſouth-weſt to the north-eaſt, they are about fifteen hundred miles in length, and generally under two hundred miles broad, but in no place four hundred; unleſs we take in the Iroquois and other Indian nations under our protection, and then they may be extended further weſtward.

When the Spaniards firſt diſcover'd the country north of the gulph of Mexico, they call'd it all by the general name of Florida; but having graſped more than they could cultivate or defend, they in a manner deſerted this part of America, and fix'd themſelves in thoſe parts of it that abounded in ſilver and gold. Whereupon the Engliſh, French, and Dutch thought themſelves at liberty to ſend colonies to north-America, and gave ſuch names to the countries they reſpectively poſſeſs'd themſelves of as they ſaw fit.

The name.

SIR WALTER RALEGH was the firſt Engliſh adventurer who attempted to ſettle colonies on this coaſt, and gave it the name of Virginia, in honour of his ſovereign, the virgin Queen ELIZABETH, as will appear more at large in the chapter aſſign'd for treating of the hiſtory of this country. It was afterwards divided into north and ſouth-Virginia, but at this day we find it ſubdivided into the eight following provinces (viz.)

Subdiviſion.

1. Carolina, in which Georgia is comprehended. 2. Virginia Proper. 3. Maryland. 4. Penſilvania. 5. New-Jerſey. 6. New-York. 7. New-England; and 8. New-Scotland, call'd alſo Acadia and Acady. 9. There is ſtill a ninth province call'd New-Britain, or the Terra de Labarador; which is in a great meaſure the ſame with that call'd Hudſon's bay and ſtreights, and is ſeparated from the reſt of the Britiſh territories by the river of St. Laurence and part of the French Canada. It extends from 50 to 64 degrees of north latitude, and lies between 60 and 90 degrees of weſtern longitude.

CHAP. I.

Britiſh Plantations.

And that I may not be thought to have aſſign'd this vaſt country to Britain without any foundation, I ſhall here preſent the reader with that article in the treaty of Utretcht, made in the year 1712, whereby the French reſign'd this part of America to Great-Britain, which is of the following tenour (viz.)

"The ſaid moſt chriſtian King ſhall reſtore to "the kingdom and Queen of Great-Britain, to be "poſſeſs'd in full right for ever, the bay and "ſtreights of Hudſon, together with all lands, "ſeas, ſea-coaſts, rivers, and places ſituated in the "ſame bay and ſtreights, and which belong there"to, no tracts of land or ſea being excepted which "are at preſent poſſeſs'd by the ſubjects of France. "All which, as well as any buildings there made "in the condition they now are, and likewiſe all "fortreſſes there erected, either before or ſince "the French ſeiz'd the ſame, ſhall, within ſix "months from the ratification of the preſent treaty, "or ſooner, if poſſible, be well and truly deliver'd "to the Britiſh ſubjects, having commiſſion from "the Queen of Great-Britain to demand and re"ceive the ſame, entire and undemoliſh'd, to"gether with all the cannon and cannon-ball, and "powder, &c. which are therein.

As the French have yielded this country to the Engliſh, they have at leaſt given us all the right they had to it, and excluded themſelves from it; what right we may have to it in regard to the natives is another point that will be diſcuſſed hereafter.

I proceed now to deſcribe the reſpective provinces in the order of time they were ſeverally planted, of which Virginia Proper being the firſt, naturally becomes the firſt ſubject of our enquiries.

Virginia Proper its ſituation.

This country with the reſt of the abovesaid provinces, obtain'd the name of Virgina, as has been already obſerv'd, from Sir WALTER RALEGH, who call'd it Viginia in honour of Queen ELIZABETH; but the province to which the name of Virginia is now appropriated is bounded by the great river Patowmack on the north-eaſt, by the Atlantick ocean on the eaſt, by Carolina on the ſouth, and by the Apalathian mountains, which ſeparate it from Florida, on the weſt, extending from 36 to 39 degrees two minutes north latitude, and lying between 74 and

CHAP. I.

and 80 degrees of weſtern longitude, and is about two hundred and forty miles in length from north to ſouth, and one hundred and twenty miles in breadth from eaſt to weſt.

CHAP. II.

Of the face of the country, its mountains, ſeas, capes, bays, rivers, ſprings, lakes, winds, tides and ſeaſons.

CHAP. II. Virginia. The face of Virgina.

THERE are no mountains in Virginia, unleſs we take in the Apalathian mountains, which ſeparate it from Florida; but theſe have not yet been planted or inhabited by the Engliſh or any other people that I can learn.

As we approach Virginia from the ocean, it appears to be low land, inſomuch that (according to Mr. CLAYTON) the trees ſeem at a little diſtance to grow out of the water: and for an hundred miles up into the country, there is ſcarce a hill or a ſtone to be met with; only in ſome places there are rocks of iron ore appear, and in others there are banks of petrefy'd oyſter-ſhells, ſome of them above twenty yards deep. The whole country, before it was planted, was either foreſts or bogs and moraſſes, which the people in the weſt-Indies call ſwamps; and ſuch the greateſt part of it is at preſent. Their trees being much loftier than ours, and no underwood or buſhes growing beneath, people travel with eaſe through theſe foreſts on horſeback, and never want a fine ſhade to defend them from the ſummer heats.

Seas. Cape Henry. Cape Charles. Bay of Cheſepeak

The only ſea that borders upon Virginia is that of the Atlantick ocean on the eaſt, in which are two very remarkable capes or promontories, (viz.) 1. That of cape Henry; and 2. that of Cape Charles. Cape Henry lies in 37 degrees north latitude, and cape Charles about thirty miles to the northward of it; between which capes ſhips enter the great bay of Cheſepeak, which runs up through Virginia and Maryland, almoſt due north three hundred miles and upwards, being navigable moſt part of the way for large ſhips. This bay is at the entrance ſeven or eight and twenty miles over, and in moſt places about twenty miles broad.

Rivers. James river. York river. Raphanack river. Patowmack river.

Into the weſt ſide of this bay fall four great rivers, which riſe in the Apalathian mountains, all of them running from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt. The moſt ſoutherly of theſe is James river, the Indian name whereof was Powhaton; being generally about two miles over, and navigable at leaſt fourſcore miles. York river, whoſe Indian name was Pamunky, is a little to the northward of James river, and in ſome places they approach one another ſo near that they are not five miles aſunder. To the northward of York river is the river of Raphanack, which in ſome places is not ten miles diſtant from York river, and either of them as broad or broader than James river. North of Raphanack is the great river of Patowmack, which in ſome places is not above ſeven miles diſtant from Raphanack river, and in other places upwards of fifty: this river of Patowmack is navigable near two hundred miles, being nine miles broad in ſome places, but generally about ſeven. The mouth of the river Patowmack and that of James river are about an hundered miles aſunder; but the heads of all the four rivers riſe in the ſame hills pretty near each other, and, as Mr. CLAYTON expreſſes it, the heads of theſe rivers interfere and are lock'd within each other, as they are alſo within the heads of ſeveral other rivers that riſe in the ſame mountains and run towards the weſt.

CHAP. II. Tides.

The tides in theſe Rivers regularly ebb and flow about two foot perpendicular; and at James town there is a tide and a half tide, as they call it; that is, it flows near two hours along by the ſhore after it is ebb in the channel, and again it ebbs near two hours by the ſhore after it is flood. This is a great advantage to the boats paſſing up and down the river. I ſuppoſe, ſays Mr. CLAYTON, this is cauſed by the numerous creeks and branches of the river, which are many of them as broad as the Thames at London, ſome ten miles long, and others above twenty, that have little freſh water in them, their current primarily depending upon the flux and reflux of the ſea; ſo that after the tide is made in the channel it flows by the ſhore a conſiderable time afterwards, thoſe creeks being ſtill to fill, and therefore (as it were) draws up a ſource upwards by the ſhore, and likewiſe when the tide returns in the channel, the creeks that could not ſo readily diſburſe their water, being ſtill to empty themſelves, they make an ebbing by the ſhore a conſiderable time after it is flood in the chanel; and ſo far as the ſalt waters reach, the country is deem'd leſs healthy.

Springs.

As to their ſprings, Mr. CLAYTON obſerves, that their waters are generally more eager than thoſe in England, and require more malt to make beer: nor will they bear ſoap. He ſaw a ſpring in the iſle of Wight county, he ſays, from whence there iſſu'd a greater body of water than ever he met with, except that of Holy-well in Wales; and there is another ſpring ſo cold that it is dangerous drinking of it in ſummer-time. He obſerv'd alſo, that moſt of their waters had a petrefying quality.

Lakes.

As to lakes, I don't find there are any on the eaſt ſide of the mountains; unleſs their ſwamps or bogs are to be accounted ſuch (as they very well may in winter-time;) and of theſe indeed they have as many as any country can boaſt of; but on the weſt ſide of the mountains are a great many large lakes, of which the French are in poſſeſſion, as 'tis ſaid; but theſe have not a communication with each other, or with the river of St. Laurence, as is commonly reported.

The air, winds, and ſeaſons.

The ſame writer in his letters to the Royal Society obſerves, that the air and ſeaſons depend very much on their winds, as to heat and cold, dryneſs and moiſture. The north and north-weſt winds are very nitrous and piercing cold and clear, or elſe ſtormy. The ſouth-eaſt and ſouth, hazy and ſultry hot. Their winter is a fine clear air, and dry, which renders it very pleaſant. Their froſts are ſhort, but ſometimes very ſharp, that it will freeze the rivers over three miles broad; nay, the ſecretary of ſtate aſſur'd me, ſays Mr. CLAYTON, it had frozen Patowmack river, over-againſt his houſe, where it is near nine miles over. He adds, I have obſerv'd it freezes there the hardeſt when from a moiſt ſouth eaſt, on a ſudden the wind paſſing by the nore, a nitrous ſharp nore-weſt blows, not with high guſts, but with a cutting briſk air; and thoſe valleys then that ſeem to be ſhelter'd from the wind, and lie warm, where the air is moſt ſtagnant and moiſt, are frozen the hardeſt and ſeized the ſooneſt, and there the fruits are more ſubject to blaſt than where the air has a free motion. Snow falls ſometimes in pretty great quantities, but rarely continues there above a day or two. Their ſpring is about a month earlier than in England; in April they have frequent rains; May and June the heat increaſes, and it is much like our ſummer, being

mitigated

Diseaſes.

Remedies.

Frequent and terrible thunder.

mitigated with gentle breezes that riſe about nine of the clock, and decreaſe and incline as the ſun riſes and falls. July and Auguſt thoſe breezes ceaſe, and the air becomes ſtagnant, that the heat is violent and troubleſome. In September the weather uſually breaks ſuddenly, and there falls generally very conſiderable rains. When the weather breaks many fall ſick, this being the time for cachexies, fluxes, ſcorbutical dropſies, gripes, or the like; which I have attributed to this, ſays Mr. CLAYTON, that by the extraordinary heat, the ferment of the blood being raiſ'd too high, and the tone of the ſtomach relaxed, when the weather breaks the blood palls, and like over-fermented liquors is depauperated, or turns eager and ſharp, and there is a crude digeſtion, whence the abovenamed diſtempers may be ſuppoſed to enſue; and then chalybiates, that raiſe the decay'd ferment, are no bad practice, after which, I conceive, armoniack ſpirits might be very beneficial. But their doctors are ſo learned, that I never met with any of them, ſays this gentleman, that underſtood what armoniack ſpirits were. Two or three of them one time ran me clear down by conſent, that they were vomitive, and that they never uſed any thing for that purpoſe but Crocus Metallorum, which indeed every houſe keeps, and if their finger ach they immediately give three or four ſpoonfuls thereof; if this fail they give them a ſecond doſe, then perhaps purge them with fifteen or twenty grains of the roſin of jallop, afterwards ſweat them with venice-treacle, powder of ſnake-root, or Gaſcoin's powder: and when theſe fail, Conclamatum eſt. 'Tis wonderful, he adds; what influence the air has over mens bodies, whereof I had myſelf ſad aſſurances; for though I was in a very cloſe warm room, where was a fire conſtantly kept, yet there was not the leaſt alteration or change, whereof I was not ſenſible when I was ſick of the gripes; and when a very ingenious gentlewoman was viſited with the ſame diſtemper, I had the opportuuity of making very conſiderable obſervations. I ſtood at the window and could view the clouds ariſe; for there ſmall fleeting clouds will ariſe and be ſwiftly carry'd croſs the whole element; and as theſe clouds aroſe and came nigher her torments were increaſed, which were grievous as a labouring woman's; there was not a cloud but lamentably affected her, and that at a conſiderable diſtance; but by her ſkrieks it ſeem'd more or leſs according to the bigneſs and nearneſs of the clouds. The thunder, ſays Mr. CLAYTON, is attended often with fatal circumſtances here. I was with my lord HOWARD of Effingham, the governor, when they brought word that Dr. A. was kill'd therewith after this manner: he was ſmoaking a pipe of tobacco, and looking out of his window, when he was ſtruck dead, and immediately became ſo ſtiff that he did not fall, but ſtood leaning in the window, with the pipe in his mouth, in the ſame poſture he was in when ſtruck: and theſe things are remarkable, that it generally breaks in at the gable end of the houſes, and often kills perſons in or near the chimney's range, darting moſt fiercely down the funnel of the chimney, more eſpecially if there be a fire (I ſpeak here confuſedly of thunder and lightning) for when they do any miſchief, the craſh and lightning are at the ſame inſtant, which muſt be from the nearneſs of the cloud. One time, when the thunder ſplit the maſt of a boat at James town, I ſaw it break from the cloud, which it divided in two, and ſeem'd as if it had ſhot them immediately a mile aſunder to the eye. It is dangerous when it thunders ſtanding in a narrow paſſage, where there is a thorough wind, or in a room betwixt two windows, tho' ſeveral have been kill'd in the open fields. 'Tis incredible to tell how it will ſtrike large oaks, ſhatter and ſhiver them, ſometimes twiſting round a tree, as if it ſtruck the tree backwards and forwards. I had noted a fine ſpreading oak in James town iſland; in the morning I ſaw it fair and flouriſhing, in the evening I obſerv'd all the bark of the body of the tree, as if it had been artificially peel'd off, was orderly ſpread round the tree in a ring, whoſe ſemi-diameter was four yards, the tree in the center; all the body of the tree was ſhaken and ſplit, but its boughs had all their bark on, few leaves were fallen, and thoſe on the boughs as freſh as in the morning, but gradually afterwards wither'd, as on a tree that is fallen. I have ſeen ſeveral vaſt oaks and other timber trees twiſted, as if it had been a ſmall willow that a man had twiſted with his hand; which I could ſuppoſe had been done by nothing but the thunder. I have been told by ſeveral planters, that thirty or forty years ſince, when the country was not ſo open, the thunder was more fierce, and that ſome times after violent thunder and rain the roads would ſeem to have perfect caſts of brimſtone: and he ſeems to be of opinion, that the fierce and frequent thunders they had formerly, proceeded from the air's being more ſtagnant when the motion of the winds was impeded by the trees, before the country was clear'd.

CHAP III.

Of the Provinces and chief towns of Virginia, and of the Buildings of the Indians.

CHAP. III.

Provinces and chief towns.

HOW the country was divided when the Indians had the dominion of it does not appear, only the firſt adventurers inform us, that there were a great many petty monarchs in it, who commanded on the ſeveral rivers; and that the moſt potent frequently ſubdu'd his weaker neighbours, and held them in ſubjection during his life, after which every principality uſually return'd to the original proprietor; but I ſhall be more particular on this head in the chapter aſſign'd for the hiſtory of this country.

Virginia is at preſent divided into twenty-five counties, (viz.) 1. James county. 2. Henrico county. 3. Prince George. 4. Charles county. 5. Surrey. 6. Iſle of Wight. 7. Nanſamund. 8. Norfolk. 9. Princeſs Anne. 10. York county. 11. Warwick. 12. Elizabeth. 13. New Kent. 14. King William. 15. King and Queen. 16. Glouceſter. 17. Middleſex. 18 Eſſex. 19. Richmond. 20. Stafford. 21. Weſtmorland. 22. Lancaſter. 23. Northumberland. 24. Acomack; and 25. Northampton.

James county.

1. James county lies on both ſides of James river, and is bounded by New-Kent on the north, by York county on the eaſt, by Surrey on the ſouth, and Henrico county on the weſt, and contains five pariſhes (viz.) 1. James town. 2. Williamſburg. 3. Wallingford, all which lie on the North ſide of James river. 4. Merchants Hundred; and 5. Bruton, on the ſouth ſide of the river.

James town.

1. James Town, the capital of this county and of the whole province, is ſituated in a peninſula on the north ſide of James river, about forty miles from the mouth of it, the river being at this place about a mile broad. There are not above three or fourſcore houſes at preſent in it, and

thoſe moſt of them publick houſes, kept for the entertainment of ſea-faring people who reſort hither; for it is not agreeable to the humour or buſineſs of the Virginian planters to live in Towns. Every man of ſubſtance almoſt chuſes to reſide upon his eſtate, and have his farms and plantations under his eye; and when they have amaſſed as much wealth as ſatisfies them, they either remain in the place they acquir'd it, or return to England; but ſeldom reſide in the little towns of Virginia. Another reaſon which makes James town now ſo inconſiderable is, the removing the courts of juſtice and the ſeat of the government to Williamſburgh: And laſtly, James town ſuffer'd very much in the rebellion during the reign of King Charles II. when it was almoſt entirely burnt down to the ground. Before that misfortune happen'd, 'tis ſaid, there were ſeveral ſpacious ſtreets and handſome buildings in James town, and the government ſeem'd to be ſet upon peopling and improving it, by obliging all ſhipping to unload their merchandize at this place, but that order was never obey'd. Few towns are capable of being made ſtronger than James town, as it is ſituated on a peninſula, which, at high water, is a perfect Iſland, and there is no approaching it but on one ſide, which might eaſily be render'd inacceſſible; but the fortifications I perceive are mean.

Williamſburgh.

2. Williamſburgh, heretofore call'd Middle Plantation, is ſituated about ſeven miles from James town, further within land; and this, tho' the ſeat of the government, and the place where their parliament or general aſſembly meets, is but a very ſmall place, conſiſting only of thirty or forty houſes that are not contiguous. Governor NICHOLSON did all that lay in his power to increaſe the buildings and enlarge the town, in the year 1689; particularly he built a town-houſe, to which he gave the name of the Capitol. A fine college alſo was erected here, and a good revenue ſettled upon it; but this was unfortunately burnt down. There are ſome redoubts and batteries of guns erected for the defence of the place, but of no great conſequence; what the late orders for the repairing and ſtrengthening our fortifications in America may produce, we ſhall ſee in a little time. This county contains 108,362 acres of land.

I ſhall not pretend to give the boundaries of the reſt of the counties, only obſerve in what part of the province they lie, with the pariſhes and the number of acres contain'd in them.

Henrico county.

2. Henrico county is ſituated the moſt weſterly of all thoſe that lie on the ſouth of James river, and contains the two pariſhes of Henrico and Briſtol, in which are 148,787 acres of land.

Prince George, and Charles counties.

3. and 4. Prince George and Charles counties are ſituated over-againſt Henrico county, on the north ſide of James river, in which are the three pariſhes of Martin Brandon, Wyanoke, and Weſtover, containing 161,239 acres of land; and twenty miles higher, above the falls of James river, is the Monacan town, where the French refugees are ſettled.

Surrey county.

5. Surrey county is ſituated over-againſt James county, on the ſouth ſide of James river, containing the two pariſhes of Southwark and Lyons creek, in which are 111,050 acres of land.

Iſle of Wight county.

6. Iſle of Wight county, is ſituated ſouth eaſt of Surrey county, on the ſouth ſide of James river, containing the two pariſhes of Warwick-Squeak and New-port, in which are 142,796 acres of land.

Nanſamund county.

7. Nanſamund county, which lies ſouth of the Iſle of Wight county, containing the three pariſhes of Upper-Pariſh, Lower-Pariſh, and Chukkatuck, in which are 131,172 acres of land. In this county riſes the river of Nanſamund, which running to the north-eaſt falls into James river, near Bennet's creek.

Norfolk county.

8. Norfolk county lies ſouth-eaſt of Nanſamund county, extending to the borders of Carolina, and contains only the pariſh of Elizabeth, in which are 112,019 acres of land. In this county riſes the river Elizabeth, which running due north falls into James river, between the eaſt and Weſt Bay.

Princeſs Anne county.

9. Princeſs Anne county lies north-eaſt of Norfolk, having the bay of Cheſepeak on the north, and the ocean on the eaſt, and contains only the pariſh of Lynhaven, in which are 98,305 acres of land. Cape Henry is a promontory on the north eaſt part of this county.

York county.

10. York county, ſituate between York and James rivers on the eaſt of James county, in which are the three pariſhes of York, Hampton, and New-Pokoſon, and contains 60,767 acres of land.

Warwick county.

11. Warwick county lies contiguous to York county, and ſouth eaſt of it between the ſame rivers, in which are the two pariſhes of Denby and Mulberry Iſland, containing 38,444 acres of land. In this county riſes the river of Pokoſon, which running to the eaſtward diſcharges itſelf into the mouth of York river.

Elizabeth county.

12. Elizabeth county lies contiguous to Warwick county, and to the eaſtward of it, having the bay of Cheſepeak on the north, and the Mouth of James river on the ſouth. It hath but one pariſh, call'd Elizabeth, in which was a city of the ſame name, but it is of late years dwindled to a village. This county contains 29,000 acres of land.

New-Kent.

13. New-Kent lies north of James county on the ſouthern branch of York river, and contains the two pariſhes of Bliſsland and St. Peters, in which are 171,314 acres of land, being one of the largeſt and moſt populous counties in Virginia. In the weſt part of this county are ſome hills of glittering ſand, which the firſt adventurers miſtook for gold, and loaded home a ſhip with it, and to their great mortification it prov'd but common earth.

King William county.

14. King William county is contiguous to New-Kent, and lies to the weſtward of it, the river Pamunky (being the ſouthern branch of York river) running through it. It contains only the pariſh of St. John's, in which are 84,324 acres of land.

King and Queen county.

15. King and Queen county lies on the ſouth of King William county, and is contiguous to it, and contains the two pariſhes of Stratton Major and St. Stephen's, in which are 131,716 acres of land. In this county riſes the river Chicohomony, and running eaſtward falls into James river, near Bromfield's plantation.

Glouceſter county.

16. Glouceſter county is ſituated between the mouth of York river and Prankitank river, having the bay of Cheſepeak on the eaſt, and contains the four pariſhes of Perſo, Abington, Ware, and Kingſton, in which are 142,450 acres of land.

Middleſex county.

17. Middleſex county lies north of Glouceſter, having the river Raphanock on the north, and the river Prankitank on the ſouth, containing only the pariſh of Chriſt-Church, in which are 49,500 acres of land.

Eſſex county.

18. The county of Eſſex lies on the river Raphanock, north-weſt of Middleſex, containing the three pariſhes of South-Farnham, Sittingburn, and St. Mary's, in which are 140,920 acres of land. Upon the confines of this county and that of Middleſex there is a great ſwamp or bog almoſt ſixty miles in length, call'd Dragons Swamp, cover'd with buſhes and flags, in which harbour wild beaſts and game in abundance.

Dragons Swamp.

Richmond and Stafford unties.

19. and 20. Richmond and Stafford counties lie north-weſt of Eſſex, upon the ſame river Raphanock, and contain the three pariſhes of North-Farnham, St. Paul's, and Overworton.

Weſtmorland county.

21. Weſtmorland county lies eaſtward of the laſt, between the two rivers of Raphanock and Patowmack.

Lancaſter county.

22. Lancaſter county lies on the north ſhore of the river Raphanock, near the mouth, being divided into two parts by the river Cartomain, and contains the two pariſhes of Chriſt-Church and St. Mary White-Chapel.

Northumberland county.

23. Northumberland county is bounded by the mouth of Patowmack river on the north, and by the bay of Cheſepeak on the eaſt, containing the two pariſhes of Fairfield-Bawtry, and Wicomoco.

Acomac county.

24 Acomac county lies in the peninſula on the oppoſite ſide of the bay of Cheſepeak, having part of Maryland on the north, the Atlantic Ocean on the eaſt and ſouth, and the bay of Cheſepeak on the weſt, in which is the pariſh of Acomac only; but contains, however, 200,923 acres of land, being the largeſt county of Virginia, but not ſo well peopled as thoſe on the weſt-ſide of the bay.

Northampton county.

25. Northampton county lies ſouth of that of Acomac, and forms the ſouth part of the peninſula on which the promontory call'd cape Charles is ſituated. This is a long narrow county lying between the ocean and the bay of Cheſepeak, in which is but one pariſh, call'd Hungers, containing 99,384 acres of land.

Numbers of people.

In all which counties, it is computed there may be at this day about an hundred thouſand ſouls, beſides ſervants and ſlaves, which are above three times that number.

Indian villages and buildings.

As to the towns of the Indians, I don't find they had any thing that deſerved the name of a town even in their greateſt proſperity, before the Engliſh came among them. They liv'd diſpers'd in ſmall villages of ten or twelve hutts a-piece (ſcarce any of them exceeding thirty ſuch houſes) either in the woods or on the banks of rivers, where they had little plantations of Indian corn and roots, ſcarce ſufficient to ſupply their reſpective families half the year, ſubſiſting the remainder of it by hunting, fiſhing, and fowling, and the fruits of the earth, which grow ſpontaneouſly in great plenty there.

The materials of their houſes were poles cover'd with bark or matts; the poles being let into the ground in a circular form were bent inward, and made the hutt of the ſhape of a bee-hive: The hearth or fire-place was in the middle of it, about which they lay upon matts, or the ſkins of beaſts. The palaces of their greateſt men were no better than ordinary barns, in which were ſeveral partitions made by matts, and might therefore be call'd ſo many rooms, in the furtheſt of which was placed their favourite idol, and ſometimes two or more, which they carry'd with them on every enterprize, and whenever they removed. The length of theſe barns (or palaces, as ſome call them) were from twelve to twenty-four yards in length, and uſually half as broad as they were long. Their furniture conſiſted of their ſkins and furrs, ſome earthen pots and pans; gourds and calabaſhes cut aſunder ſerv'd them for tubs, pails, cups, and diſhes.

The country was then very thinly inhabited, theſe ſmall villages being uſually ſeveral miles aſunder, as appears by the concurrent relations of the firſt adventurers, collected by Hackluit and Purchase.

Captain Smith, one of the firſt adventurers, ſays, the land is not populous within ſixty miles of James town. There are about ſeven thouſand people, but of men fit for war ſcarce two thouſand: ſeven or eight hundred are the moſt that have been ſeen together: ſo that there is little reaſon to charge the Engliſh with deſtroying ſuch numbers, as ſome have done either ignorantly or maliciouſly. The middle of America, between the tropicks, where the Spaniards fix'd themſelves, indeed was very populous, but towards the north and ſouth there were few inhabitants. Even at this day thoſe parts of Florida which have never been under the ſubjection of any Europeans, and conſequently have not been deſtroy'd by them, live in the like little villages, and are very thinly peopled.

CHAP. IV.

Of the perſons and habits of the Virginians, *their genius and temper, arts, manufactures, food, exerciſes, and diverſions, diſeaſes, and remedies.*

CHAP. IV.

Perſons of the Virginians.

As to the perſons of the Virginians, their ſtature is much the ſame with the people of Europe. In ſome provinces there are huge luſty fellows like the Germans, whom ſome people are pleas'd to call a gigantick race, and there are others as little as the French, but all in general well made, ſtrong and active. They are born tolerably white, but take a great deal of pains to darken their complexion by anointing themſelves with greaſe, and lying in the ſun. They alſo paint their faces, breaſts, and ſhoulders of various colours, but generally red. Their hair and eyes are black, the men cutting theirs in ſeveral forms; and perſons of condition have always a long lock behind. The women wear their hair long, ſometimes looſe and flowing, and at others twiſted and adorn'd with beads, ſhells, and feathers. The men ſuffer no hair on their chins, or any part of their bodies. Their features are good, eſpecially thoſe of the women, their limbs clean and ſtrait, and ſcarce ever any crooked or deform'd perſons among them. Their noblemen and chiefs wear a coronet adorn'd with feathers, and ſometimes a whole fowl ſtuff'd and dry'd on their heads, their ornaments being ear-rings of copper, chains of ſhells, feathers, and beads about their necks, and bracelets of the ſame about their arms.

Habits.

Their cloathing is only a piece of a ſkin about their waiſt that reaches down to their knees; and thoſe of condition have the ſkin of a deer or ſome other beaſt for a mantle, and another piece of ſkin ſerves them for ſhoes or buſkins.

Genius and Temper.

Their characters are given us variouſly by different travellers; which, I preſume, proceeds from the various circumſtances the Indians or our people were in. When they were friends with our people and entertain'd them hoſpitably; then they were all that was good, and when in a ſtate of hoſtility, no character was thought bad enough for them; but I think they all agree, that the Virginians did not want wit or natural parts.

Mr. Whitaker, chaplain to the colony of Virginia, obſerves, that the Indians are neither ſo ignorant or ſo innocent as ſome ſuppoſe them, but are a very underſtanding generation, quick of apprehenſion, ſudden in diſpatch, ſubtle in their dealings, exquiſite in their inventions, and induſtrious in their labour: That the world has not better markſmen with bow and arrow than the natives, who kill birds flying, fiſhes ſwimming, and wild beaſts running, and ſhoot their arrows with ſuch prodigious force, that one of them ſhot an Engliſhman quite through, and nail'd both his arms to his body with the ſame arrow. And he ſaw a boy of twelve or thirteen years of age kill a bird with an arrow.

In the character captain Smith gives of them, he ſays, they are ſtrong, nimble, and hardy; and when they are at war, or engaged in an enterprize, they will lie all night abroad in the hardeſt winters under a tree, making fires about them.

That they are inconſtant, crafty, quick of apprehenſion, and very ingenious, ſome bold, ſome timourous, but all of them cautious, circumſpect, and ſavage: That they are ſoon mov'd to anger, and ſo malicious that they ſeldom forget an injury.

However, the ſame captain Smith acknowledges the Engliſh were hoſpitably entertain'd when they landed firſt in Virginia, before the natives had any apprehenſion the Engliſh came to invade their country, and uſurp the dominion of it: And the reaſon he gives them an ill character in other places ſeems to be, becauſe they would not tamely ſuffer the yoke to be put about their necks by foreigners. But if we would judge rightly of theſe people, I think we ought to obſerve how they treated ours before any injury was offer'd them. And it appears that in the firſt voyage that was made thither by captain Philip Amidas, and captain Arthur Barlow, in the year 1584, they were here feaſted and careſs'd beyond their expectations. The politeſt and moſt hoſpitable people of Europe could not have uſed them better. They relate, that on their coming to an anchor near Cape Hateras, an Indian came on board, to whom they gave ſome wine and a diſh of meat; and that thereupon the Indian returning to his boat, caught them as many fiſh as it would hold, and brought them.

That the next day, the brother of one of their kings came to the ſea-ſide with forty or fifty attendants, and ſetting himſelf down over-againſt the ſhip, Mr. Amidas and ſeveral more of the Engliſh went on ſhore with their arms. Whereupon this Prince, without being terrify'd at their warlike appearance, invited them to ſet down on the matt his ſervants had provided, and made a great many ſigns to expreſs his joy at their arrival: After which they traffick'd with the natives for their deer-ſkins, furrs, and other peltry, giving them diſhes, kettles, hatchets, knives, and other implements in return for them.

That afterwards, the Prince brought his wife and ſeveral other women on board the ſhip, where the Engliſh entertain'd them in the beſt manner they could; and the lady, in return, invited them on ſhore, and gave them veniſon roaſt and boil'd, fiſh, melons, and other fruits; and the captain, who was one of the company that was thus feaſted by the natives, and wrote this relation, ſays, they found the people moſt gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treachery.

Arts and ſciences.

As to arts and ſciences they underſtood but little. They knew no more of letters than the reſt of the Americans, but appear'd very tractable and capable of learning any thing. There were no companies or ſocieties of mechanicks or artificers amongſt them, but every family did their own buſineſs. They all underſtood how to build their hutts, make their cloaths, ſow and plant their grounds; and the greateſt of them buſied themſelves in theſe works; their Princes were not exempted. King Powhaton, according to captain Smith, made his own robes, ſhoes, bows, arrows, pots, and pans, as well as the meaneſt of his ſubjects.

They did not know the uſe of iron, and the copper they had only ſerved them for ornaments. Their edg'd tools were ſharp ſtones, or ſhells, ſet in wood. They burnt down the timber they uſed, hollow'd the trunks of their great trees with fire, of which they made their canoes, or country boats, all of a piece, ſcraping them ſmooth with ſtones or ſhells, and ſome of theſe boats were thirty foot in length.

They were infinitely ſurpriſed at the effects of the loadſtone; the compaſs, and mathematical inſtruments, the burning-glaſs, the perſpective-guns, clocks and fire-works amazed theſe people; they looked upon them to be the works of the gods rather than men, or at leaſt that the men that made them muſt be taught by the gods; which gave them an uncommon veneration for the Engliſh when they arrived upon their coaſts, and made them ready to liſten to whatever was propoſed.

The Virginians reckoned their years by winters, and their months by the moon, and ſome ſay they reckoned every ſpring and autumn a new year, beginning it at either equinox, which was the occaſion that ſo many of their people were reckoned upwards of an hundred when the Engliſh came amongſt them. They kept their accounts with a notch'd ſtick, and reckoned from one to ten, and ſo to an hundred, as we do; but large ſums confounded them.

Their uſual food was hommony, which is Indian corn boiled to a pulp, and comes the neareſt buttered wheat of any thing I can compare it to: They eat alſo veniſon, fiſh, and fowl, great part of their time being employ'd in hunting and taking them; for they had no tame cattle or fowls. They both broil and ſtew their meat, and their fiſh they dreſs with the ſcales on, and without gutting them. They eat alſo peas and beans, and ſeveral other kinds of pulſe and roots, and among the reſt the caſſavi root, of which they make bread, as in other parts of America; 'tis ſaid they eat ſnakes alſo and other vermin, with as great a guſt as any other fleſh.

Diverſions

On rejoicing days they ſing and dance in a ring, taking hands, as other Americans do, and are much delighted with maſquerades; one of which captain Smith gives a particular relation of, being performed for his diverſion when he was in the court of King Powhaton.

They carried him into a field by a woodſide, and having ſeated him and his company on matts by a fire, thirty young women iſſued out of the woods perfectly naked, only ſome leaves to hide what all the world conceal, their bodies painted red, white, and black, and all manner of colours, and on their heads every one a pair of ſtags horns, having bows and arrows in their hands and quivers at their backs. Thus accoutred, theſe ladies took hands, danced and ſung about the fires and the ſtrangers, and having continued this exerciſe for an hour, they retired into the woods, where they invited the captain and his friends to as elegant a feaſt of fiſh, fleſh, fowl, and fruits, as Indians were capable of making, ſome of the nymphs ſinging and dancing, while others attended them; and if we may credit this traveller, making love to him with ſo much fondneſs, that he was perfectly ſurfeited with it.

Diſeaſes and remedies.

The natives are generally healthful and long-liv'd, ſubject to but few diſeaſes, and thoſe chiefly proceeding from colds, which they endeavour to get off by ſweating; but they are ſometimes ſwept away by epidemical diſtempers, occaſioned by unkindly ſeaſons; and the ſmall-pox proves as fatal to them as the plague. As to the Europeans that live amongſt them, fevers and agues, the gripes, and fluxes are the moſt common diſtempers here, as in the reſt of the Britiſh plantations, the occaſion whereof, and the methods of cure, ſir HANS SLOAN, who reſided ſome time in Jamaica, has given very particular accounts of, and from him I ſhall take the liberty to communicate them to my readers when I come to the deſcription of that iſland, and only obſerve here, that the bark is an infallible remedy for their fevers and agues.

CHAP. V.

Of the Virginian animals.

CHAP. V.

Animals.

THE deſcription Mr. CLAYTON has given us of theſe is ſo full that little can be added to it, and therefore I ſhall give it the reader in his own words, viz.

Horſes.

There were neither horſes, cows, ſheep, or ſwine in all the country before the coming of the Engliſh; but now there is good ſtore of horſes, though they are very negligent and careleſs about the breed. It is true, there is a law, that no horſe ſhall be kept ſtoned under a certain ſize, but it is not put in execution. Such as they are there is good ſtore, and as cheap or cheaper than in England, worth about five pounds a-piece. They never ſhoe them, or ſtable them in general; ſome few gentlemen may be ſomething more curious, but it is very rare; yet they ride pretty ſharply, a planter's pace is a proverb, which is a good hand-gallop. The Indians have not yet learned to ride, only the King of Pamonkie had got three or four horſes for his own ſaddle, and an attendant, which I think ſhould in no wiſe be indulged; for I look on the allowing them horſes much more dangerous than even guns and powder.

Kine.

Wild bulls and cows there are now in the uninhabited parts, but ſuch only as have been bred from ſome that have ſtrayed and become wild, and have propagated their kind, and are difficult to be ſhot, having a great acuteneſs of ſmelling. The common rate of a cow or calf is fifty ſhillings un-ſight un-ſeen; be ſhe big or little, they are never very curious to examine that point.

Sheep.

Their ſheep are of a midling ſize, pretty fine fleec'd in general, and moſt perſons begin to keep flocks, which hitherto has not been much regarded becauſe of the wolves that deſtroy them; ſo that a piece of mutton is a finer treat than either veniſon, wild-gooſe, duck, widgeon, or teal.

Elks.

Elks: I have heard of them beyond the inhabitants, and that there was one preſented to ſir WILLIAM BERKLY, which he kept ſome time; but they are not common.

Deer.

There are abundance of brave red deer; ſo that a good woodſman, as they call them, will keep his houſe with veniſon. The Indians make artificial ſorts of heads of boughs of trees, which they conſecrate to their gods, and theſe they put on to deceive the deer when they go a ſhooting or hunting as they call it, and by mimicking the feeding of the deer, they by degrees get within ſhot.

Hogs.

Swine they have now in great abundance. Shoats, or porkrels, are their general food, and I believe as good as any Weſtphalia; certainly far exceeding our Engliſh.

Raccoons.

Raccoon: I take it to be a ſpecies of a monkey, ſomething leſs than a fox, grey hair'd, its feet formed like a hand, and the face too has likewiſe the reſemblance of a monkey's, beſides, being kept tame, are very apiſh. They are very prejudicial to their poultry, as I remember.

Opoſſum.

An opoſſum: As big, and ſomething ſhaped like our badgers, but of a lighter dun colour, with a long tail ſomething like a rat, but as thick as a man's thumb. The ſkin of the female's belly is very large, and folded ſo as to meet like a purſe; wherein they ſecure their young whilſt little and tender, which will as naturally run thither as chickens to a hen; and in theſe falſe bellies they will carry their young. Theſe alſo feed on and devour corn.

Hares.

Hares: Many will have them to be a Hedge-rabbet, but I know not what they mean thereby. I take them to be a perfect ſpecies of Hares, becauſe I have ſeen Leverets there with the white ſpot in the head, which the old ones have not; ſo it is in England, and the down is perfectly of the colour of our hares; they ſit as our hares do, and make no holes and burrows in the earth: True, they are but about the bigneſs of an Engliſh rabbet, and run no faſter: They generally take into ſome hollow tree within a little ſpace; which then the people catch by gathering the withered leaves, and ſetting them on fire within the hollow of the tree, and ſmoaking them ſo till they fall down. Sometimes they take long briars and twiſt them in the down and ſkin, and ſo pull them forth.

Squirrels.

Their Squirrels are of three ſorts, the firſt is the great Fox-ſquirrel, much larger than the Engliſh, and are grey almoſt as a common rabbet. Theſe are very common. I have eaten of them at the beſt gentlemens tables, and they are as good as a rabbet. The ſecond is the Flying-ſquirrel, of a lighter dun colour, and much leſs than the Engliſh ſquirrel. The ſkin on either ſide of the belly extended is very large betwixt the fore-leg and hind-leg, which helps them much in their ſkipping from one bough to another, that they will leap farther than the Fox-ſquirrel, tho' much leſs; yet this is rather ſkipping than flying, tho' the diſtinction be well enough. The third is the Ground-ſquirrel. I never ſaw any of this ſort; only I have been told of them, and have had them deſcribed to me to be little bigger than a mouſe, finely ſpotted like a young fawn; by which I further apprehend, they are an abſolute ſort of dor-mouſe, only different in colour.

Muſk-rats.

Muſk-rats: In all things ſhaped like our water-rats, only ſomething larger, and are an abſolute ſpecies of water-rats, only having a curious muſky ſcent. I kept one for a certain time in a wooden cheſt: Two days before it died it was extraordinary odoriferous, and ſcented the room very much, but the day that it died, and a day after the ſcent was very ſmall; yet afterwards the ſkin was very fragrant; the ſtones alſo ſmelt very well. They build houſes as beavers do in the marſhes and ſwamps (as they call them) by the water-ſides, with two or three ways into them, and they are finely daub'd within. I pull'd one in pieces purpoſely to ſee the contrivance; there were three different lodging rooms, very neat, one higher than another, as I conceive purpoſely made for retirement when the water riſes higher than ordinary: They are conſiderably large, having much traſh and lumber to make their houſes withal. I ſuppoſe they live moſtly on fiſh.

Batts. Batts: As I remember, at leaſt two ſorts, one a large ſort with long ears, and particularly long ſtragling hairs: The other much like the Engliſh, ſomething larger I think; very common.

Lions. Tygers. I had never heard of any lions; they told me of a creature killed whilſt I was there in Glouceſter county, which I conceived to be a ſort of pard, or tyger.

Bears. Bears: There are but few in the inhabited part of Virginia. Towards Carolina there are many more. There was a ſmall bear killed within three miles of James city, the year that I left the country; but it was ſuppoſed to have ſtrayed and ſwam over James river. They are not very fierce. Their fleſh is commended for a very rich ſort of pork; but the lying ſide of the bear, as I remember, is but half the value of the other, weight for weight.

Wild cats. There are ſeveral ſorts of wild-cats, and poll-cats.

Beavers. Beavers build their houſes in like manner as the muſk-rats do, only much larger, and with pieces of timber make dams over rivers, as I ſuppoſe, either to preſerve their furrs dry in their paſſage over the rivers, or elſe to catch fiſh by ſtanding to watch them thereon, and jumping upon them on a ſudden. They are very ſubtle creatures, and if half the ſtories be true that I have been told, they have a very orderly government among them. In their works each knows his proper work and ſtation, and the overſeers beat thoſe young ones that loiter in their buſineſs; and will make them cry and work ſtoutly. Theſe will be further deſcribed in New England.

Wolves. Of wolves there are great ſtore; you may hear a company hunting in an evening, and yelping like a pack of beagles; but they are very cowardly, and dare ſcarce venture on any thing that faces them; yet if hungry, will pull down a good large ſheep that flies from them. I never heard that any of them adventured to ſet on man or child.

Foxes. Foxes: They are very much like ours, only their furr is much more griſled or grey; neither do I remember ever to have ſeen any fox-holes; but of this I am not poſitive.

Dogs. Every houſe keeps three or four mungrel dogs to deſtroy vermin, ſuch as wolves, foxes, raccoons, opoſſums, &c. But they never hunt with hounds; I ſuppoſe becauſe there are ſo many branches of rivers that they cannot follow them. Neither do they keep grey-hounds, becauſe they ſay, that they are ſubject to break their necks by running againſt trees, and any cur will ſerve to run their hares into a hollow tree, where after the aforeſaid manner, they catch them.

Tortoiſes. They have great ſtore both of land and water-tortoiſes, but they are very ſmall, I think. I never ſaw any in that country to exceed a foot in length. There is alſo another ſort of land-tortoiſe, different from the common ſort, with a higher-ridged back, and ſpeckled with red ſort of ſpots.

Frogs. Frogs they have of ſeveral ſorts; one of a prodigious largeneſs, eight or ten times as big as any in England; and it makes a ſtrange noiſe, ſomething like the bellowing of a bull, or betwixt that and the hollow ſounding noiſe that the Engliſh bittern makes.

Toads. Another very common ſort which they call toads, becauſe black; but I think differs nothing from our black frog. They have toads alſo, like ours in England, and another ſmall ſort of frog, which makes a noiſe like pack-horſe bells all the ſpring long. Another little green frog that will leap prodigiouſly, which they therefore call the flying-frog. There is ſtill heard in the woods a ſhrill ſort of noiſe, much like that which our ſhrew-mouſe makes, but much ſharper. I could never learn the certainty what it was that made this noiſe. It is generally in a tree, and ſome have aſſerted to me that it was made by the green frog, yet I ſcarcely believe it. Mr. BANISTER aſſured me that it was made by a ſort of Scarabæus-beetle, that is, I think, full as big as the humming-bird; but neither do I believe that, and for this reaſon, becauſe I never ſaw that beetle ſo low as the ſalts, but always as high up in the country as the freſhes, and that noiſe is frequent all over the country.

Lizards. Lizards are grey and very common here; the ſnakes feed much on them, for I have taken ſeveral of them out of the bellies of ſnakes.

Snakes. Rattle-ſnakes. Snakes: About ſeven ſeveral ſorts. The rattle-ſnake, ſo called from certain rattles at the end of the tail. Theſe rattles ſeem like ſo many periſhed joints, being a dry huſk over certain joints; and the common opinion is, that there are as many rattles or joints as the ſnake is years old. I killed four or five, and they had eleven, twelve, or thirteen joints each; and the young ones have no rattles of a year or two old, but they may be known notwithſtanding, being very regularly diced or checquered black and grey on the backs. The old ones ſhake and ſhiver theſe rattles with wonderful nimbleneſs when they are in any ways diſturbed. Their bite is very deadly, yet not always of the ſame force, but more or leſs mortal according as the ſnake is in force or vigour; and therefore in June or July much worſe, and more mortal than in March and April. This ſnake is a very majeſtick ſort of creature, and will ſcarce meddle with any thing unleſs provoked; but if any thing offend it, it makes directly at them. I was told a pleaſant ſtory of an old gentleman, Colonel CLEYBORN, as I remember, was his name, the ſame that ſent the rattle-ſnakes to the Royal-ſociety ſome years ſince: He had an odd fancy of keeping ſome of the ſnakes always in barrels in the houſe; and one time an Indian pretending to charm them ſo as to take them by the neck in his hand without biting of him, the old gentleman cauſed a rattle-ſnake to be brought forth; the Indian began his charm with a little wand, whiſking it round and round the rattle-ſnakes head, bringing it by degrees nigher and nigher, and at length flung the ſwitch away, and whiſked his hand about in like manner, bringing his hand ſtill nigher and nigher by taking leſs circles, when the old gentleman immediately hit the ſnake with his crutch, and the ſnake ſnap'd the Indian by the hand, and bit him very ſharply betwixt the fingers, which put his charm to an end, and he roared out, but ſtretched his arm out as high as he could, calling for a ſtring, wherewith he bound his arm as hard as poſſibly he could, and clapp'd a hot burning coal thereon and ſinged it ſtoutly, whereby he was cured, but look'd pale a long while after. And I believe this truly one of the beſt ways in the world of curing the bite either of a viper or mad dog. I was with the honourable 'ſquire BOYLE, when he made certain experiments of curing the bite of vipers with certain Eaſt-India ſnake-ſtones, that were ſent him by King James the ſecond, the Queen, and ſome of the nobility, purpoſely to have him try their virtue and efficacy: For that end he got ſome briſk vipers, and made them bite the thighs of certain pullets, and the breaſts of others. He apply'd nothing to one of the pullets, and it died within three minutes and a half, as I remember; but I think they all recovered to which he apply'd the ſnake-ſtones, tho' they turn'd wonderful pale, their combs, &c. immediately, and they became extreme ſick, and purg'd within half an hour, and the next morning all their fleſh was turn'd green to a wonder; nevertheleſs they recovered by degrees. The manner of the application was only by laying on the ſtone, and by two croſs bits of a very ſticking diachylum plaiſter, binding it on; which he let not lie on paſt an hour or two, and I think not ſo long; then took the ſtone off and put it into milk for ſome time; for ſome ſtones were of much ſtonger virtue than others. I propoſed a piece of unquench'd lime-ſtone to be apply'd, to ſee whether it might not prove as powerful, but know not whether ever it was try'd. But here one telling Mr. Boyle the ſtory of this Indian, he approv'd the method of cure, and ſaid, an actual cautery was the moſt certain cure. The poiſon both of a viper and mad-dog (as I conceive) kill by thickning of the blood, after the manner that runnet congeals milk when they make cheeſe. Vipers, and all the viperous brood, as rattle-ſnakes, &c. that are deadly, have, I believe, their poiſonous teeth fiſtulous, for ſo I have obſerv'd the vipers teeth are, and the rattle-ſnakes very remarkably; and therefore they kill ſo very ſpeedily by injecting the poiſon through theſe fiſtulous teeth into the very maſs of blood; but the bite of mad dogs is oft of long continuance before it get into and corrupt the maſs of blood, for that it ſticks only to the out-ſides of the teeth; and therefore when they bite through any thickneſs of cloaths, it rarely proves mortal, the cloaths wiping the poiſon off before it comes to the fleſh.

Colonel Spencer, the ſecretary of ſtate in Virginia, a very ingenious gentleman, told me that his ſervant brought him word once that a ſow having farrow'd, a rattle-ſnake was got into the den and had kill'd the pigs. The colonel went to ſee the ſnake, which they ſaid was ſtill coyl'd in the den; there followed him two or three mungrel curs, and they ſet one of the dogs at the ſnake, which was too quick for the dog and ſnapt him by the noſe; whereupon he ſet a howling, and run immediately into the adjacent river and died very ſhortly after. Another of the dogs upon the like attempt was bit by the ſnake alſo, and fell a howling, and frothing, and tumbling; but he not dying ſo ſoon as the other dog did, they fetch'd ſome of the herb which they call dittany, as having a great traditionary virtue for the cure of poiſons. They pounded it, and adding a little water expreſſed the juice, and gave the dog frequently thereof, nevertheleſs he died within a day or two. The howlings of the dogs he ſuppoſed gave notice to the ſow, and made her come furiouſly briſtling, and run immediately into her den, but being likewiſe bit by the ſnake, ſhe ſet up a miſerable ſqueak, and ran alſo into the river and there died.

A gentlewoman, who was a notable female doctreſs, told me, that a neighbour having been bit by a rattle-ſnake, ſwell'd exceſſively. Some days afterwards ſhe was ſent for, who found him ſwell'd beyond what ſhe thought it had been poſſible for the ſkin to contain, and very thirſty. She gave him oriental Bezoar, ſhav'd with a ſtrong decoction of the aforeſaid dittany, whereby ſhe recover'd the perſon. To the beſt of my remembrance it was he that told me. Aſking him afterwards what he felt when the ſnake firſt bit him, he ſaid it ſeem'd as if a flaſh of fire had run through his veins.

The blowing-ſnake.

Beſides the rattle-ſnake, there is the blowing-ſnake, an abſolute ſpecies of a viper, but larger than any that I have ſeen in Europe. It is ſo call'd becauſe it ſeems to blow and ſpread its head, and ſwell very much before it bites, which is very deadly. It is remarkable there is none of their ſnakes which make any of that hiſſing noiſe that ours in England make, but only ſhoot out their tongues, ſhaking them as ours do, without any noiſe at all. This is a ſhort thick ſort of a ſnake.

The red-ſnake.

There is another ſort of deadly ſnake, call'd the red-ſnake. I once narrowly eſcaped treading on the back of one of them. They are of an ugly dark brown colour, inclining to red; their bellies are of a more duſky white, with a large ſtreak of vermilion red on either ſide. This too is of the viper kind, but is not ſo ſhort, and its tail is more taper and ſmall.

The horn-ſnake.

The horn-ſnake is, as they ſay, another ſort of deadly ſnake. I never ſaw any of them unleſs once, ſhortly after my arrival in that country. I could not ſee the horn, which they ſay it has in its front, wherewith it ſtrikes, and if it wounds is as deadly as the rattle-ſnake's bite. This, I think, may not improperly be refer'd to the dart-ſnakes.

The black-ſnake.

The black-ſnake, I think, is the largeſt of all others, but I am ſure the moſt common. I have kill'd ſeveral of them full ſix foot long. Their bite is not deem'd mortal, but it ſwells and turns to a running ſore; they feed upon lizards, mice, rats, frogs, and toads, which I have taken out of their bellies. I was once a ſimpling in the woods on a fair ſun-ſhine day, when I ſaw a ſnake crawling on a tree that was fallen, and licking with its forked tongue as it mov'd. I ſtood ſtill to obſerve it, and ſaw it lick up ſmall inſects and flies with wonderful nimbleneſs, catching them betwixt the forks of its tongue.

The corn-ſnake.

The corn-ſnake is moſt like the rattle-ſnake of all others in colour; but the checquers are not ſo regular, neither has it any rattles. They are moſt frequent in the corn-fields, and thence I ſuppoſe ſo call'd. The bite is not ſo venomous as the black-ſnake's.

The water-ſnake.

The water-ſnake is a ſmall ſnake. I never ſaw any of them above a yard long, though I have ſeen ſometimes forty or fifty at once. They are of an ugly dark blackiſh colour. They ſay they are the leaſt venomous of any.

Sir Hans Sloan's remarks on ſnakes.

To this account of Mr. Clayton's, if I add Sir Hans Sloan's remarks on the ſame animals, and the inſtances he produces of the effects their bite has upon other creatures, I preſume it will not be unacceptable.

The various relations, ſays that gentleman, not only of curious and credible authors who have given us accounts of Virginia, Carolina, and the neighbouring countries, but alſo the teſtimonies of ſeveral men of integrity by word of mouth concerning what they call charms, enchantments, or faſcinations by ſnakes, have often ſeem'd to me greatly ſurpriſing, without my being able to ſatisfy myſelf of the true cauſe of ſuch appearances.

Theſe opinions are the greateſt ſupport of a common notion, that ſeveral chronical waſting diſeaſes, and ſuch diſorders of the nerves as are not eaſily accounted for, not only in men but in cattle, are believed to be the effects of an evil eye, of old malicious women, &c. thought to be witches and ſorcerers, or aſſiſted by the devil.

In particular, as to Rattle-ſnakes, they all agree in their relations, that thoſe ſnakes keeping their eyes fix'd on any ſmall animal, as a ſquirrel, bird, or ſuch like, tho' ſitting upon the branch of a tree of a conſiderable height, ſhall, by ſuch ſtedfaſt or earneſt looking, make or cauſe it to fall dead into their mouths. This is a thing ſo well atteſted, that they think there is no reaſon to queſtion their belief of it.

Mr. **Read**, an eminent merchant in the city of London, had a rattle-ſnake ſent him alive in a box with ſome gravel from Virginia, which he did me the favour to give me. It had liv'd three months before without any ſuſtenance, and had in that time parted with its outer coat, or Exuviæ, which was found amongſt the gravel. Mr. **Ranby**, a very ingenious ſurgeon and anatomiſt, undertook the lodging it; and captain **Hall**, a very underſtanding and obſervant perſon, who had liv'd many years in that country in great repute, ventured to take the ſnake out of the box, notwithſtanding that the poiſon from the bite thereof is almoſt preſent death; for he gave us an inſtance of a perſon bitten, who was found dead at the return of a meſſenger going to the next houſe to fetch a remedy or antidote, though he was not gone above half an hour. Nay, ſo certain are the mortal effects of this poiſon, that ſometimes the waiting till an iron can be heated in order to burn the wound, is ſaid to have proved fatal. This gentleman told me, he thought the ſecureſt way was immediately to cut out the part where the wound was made; for he had ſeen ſeveral who had carry'd theſe hollow ſcars about them, as marks of the narrow eſcape they had had, and never felt any inconvenience afterwards.

Though providence hath produc'd a creature ſo terrible to other animals, yet it ſeems to have provided it with the rattle at its tail, that the noiſe thereof might give warning to them to get out of its way.

I deſired an experiment ſhould be try'd before ſeveral phyſicians, which was accordingly done in the garden belonging to their college in London. The captain, by keeping the head faſt with a forked ſtick, and making a nooſe, which he put about the tail of the ſnake ty'd it faſt to the end of another ſtick, wherewith he took him out of the box and laid him upon the graſs-plat; then a dog being made to tread upon him, he bit the dog, who thereupon howled very bitterly, and went away ſome few yards diſtant from the ſnake, but in about one minute of time he grew paralytick in the hinder legs, after the manner of dogs who have the Aorta Deſcendens ty'd. He died in leſs than three minutes time, as is related by Mr. **Ranby** in an account of this experiment in Philoſ. Tranſ. N°. 401. p. 377. and by captain **Hall**, N°. 399. p. 309.

In my opinion, the whole myſtery of their enchanting or charming any creature is chiefly this, that when ſuch animals as are their proper prey, namely, ſmall quadrupedes, or birds, &c. are ſurpris'd by them, they bite them, and the poiſon allows them time to run a ſmall way, as our dog did, or perhaps a bird to fly up into the next tree, where the ſnakes watch them with great earneſtneſs till they fall down, or are perfectly dead, when having lick'd them over with their ſpawl or ſpittle, they ſwallow them down, as the following accounts relate.

Colonel Beverley's account of the rattle-ſnake.

Some people in England (ſays colonel **Beverley**, in his hiſtory of Virginia, edit 2. p. 260. Lond. 1722, 8vo.) are ſtartled at the very name of the rattle-ſnake, and fancy every corner of that province ſo much peſter'd with them that a man goes in conſtant danger of his life that walks abroad in the woods; but this is as groſs a miſtake as moſt of the other ill reports of this country; for in the firſt place, this ſnake is very rarely ſeen, and when that happens it never does the leaſt miſchief unleſs you offer to diſturb it, and thereby provoke it to bite in its own defence: But it never fails to give you fair warning by making a noiſe with its rattle, which may be heard at a convenient diſtance. For my own part, I have travelled the country as much as any man in it of my age, by night and by day, above the inhabitants as well as among them, and yet before the firſt impreſſion of this book I had never ſeen a rattle-ſnake alive and at liberty in all my life. I had ſeen them indeed after they had been kill'd or pent up in boxes to be ſent to England. The bite of this viper, without ſome immediate application, is certainly death; but remedies are ſo well known that none of their ſervants are ignorant of them. I never knew any kill'd by theſe or any other of their ſnakes, although I had a general knowledge all over the country, and had been in every part of it. They have ſeveral other ſnakes which are ſeen more frequently, and have very little or no hurt in them, viz. ſuch as they call black-ſnakes, water-ſnakes, and corn-ſnakes. The black-viper-ſnake, and the copper-belly'd-ſnake, are ſaid to be as venomous as the rattle-ſnake, but they are ſeldom ſeen. Theſe three poiſonous ſnakes bring forth their young alive, whereas the other three ſorts lay eggs, which are hatch'd afterwards, and that is the diſtinction they make, eſteeming only thoſe to be venomous which are viviparous. They have likewiſe the horn-ſnake, ſo called from a ſharp horn it carries in its tail, with which it aſſaults any thing that offends it with that force, that, as it is ſaid, it will ſtrike its tail into the butt end of a muſket, from whence it is not able to diſengage itſelf.

All ſorts of ſnakes will charm both birds and ſquirrels; and the Indians pretend to charm them, (the ſnakes.) Several perſons have ſeen ſquirrels run down a tree directly into a ſnake's mouth. They have likewiſe ſeen birds fluttering up and down, and chattering at theſe ſnakes, till at laſt they have dropped down juſt before them.

In the end of May, 1715, ſtopping at an orchard by the road-ſide to get ſome cherries, being three of us in company, we were entertained with the whole proceſs of a charm between a rattle-ſnake and a hare, the hare being better than half grown. It happened thus: One of the company, in his ſearch for the beſt cherries, eſpied the hare ſitting, and although he went cloſe by her, ſhe did not move, till he (not ſuſpecting the occaſion of her gentleneſs) gave her a laſh with his whip; this made her run about ten foot, and there ſit down again. The gentleman not finding the cherries ripe, immediately returned the ſame way, and near the place where he ſtruck the hare, he eſpied a rattle-ſnake. Still, not ſuſpecting the charm, he goes back about twenty yards to a hedge to get a ſtick to kill the ſnake, and at his return found the ſnake removed, and coiled in the ſame place from whence he had moved the hare. This put him into immediate thoughts of looking for the hare again, and ſoon eſpied her about ten foot off the ſnake, in the ſame place to which ſhe had ſtarted when he whipped her. She was now lying down, but would ſometimes raiſe herſelf on her fore-feet, ſtruggling as it were for life, or to get away; but could never raiſe her hinder parts from the ground, and then would fall flat on her ſide again, panting vehemently. In this condition the hare and ſnake were when he called me, and tho' we were all three come up within fifteen foot of the ſnake, to have a full view of the whole, he took no notice at all of us, nor ſo much as gave a glance towards us. There we ſtood at leaſt half an hour, the ſnake not altering a jot, but the hare often ſtruggling, and falling on its ſide again, till at laſt the hare lay ſtill, as dead, for ſome time; then the ſnake moved out of his coil, and ſlid gently and ſmoothly towards the hare, his colours at that inſtant being ten times more glorious and ſhining than at other times: As the ſnake moved along, the hare happened to fetch another ſtruggle, upon which the ſnake made a ſtop, lying at his length till the hare lay quiet again for a ſhort ſpace, and then he advanced again till he came up to the hinder parts of the hare, which in all this operation had been towards the ſnake; there he made a ſurvey all over the hare, raiſing part of his body above it, then turned off, and went to the head and noſe of the hare; after that to the ears, took the ears in his mouth, one after the other, working each apart in his mouth, as a man does a wafer to moiſten it; then returned to the noſe again, and took the face into his mouth, ſtraining and gathering his lips ſometimes by one ſide of his mouth, ſometimes by the other. At the ſhoulders he was a long time puzzled, often hauling and ſtretching the hare out at length, and ſtraining forward firſt one ſide of his mouth, then the other, till at laſt he got the whole body into his throat; then we went to him, and taking the twiſt-band off from my hat, I made a nooſe, and put it about his neck: this made him at length very furious, but we having ſecured him, put him into one end of a wallet, and carried him on horſeback five miles to Mr. JOHN BAYLOR's houſe, where we lodged that night, with a deſign to have ſent him to Dr. COCK at Williamſburgh; but Mr. BAYLOR was ſo careful of his ſlaves, that he would not let him be put into his boat, for fear he ſhould get looſe and miſchief them; therefore the next morning we killed him, and took the hare out of his belly. The head of the hare began to be digeſted, and the hair falling off, having lain about eighteen hours in the Snake's belly.

I thought this account of ſuch a curioſity would be acceptable, and the rather becauſe, tho' I live in a country where ſuch things are ſaid frequently to happen, yet I never could have any ſatisfactory account of a charm, tho' I have met with ſeveral perſons who have pretended to have ſeen them. Some alſo pretend that thoſe ſort of ſnakes influence children, and even men and women by their charms. But this that I have related of my own view, I aver (for the ſatisfaction of the Learned) to be punctually true, without enlarging or wavering in any reſpect, upon the faith of a Chriſtian.

In my youth I was a bear-hunting in the woods above the inhabitants, and having ſtraggled from my companions, I was entertained at my return with the relation of a pleaſant rencounter between a dog and a rattle-ſnake about a ſquirrel. The ſnake had got the head and ſhoulders of the ſquirrel into his mouth, which being ſomething too large for his throat, it took him up ſome time to moiſten the furr of the ſquirrel with his ſpawl to make it ſlip down. The dog took this advantage, ſeized the hinder parts of the ſquirrel, and tugged with all his might. The ſnake on the other-ſide would not let go his hold for a long time, till at laſt fearing he might be bruiſed by the dog's running away with him, he gave up his prey to the dog. The dog eat the ſquirrel, and felt no harm.

Another curioſity concerning this viper, which I never met with in print, I will alſo relate from my own obſervation.

Some time after my obſervation of the charm, my waiting-boy being ſent abroad on an errand, alſo took upon himſelf to bring home a rattle-ſnake in a nooſe. I cut off the head of this Snake, leaving about an inch of the neck with it. This I laid upon the head of a tobacco hogſhead (one STEPHEN LANKFORD, a carpenter, now alive, being with me.) Now you muſt note, that theſe ſnakes have but two teeth, by which they convey their poiſon, and they are placed in the upper jaw, pretty forward in the mouth, one on each ſide. Theſe teeth are hollow and crooked, like a cock's ſpur; they are alſo looſe or ſpringing in the mouth, and not faſtened in the jaw bone, as all the other teeth are; the hollow has a vent alſo through, by a ſmall hole, a little below the point of the teeth. Theſe two teeth are kept lying down along the jaw, or ſhut like a ſpring-knife, and don't ſhrink up, as the talons of a cat or panther. They have alſo over them a looſe thin film or ſkin of a fleſh-colour, which riſes over them when they are raiſed; which I take to be only at the will of the ſnake to do injury. This ſkin does not break by the riſing of the tooth only, but keeps whole till the bite is given, and then is pierced by the tooth, by which the poiſon is let out. The head being laid upon the hogſhead, I took two little twigs, or ſplinters of ſticks, and having turned the head upon its crown, opened the mouth, and lifted up the fang or ſpringing tooth on one ſide ſeveral times; in doing of which I at laſt broke the ſkin: the head gave a ſudden champ with its mouth breaking from my ſticks, in which I obſerved that the poiſon ran down in a lump like oil round the root of the tooth; then I turned the other ſide of the head, and reſolved to be more careful to keep the mouth open on the like occaſion, and obſerve more narrowly the conſequence; for it is to be obſerved, that tho' the heads of ſnakes, terrapins (a ſort of tortoiſe) and ſuch like vermine be cut off, yet the body will not die in a long time after; the general ſaying is, till the ſun ſets. After opening the mouth on the other ſide, and lifting up that fang alſo ſeveral times, he endeavoured to give another bite or champ, but I kept his mouth open, and the tooth pierced the film, and emitted a ſtream like one full of blood in blood-letting, and caſt ſome drops upon the ſleeve of the carpenter's ſhirt, who had no waiſtcoat on. I adviſed him to put off his ſhirt, but he would not, and received no harm; and tho' nothing could then be ſeen

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of it upon the ſhirt, yet in waſhing there appeared five green ſpecks, which every waſhing appeared plainer and plainer, and laſted as long as the ſhirt did, which the carpenter told me was about three years after. The head we threw afterwards down upon the ground, and a ſow came and eat it before our faces, and received no harm. Now I believe had this poiſon lighted upon any place of the carpenter's ſkin that was ſcratched or hurt, it might have poiſoned him. I take the poiſon to reſt in a ſmall bag or receptacle in the hollow at the root of theſe teeth; but I never had the opportunity afterwards to make a further diſcovery of that.

I will likewiſe give you a ſtory of the violent effects of this ſort of poiſon, becauſe I depend on the truth of it, having it from an acquaintance of mine of good credit, one Colonel James Taylor of Metapony, ſtill alive. He being with others in the woods a ſurveying, juſt as they were ſtanding to light their pipes, they found a rattle-ſnake, and cut off his head and about three inches of the body; then with a green ſtick which he had in his hand, about a foot and an half long, the bark being newly peeled off, urged and provoked the head, till it bit the ſtick in fury ſeveral times. Upon this the Colonel obſerved ſmall green ſtreaks to riſe up along the ſtick towards his hand; he threw the ſtick upon the ground, and in a quarter of an hour the ſtick of its own accord ſplit into ſeveral pieces, and fell aſunder from end to end. This account I had from him again at the writing hereof. Beverley's hiſtory of Virginia, p. 260 to 267.

Father Labat likewiſe tells us (in his Nouveau voyage aux iſles de l'Amerique, tom. IV. p. 96 and 106, edit. Paris, 1722, in 8vo.) that Serpents when they bite their prey, retire to avoid being hurt by them, and when dead, cover them with their ſpittle, extend their feet along their ſides and tails, if quadrupedes, and then ſwallow them.

A certain viper-catcher who ſuffered himſelf to be bitten before forty gentlemen of the univerſity of Cambridge laſt month (July, 1737) for the ſlender reward of twelvepence he received of every one of the ſpectators, having provoked a viper to faſten upon his wriſt, ſaid he felt at that inſtant a moſt exquiſite pain as high as his elbow, and was in no ſmall conſternation, tho' he had been bitten a great many times before, both accidentally in catching vipers, and deſignedly for a reward, and particularly before ſome gentlemen of the Royal-ſociety.

He kept ſtroaking down his arm to the wriſt from the time he was wounded, but applied nothing to it except common ſallad-oil, and did not do this till half an hour after he was bitten, and his arm was pretty much ſwelled, and the next day he appeared perfectly well.

Give me leave to add, in relation to the horn-ſnake, that I ſaw a letter lately which Mr. Wilkinson, fellow of Emmanuel-college, received from his brother, then at Virginia, who aſſured him that trees had been killed by this ſnake's ſtriking his horn into them; which does not ſeem more improbable than the ſplitting of a ſtick that has been penetrated by the tooth of a rattle-ſnake; but as to the buſineſs of charming, I have very little faith in it, unleſs, as I have hinted in treating of the Eaſt-India ſerpents, that birds may be delighted with the ſparkling eyes of ſnakes, as they are with the fowler's glaſs, or as a moth is with the flame of a candle, and be taken in flying to the ſnake to ſatisfy their curioſity.

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Fowls and Birds.

Eagles.

As to the feathered race, ſays Mr. Clayton, already cited, there are three ſorts of eagles; the largeſt I take to be that they call the grey eagle, being much of the colour of our kite or glead.

The ſecond is the bald eagle, for the body and part of the neck being of a dark brown, the upper part of the neck or head is covered with a white ſort of down; whereby it looks very bald, whence it is ſo named.

The third is the black-eagle, reſembling moſt the Engliſh-eagle. They build their neſts generally at the top of ſome old tree, naked of boughs, and nigh the river-ſide, and the people fell the tree generally when they take the young. They are moſt frequently ſitting on ſome tall tree by the river-ſide, whence they may have a proſpect up and down the river, as I ſuppoſe to obſerve the fiſhing-hawks; for when they ſee the fiſhing-hawk has ſtruck a fiſh, immediately they take wing, and it is ſometimes very pleaſant to behold the flight; for when the fiſhing-hawk perceives herſelf purſued, ſhe will ſcream and make a terrible noiſe, till at length ſhe lets fall the fiſh to make her own eſcape, which the eagle frequently catches before it reach the earth or water. Theſe eagles kill young lambs, pigs, &c.

Fiſhing-hawk.

The fiſhing-hawk is an abſolute ſpecies of a king's-fiſher, but full as large or larger than our jay, much of the colour and ſhape of a king's-fiſher, tho' not altogether ſo curiouſly feathered. It has a large crop as I remember. There is a little king's-fiſher, much the ſame in every reſpect with ours.

If I much miſtake not, I have ſeen both goſs-hawk, and faulcon; beſides, there are ſeveral ſorts of the leſſer kind of ſtannels.

There is likewiſe the kite and the ringtale.

I never heard the cuckow there to my remembrance.

Owls.

There is both a brown owl and white owl, much about as large as a gooſe; which often kills their hens and poultry in the night. The white owl is a very delicate feathered bird; all the feathers upon her breaſt and back being ſnow-white and tipped with a punctal of jet-black; beſides, there is a barn-owl, much like ours, and a little ſort of ſcreech-owl.

Ravens.

There is both the raven and the carrion-crow. I do not remember I ſaw any rooks there.

The night-raven, which ſome call the Virginian batt, is about the bigneſs of a cuckow, feathered like them, but very ſhort legs, not diſcernible when it flies, which is only in the evening, ſcudding like our night-raven.

Buſtard.

There is a great ſort of ravenous bird that feeds upon carrion, as big very nigh as an eagle, which they call a turkey-buſtard; its feathers are of a duſkiſh black; it has red gills, reſembling thoſe of a turkey, whence it has its name. It is nothing of the ſame ſort of bird with our Engliſh turkey-buſtard, but is rather a ſpecies of the kites, for it will hover on the wing ſomething like them, and is carnivorous. The fat thereof, diſſolved into an oil, is recommended mightily againſt old aches and Sciatica pains.

I think there are no jackdaws, nor any magpies. They there prize a magpy as much as we do their red-bird.

The

Jay.

The Pica Glandaria, or Jay, is much leſs than our Engliſh Jay, and of another colour; for it is all blue where ours is brown, the wings marbled as curiouſly as ours are; it has both the ſame cry and ſudden jetting motion.

Wood-peckers.

There are great variety and curioſity in the Wood-peckers. There is one as big as our Magpye, with blackiſh brown feathers, and a large ſcarlet tuft on the top of the head. There are four or five ſorts of Wood-peckers more variegated with green, yellow, and red heads, others ſpotted black and white, moſt lovely to behold.

Turkies.

There are wild Turkies extreme large: they talk of Turkies that have been killed which have weighed betwixt fifty and ſixty weight. The largeſt that ever I ſaw weighed ſomething better than thirty-eight pound. They have very long legs, and will run prodigiouſly faſt. I remember not that ever I ſaw any of them on the wing except it were once. Their feathers are of a blackiſh ſhining colour, that look in the ſun-ſhine like a Dove's neck.

Poultry without rumps.

Hens and Cocks are for the moſt part without tails and rumps; and as ſome have aſſured me, our Engliſh Hens, after ſome time being kept there, have their rumps rot off; which I am the apter to believe, being all their Hens are certainly of an Engliſh breed. I am ſorry I made no anatomical obſervations thereof, and remarks about the uſe of the rumps in birds, which at preſent I take to be a couple of Glands, containing a ſort of juice for the varniſhing the feathers, having obſerved all birds have much recourſe with their bills to the rumps when they dreſs their plumes, whereby they ſcud through the air more nimbly in their flight.

Partridges.

Partridges there are much ſmaller than ours, and reſort in covies as ours do. Their fleſh is very white, and much excels ours in my mind; ſed de guſtibus non eſt diſputandum.

Doves.

Their Turtle-doves are of a duſkiſh blue colour, much leſs than our common Pigeon; the whole train is longer much than the tails of our Pigeons, the middle feather being the longeſt. There is the ſtrangeſt ſtory of a vaſt number of theſe Pigeons that came in a flock, a few years before I came thither; they ſay they came through New-England, New-York, and Virginia, and were ſo prodigious in number as to darken the ſky for ſeveral hours in the place over which they flew, and brake maſſive boughs there they light, and many like things which I have had aſſerted to me by many eye-witneſſes of credit, that to me it was without doubt, the relaters being very ſober perſons, and all agreeing in a ſtory. Nothing of the like ever happened ſince, nor did I ever ſee paſt ten in a flock together, that I remember. I am not fond of ſuch ſtories, and had ſuppreſſed the relating of it, but that I have heard the ſame from very many.

Thruſh.

The Thruſh and Fieldfare are much like ours, and are only ſeen in winter there, according as they are here.

Mocking-birds.

Their Mocking-birds may be compared to our Singing-thruſhes, being much of the ſame bigneſs. There are two ſorts, the grey and the red; the grey has feathers much of the colour of our grey Plovers, with white in the wings like a Magpye. This has the much ſofter note, and will imitate in its ſinging the notes of all birds that it hears, and is accounted much the fineſt ſinging bird in the world. This Mocking-bird, having its name from mimicking all other birds in ſinging, is a wonderful mettled bird, bold and briſk, and yet ſeems to be of a very tender conſtitution, neither ſinging in winter, nor in the midſt of ſummer; and with much difficulty are any of them brought to live in England.

The red Mocking-brid is of a duſkiſh red, or rather brown; it ſings very well; but has not ſo ſoft a note as the grey Mocking-bird.

Nightingale.

Of the Virginia Nightingale, or Red-bird, there are two ſorts; the cocks of both ſorts are of a pure ſcarlet, the hens of a duſkiſh red. I diſtinguiſh them into two ſorts; for the one has a tufted cops on the head, the other is ſmooth feathered. The boys catch them, and ſell them to the merchants for about ſix-pence a piece, by whom they are brought to England. They are ſomething leſs than a Thruſh.

Starling.

There is a bird very injurious to corn they call a Blackbird. I look on it as a ſort of Starling, for they cry ſomething like them; but do not ſing, are much about the ſame bigneſs, have fleſh blackiſh like theirs. They reſort in great flocks together. They are as black as a Crow all over to their bills, only ſome of them have ſcarlet feathers in the pinions of their wings. Query, whether a diſtinct ſpecies.

Larks.

They have a Lark nothing differing from our common Lark. They have another bird which they call a Lark, that is much larger, as big as a Starling; it has a ſoft note, feeds on the ground, and, as I remember, has the ſpecifical character of a long heel. It is more inclined to yellow, and has a large half moon on its breaſt of yellow. If it have not a long heel, query, whether a ſpecies of the Yellow-hammer.

Martin.

They have a Martin, very like, only larger than ours, that builds after the ſame manner. The honourable Colonel **Bacon** has remarked for ſeveral years, that they conſtantly come thither upon the 10th of March; one or two of them appearing before, being ſeen hovering in the air for a day or two, then go away, and, as he ſuppoſed, returned with the great flock. The Colonel delighted much in this bird, and made holes like Pigeon holes at the end of his houſe with boards purpoſely for them.

Swallow.

Their Swallow differs but little from ours.

Blue-bird.

They have a bird called a Blue-bird, of a curious azure colour, about the bigneſs of a Chafinch.

Finches.

There are other ſorts of Finches, variegated with orange and yellow feathers, very beautiful.

Sparrows.

Sparrows, not much different from the Engliſh, but build not in the eaves of houſes, that ever I ſaw.

Snow-bird

The Snow-bird, which I take to be much the ſame with our Hedge-ſparrow. This is ſo called becauſe it ſeldom appears about houſes, but againſt ſnow or very cold weather.

Humming-bird.

The Humming-bird, which feeds upon the honey of flowers. I have been told by ſome perſons that have kept of theſe Humming-birds alive, and fed them with water and ſugar; they are much the ſmalleſt of all birds, have long bills and curiouſly coloured feathers, but differ much in colour.

Herons.

Herons, three or four ſeveral ſorts, one larger than the Engliſh, feathered much like a Spaniſh Gooſe.

Another ſort that only comes in ſummer, milk white, with red legs, very lovely to behold.

Bittern.

The Bittern is there leſs than in England, and does not make that ſounding noiſe, that ever I heard.

Curlews.

Curlews, ſomething leſs than our Engliſh, tho' bigger than a Wimbrel.

Sand-piper

The Sand-piper, much reſembling the Engliſh.

Snipe.

The Snipes, two ſorts, one reſembling ours, the other much leſs.

Tewits.

The Tewits are ſmaller than the Engliſh, and have no long toppins, but juſt like a young one that begins to fly.

Wild Swans, Geeſe, and Ducks, &c.

There are great number of wild Swans, wild Geeſe, and Brent-geeſe all winter in mighty flocks, wild Ducks innumerable, Teal, Wigeon, Sheldrakes, Virginia Didappers, the black Diver, &c.

Cormorants. Gulls.

There are in Virginia a great many Cormorants, ſeveral ſorts of Gulls, and in and about the bay many Bannets.

Fiſh. Herrings. Cod-fiſh, Stingraſs, &c. Trout, Sturgeons, Carp, Perch, &c. Oyſters, Whales.

There is no place abounds with ſea and river fiſh more than Virginia. In February, March, April, and May, there are ſhoals of Herrings come up into their very brooks, ſome of the ſize of ours, but for the moſt part much larger. There are alſo plenty of Cod-fiſh, and the Stingraſs is ſaid to be peculiar to this country, being ſo called from having a ſting in its tail. It is eſteemed good food. In their rivers there are the Old-wife, the Sheeps-head, an excellent fiſh, Trouts, Green-fiſh, Sturgeons in great plenty, Place, Flounders, Whitings, Carp, Pikes, Mullets, and Perch: And for Shell-fiſh they have Oyſters, Crabs, Cockles, and Shrimps: Of thoſe that are not eaten they have in their ſeas Whale, Dog-fiſh, Sharks, Porpus's, Gar-fiſh, and Sword-fiſh.

Toad-fiſh. Rock-fiſh.

There is alſo a fiſh they call the Toad-fiſh, from his ſwelling monſtrouſly when he is taken out of the water; and the Rock-fiſh, ſome ſpecies whereof are poiſonous, and have been fatal to thoſe that have eaten them; tho' others, which are not eaſy ſo to be diſtinguiſhed from the former, are very wholeſome food.

Skip-jack. Tobacco-pipe fiſh.

The Skip-jack, ſo named from his ſkipping out of the water, is tolerably good food. And the Tobacco-pipe-fiſh, ſo called from its being long and ſlender like a Tobacco-pipe.

Colonel BEVERLEY, alſo, who has furniſhed us with the abovesaid Deſcription of the Rattle-ſnake, gives us the following account of ſome of the reſt of the Virginial animals, and their management of them, (viz.)

Cattle.

When I come to ſpeak of their cattle (ſays that gentleman) I cannot forbear charging my countrymen with exceeding ill huſbandry in not providing ſufficiently for them all winter, by which means they ſtarve all their young cattle, or at leaſt ſtint their growth; ſo that they ſeldom or never grow ſo large as they would do if they were well managed; for the humour is there, if people can but ſave the lives of their cattle, tho' they ſuffer them to be never ſo poor, in the winter, yet they will preſently grow fat again in the ſpring, which they eſteem ſufficient for their purpoſe. And this is the occaſion that their Beef and Mutton are ſeldom or never ſo large or ſo fat as in England; and yet with the leaſt feeding imaginable they are put into as good caſe as can be expected; and it is the ſame with their Hogs.

Fiſh. Price of fleſh and fowl.

Their fiſh is in vaſt plenty and variety, and extraordinary good in their kind. Beef and Pork are commonly ſold there from one penny to two-pence the pound, or more, according to the time of year; their fatteſt and largeſt Pullets at ſix-pence a-piece, the Capons at eight pence or nine pence a-piece, their Chickens at three or four ſhillings the dozen, their Ducks at eight-pence or nine-pence a-piece, their Geeſe at ten-pence or a ſhilling, their Turkey-hens at fifteen or eighteen-pence, and their Turkey-cocks at two ſhillings or half-a-crown; but Oyſters and wild-fowl are not ſo dear as the things I have reckoned before, being in their ſeaſon the cheapeſt victuals they have. Their Deer are commonly ſold from five to ten ſhillings, according to the ſcarcity and goodneſs.

Inſects.

All the troubleſome vermine that ever I heard any body complain of are either Frogs, Snakes, Muſqueto's, Chinches, Seed-ticks, or Red-worms, by ſome called Potatoe-lice; of all which I ſhall give an account in their order.

Toads and Frogs.

Some people have been ſo ill informed as to ſay, that Virginia is full of Toads, tho' there never yet was ſeen one Toad in it. The marſhes, fens, and watry grounds are indeed full of harmleſs Frogs, which do no hurt, except by the noiſe of their croaking notes; but in the upper part of the country, where the land is high and dry, they are very ſcarce. In their ſwamps and running ſtreams they have Frogs of an incredible bigneſs, which are called Bull-frogs, from the roaring they make. Laſt year I found one of theſe near a ſtream of freſh water of ſo prodigious a magnitude, that when I extended its legs I found the diſtance betwixt them to be ſeventeen inches and a half. If any are good to eat, theſe muſt be the kind.

Muſqueto's.

Muſqueto's are long-tailed Gnats, ſuch as are in all fens and low grounds in England, and I think have no other difference from them than the name. Neither are they in Virginia troubled with them any where but in their low grounds and marſhes. Theſe inſects, I believe, are ſtronger and continue longer there (by reaſon of the warm ſun) than in England. Whoever is perſecuted with them in his houſe, may get rid of them by this eaſy remedy: Let him but ſet open his windows at ſun-ſet and ſhut them again before the twilight be quite ſhut in, all the Muſqueto's in the room will go out at the windows.

Bugs.

Chinches are a ſort of flat Bug, which lurks in the bedſteads and bedding, and diſturbs people's reſt a-nights. Every neat houſe-wife contrives there by ſeveral devices to keep her beds clear of them. But the beſt way I ever heard effectually to deſtroy them is, by a narrow ſearch among the bedding early in the ſpring, before theſe vermin begin to knit and run about; for they lie ſnug all the winter, and are in the ſpring large and full of the winter's growth, having all their ſeed within them, and ſo they become a fair mark to find, and may with their whole breed be deſtroyed. They are the ſame as they have in London near the ſhipping.

Ticks.

Seed-ticks and Red-worms are ſmall inſects that annoy the people by day as Muſqueto's and Chinches do by night; but both theſe keep out of your way if you keep out of theirs; for Seed-ticks are no where to be met with but in the track of cattle, upon which the great Ticks faſten and fill their ſkins ſo full of blood that they drop off, and wherever they happen to fall they produce a kind of Egg, which lies about a fortnight before the Seedlings are hatched. Theſe Seedlings run in ſwarms upon the next blade of graſs that lies in their way, and then the firſt thing that bruſhes that blade of graſs gathers off moſt of theſe vermine, which ſtick like burs upon any thing that touches them. They void their eggs at their mouth.

Red-worms. Red-worms lie only in old dead trees and rotten logs, and without ſitting down upon ſuch, a man never meets with them, nor at any other ſeaſon but only in the midſt of ſummer. A little warm water immediately brings off both Seed-ticks and Red-worms, tho' they lie ever ſo thick upon any part of the body. But without ſuch remedy they will be troubleſome; for they are ſo ſmall that nothing will lay hold of them but the point of a pen-knife, needle, or ſuch like; but if nothing be done to remove them, the itching they occaſion goes away after two days.

Sheep. Their Sheep increaſe well and bear good fleeces, but they generally are ſuffered to be torn off their backs by briars and buſhes inſtead of being ſhorn, or elſe are left rotting upon the dung-hill with their ſkins.

Bees. Bees thrive there abundantly, and will very eaſily yield to the careful houſe-wife a full hive of honey, and beſides lay up a winter ſtore ſufficient to preſerve their ſtocks.

Cattle and paſture. The Beeves, when any care is taken of them in the winter, come to good perfection. They have noble marſhes there, which, with the charge of draining only, would make as fine paſtures as any in the world; and yet there is hardly an hundred acres of marſh drained throughout the whole country.

Hogs. Hogs ſwarm like vermine upon earth, and are often accounted ſuch, inſomuch that when an inventory of any conſiderable man's eſtate is taken by the executors the Hogs are left out, and not liſted in the appraiſement. The Hogs run where they liſt, and find their own ſupport in the woods without any care of the owner, and in many plantations it is well if the proprietor can find and catch the Pigs or any part of a farrow when they are young to mark them; for if there be any marked in a gang of Hogs they determine the property of the reſt, becauſe they ſeldom miſs their gangs, but as they are bred in company ſo they continue to the end, except ſometimes the Boars ramble.

Ship-worms. In the month of June annually there riſe up in the ſalts vaſt beds of Seedling-worms, which enter the ſhips, ſloops, or boats where-ever they find the coat of pitch, tarr, or lime worn off the timber; and by degrees eat the plank into cells like thoſe of an honey-comb. Theſe Worms continue thus upon the ſurface of the water from their riſe in June until the firſt great rains after the middle of July, but after that do no freſh damage 'till the next ſummer ſeaſon, and never penetrate farther than the plank or timber they firſt fix upon.

The damage occaſioned by theſe Worms may be four ſeveral ways avoided.

1. By keeping the coat (of pitch, lime, and tallow, or whatever elſe it is) whole upon the bottom of the ſhip or veſſel; for theſe worms never faſten nor enter but where the timber is naked.

2. By anchoring the large veſſels in the ſtrength of the tide during the worm-ſeaſon, and hailing the ſmaller a-ſhore, for in the current of a ſtrong tide the Worms cannot faſten.

3. By burning and cleaning immediately after the worm-ſeaſon is over, for then they are but juſt ſtuck into the plank, and have not buried themſelves in it; ſo that the leaſt fire in the world deſtroys them entirely, and prevents all damage that would otherwiſe enſue from them.

4. By running up into the freſhes with the ſhip or veſſel during the five or ſix weeks that the Worm is thus above water; for they never enter or do any damage in freſh water, or where it is not very ſalt.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Virginian ſoil and vegetables, viz. of their foreſt and fruit-trees, plants, corn, herbage, roots, and huſbandry; and of their ſtones, earth, and minerals.

CHAP. VI. Soil and Vegetables. Foreſt-trees. THIS country, upon the firſt diſcovery of it was found to conſiſt, like many others, either of foreſts or bogs. The foreſts contain'd abundance of noble timber of various kinds, which grew to an unuſual height and bulk, much beyond any thing we ſee in Europe; the trees ſtanding at ſuch a diſtance from each other that a coach and ſix might drive through them with pleaſure. The chief of them were Oaks, Cedars, Firrs, Cypreſs, Elm, Aſh, and Walnut, which had no boughs to a very great height; the Oaks being ſo large as to meaſure two foot ſquare, and ſixty foot high. There was no underwood or buſhes among the timber; but a great deal of this in their bogs and moraſſes, mix'd with long Graſs, Flags and Sedge. They had alſo Beech, Poplar, Hazel, Eldern, and Willow, with trees which yield gums, and ſeveral ſorts of ſweet wood, and woods uſed in dying, with Saſſafras, Sarſaparilla, &c.

Fruits. Grapes. Among their fruits they had Grapes that grew wild, and the European Grape comes to great perfection here, and yet they have never made any quantities of wine; the reaſon uſually given for which, is, that it will not keep.

Cherries. Cherries are very plentiful, being of three ſorts, one of which grows in bunches like Grapes, another ſort is black, and a third is called the Indian Cherry.

Plumbs. They have ſeveral ſorts of Plumbs of their own growth from the bigneſs of a Damſin to that of a Pear, the largeſt much reſembling the taſte of an Apricot; and they have a wild Plumb like our white Plumb; but Engliſh Plumbs do not ripen kindly here.

Peaches. Apples. Indian Fruits. Figs. Oranges. Quinces. Peaches are very large, and ſo plentiful, that they are given to the Hogs in ſome places: And there is no place were Apples and Pears abound more. They have alſo the Chinquamine, a fruit that reſembles a Cheſnut; the Macoquex, not unlike an Apple; the Mattaqueſumach, or Fig; the Mattacocks, a ſort of Strawberry; and the common Figs grow very well here, tho' the ſoil is not favourable to Oranges and Lemons. There are a ſort of Acorns that yield a ſweet oil, and Quinces are ſo plentiful that they make a great deal of Liquor, as well as Marmalade of them.

Graſs. Silk-graſs. Flax. Their Graſs is long coarſe ſtuff, of which they ſcarce ever make hay; but their cattle brouſe upon it both winter and ſummer, having very little fodder beſides, except the leaves of the Indian Corn, which are given them very ſparingly. Silk-graſs grows here ſpontaneouſly, and the ſoil is extremely proper for Hemp and Flax; and yet they have no manufacture of Silk or Linnen.

Corn. As to their bread Corn it is of two ſorts, 1. Engliſh Wheat; and 2. Maiz, or Indian Corn. The Engliſh Wheat, Mr. CLAYTON obſerves, generally yields between fifteen and thirty fold increaſe, the ground being only once ploughed, and that without any dung or manure; whereas it is eſteemed a good crop that yields eight fold increaſe in England, ſo much more fruitful is the Virginian ſoil than ours.

Indian corn.

Huſbandry

The Indian corn is not unlike our peas in taſte, but grows in a great ear or head as big as the handle of a large horſe-whip, having from three hundred to ſeven hundred grains in one ear, and ſometimes one grain produces two or three ſuch ears or heads. It is of various colours, red, white, yellow, blue, green, and black, and ſome ſpeckled and ſtriped; but the white and yellow are moſt common. The ſtalk is as thick as an ordinary walking cane, and grows ſix or eight foot high in joints, having a ſweet juice in it, of which a ſyrup is ſometimes made, and from every joint there grow long leaves of the ſhape of ſedge leaves. The manner of planting it is in holes or trenches about five or ſix feet diſtant from each other; the earth is opened with a hough (and of late years with a plough) four inches deep, and four or five grains thrown into each hole or trench, about a ſpan diſtant from each other, and then cover'd with earth; they keep it weeding from time to time, and as the ſtalk grows high they keep the mould about it like the hillocks in a hop ground. They begin to plant in April, but the chief plantation is in May, and they continue to plant till the middle of June. What is planted in April is reap'd in Auguſt, what is planted in May is reap'd in September, and the laſt in October. They make both bread and ſtrong liquor of it, and ſeveral ſorts of diſhes, of which hommony, already mention'd, is the chief.

Soil.

Plantations too large, and ill managed.

Mr. Clayton obſerv'd, that they had only cultivated their higheſt and barreneſt lands when he was there, leaving the richeſt vales untouched, becauſe they underſtood not any thing of draining; ſo that the richeſt meadow lands, which are one third of the country, are boggy moraſſes and ſwamps, whereof they make little advantage, but loſe in them abundance of their cattle, eſpecially at the firſt of the ſpring, when the cattle are weak and venture too far after young graſs. Whereas a vaſt improvement might be made of theſe moraſſes. The generality of Virginia is a ſandy land, with a ſhallow ſoil; ſo that after they have cleared a freſh piece of ground out of the woods it will not bear tobacco paſt two or three years, unleſs cow-penned; for they manure their ground by keeping their cattle, as in the ſouth you do your ſheep every night, confining them in hurdles, which they remove when they have ſufficiently dunged one ſpot of ground, but they cannot improve much thus: Beſides, it produces a ſtrong ſort of tobacco, in which the ſmoakers ſay they can plainly taſte the fulſomeneſs of the dung; therefore every three or four years they muſt be for clearing a new piece of ground out of the woods, which requires much labour and toil, it being ſo thick grown all over with maſſy timber. Thus their plantations run over vaſt tracts of ground, each being ambitious to engroſs as much as he can, that he may be ſure to have enough to plant, and for their ſtocks and herds of cattle to range and feed in. Plantations of a thouſand, two thouſand, or three thouſand acres are common, whereby the country is thinly inhabited, their living ſolitary and unſociable, trading confuſed and diſperſed, beſides other inconveniencies. Whereas they might improve two hundred, or three hundred acres to more advantage, and would make the country much more healthy; for thoſe that have three thouſand acres have ſcarce cleared ſix hundred acres thereof, which is peculiarly termed the plantation, being ſurrounded with the two thouſand four hundred acres of woods; ſo that there can be no free or even motions of the air, but the air is kept either ſtagnant, or the lofty ſulphurious particles of the air, that are higher than the tops of the trees, which are above as high again as the generality of the woods in England, deſcending when they paſs over the cleared ſpots of ground, muſt needs, in the violent heat of ſummer, raiſe a preternatural ferment, and produce bad effects. Nor is it any advantage to their ſtocks or crops; for did they but drain their ſwamps and low lands, they have a very deep ſoil, that would endure planting twenty or thirty years, and ſome would ſcarce ever be worn out; for they might lay them all winter, or when they pleaſed, in water; and the product of their labour would be double or treble, whether corn or tobacco, though (when I have diſcourſed the ſame to ſeveral, and in part ſhewn them how their particular grounds might be drained at a very eaſy rate) they have either been ſo conceited of their old way, and ſo ſottiſh as not to apprehend, or ſo negligent as not to apply themſelves thereto. But on the plantation where I lived, I drained a good large ſwamp, which fully anſwered expectation. The gentlewoman where I lived was a very ingenious lady, who one day diſcourſing the overſeer of her ſervants about pitching the enſuing year's crop, the overſeer was naming one place where he deſigned to plant thirty thouſand plants, another place for fifteen thouſand, another for ten thouſand, and ſo forth; the whole crop deſigned to be about an hundred thouſand plants: Having obſerved the year before he had done the like, and ſcatter'd his crop up and down the plantation, at places a mile and a half aſunder, which was very inconvenient, and whereby they loſt much time; I interpoſed, and aſked why they did not plant all their crop together? The fellow ſmiled as it were at my ignorance, and ſaid, there was very good reaſon for it. I replied, that was it I enquired after; he returned, the plantation had been an old planted plantation, and being but a ſmall plat of ground was almoſt worn out, ſo that they had not ground all together that would bring forth tobacco. I told him then, that they had better ground than ever yet they had planted, and more than their hands could manage. He ſmiled again, and aſked me where? I then named ſuch a ſwamp. He then ſaid ſcornfully, he thought what a planter I was; that I underſtood better how to make a ſermon than manage tobacco. I reply'd, with ſome warmneſs, tho' I hoped ſo, that was impertinence, and no anſwer. He then ſaid, that the tobacco there would drown, and the roots rot. I reply'd, that the whole country would drown if the rivers were ſtopp'd, but it might be laid as dry as any land in the plantation. In ſhort, we diſcourſed it very warmly, until he told me he underſtood his own buſineſs well enough, and did not deſire to learn of me. But the gentlewoman attended ſomewhat better to my reaſoning, and got me one day to go and ſhew her how I projected the draining of the ſwamp, and thought it ſo feaſible, that ſhe was reſolved to have it done, and therefore deſired me I would again diſcourſe her overſeer; which I did ſeveral times, but he would by no means hearken thereto, and was ſo poſitive, that ſhe was forced to turn him away, and to have her ſervants ſet about the work: And with three men in thirteen days I drained the whole ſwamp, it being ſandy land, ſoaks and drains admirably well, and what I little expected, laid a well dry at a conſiderable diſtance. Now to teach her how ſhe might make her tobacco that grew in the ſwamp leſs, for it produced ſo very large that it was ſuſpected to be of the Aranoko kind, I told her tho' the complaint was rare, yet there was an excellent remedy for that in letting every plant bear eight or nine leaves inſtead of four or five, and ſhe would have more tobacco and leſs leaves. Now you muſt know they top their tobacco, that is, take away the little top bud when the plant has put forth as many leaves as they think the richneſs of the ground will bring to a ſubſtance; but generally when it has ſhot forth four or ſix leaves, and when the top bud is gone, it puts forth no more leaves, but ſide branches, which they call ſuckers, which they are careful ever to take away that they may not impoveriſh the leaves. I have been more tedious in the particulars, the fuller to evince how reſolute they are, and conceitedly bent to follow their own practice and cuſtom rather than to receive directions from others, though plain, eaſy, and advantageous. There are many other places as eaſy to drain as this, tho' of larger extent, and richer ſoil, for ſome of which I have given directions, and have only had the return perhaps of a flout afterwards. Even in James town iſland, which is much of an oval figure, there is a ſwamp runs diagonal-wiſe over the iſland, whereby are loſt at leaſt one hundred and fifty acres of land, which would be meadow, and turn to as good account as if it were in England: Beſides, it is the great annoyance of the town, and no doubt but it makes it much more unhealthy. If therefore they only ſcoured the channel, made a pretty ordinary trench all along the middle of the ſwamp, and placed a ſluice at the mouth where it opens into the back creek, for the mouth of the chanel there is narrow, has a good hard bottom, and is not paſt two yards deep when the flood is out, as if nature had deſigned it before hand; they might thus drain all the ſwamp abſolutely dry, or lay it under water at their pleaſure.

But now to turn to the reflections of improving and manuring of land in Virginia. Hitherto, as I have ſaid, they have uſed none but that of cow-penning, yet I ſuppoſe they might find very good marle in many places. I have ſeen both the red and blue marle at ſome breaks of hills. This would be the propereſt manure for their ſandy land, if they ſpread it not too thick, theirs being, as I have ſaid, a ſhallow ſandy ſoil, which was the reaſon I never adviſed any to uſe lime, tho' they have very good lime of oyſter-ſhells; but that's the propereſt manure for cold clay land, and not for a ſandy ſoil. But as moſt lands have one ſwamp or another bordering on them, they may certainly get admirable ſlitch wherewith to manure all their up-lands: But this, ſay they, will not improve ground, but clods and grows hard. 'Tis true, it will do ſo for ſome time, a year or two at the firſt; but did they caſt it in heaps, and let it lie for two or three years, after a froſt or two had ſeiz'd it, and it had been well pierced therewith, I doubt not but it would turn to good account.

Dairies.

They neither houſe nor milk any of their cows in winter, having a notion that it would kill them; yet I perſuaded the aforemention'd lady where I liv'd, to milk four cows the laſt winter that I ſtaid in the country, whereof ſhe found ſo good effect, that ſhe aſſur'd me ſhe would keep to my advice for the future; and alſo, as I had further urged, houſe them too, for which they have mighty conveniencies, their tobacco-houſes being empty ever at that time of the year, and may eaſily be fitted in two or three days time, without any prejudice, whereby their cattle would be much ſhelter'd from thoſe pinching ſharp froſts that ſome nights on a ſudden become very ſevere. I had another project (for the preſervation of their cattle prov'd very ſucceſsful) I urged the lady to ſow her wheat as early as poſſible ſhe could, ſo that before winter it might be well rooted, to be early and flouriſhing at the firſt of the ſpring; ſo that ſhe might turn thereon her weak cattle, and ſuch as ſhould at any time be ſwamp'd, whereby they might be recruited and ſav'd, and it would do the wheat good alſo. I adviſed her likewiſe to ſave and carefully gather her Indian corn tops and blades, and all her ſtraw, and whatever elſe could be made fodder for her cattle; for they get no hay, tho' I was urging that too, and to ſow ſaint-foin; for being a ſandy ſoil, I am confident it would turn to a very good account. They have little or no graſs in winter, ſo that their cattle are pin'd and ſtarved, and many that are brought low and weak when the ſpring begins venture too far into the ſwamps after the freſh graſs, where they periſh; ſo that ſome perſons loſe ten, twenty, or thirty head of cattle in a year.

But as it is the excellence of the Virginian tobacco which diſtinguiſhes this from all countries, it is fit I ſhould give ſome farther account of their management in the huſbandry and curing of this plant, which they have brought to that perfection.

Huſbandry of tobacco.

The tobacco ſeeds are firſt ſown in beds, where having remain'd a month, the plants are tranſplanted into little hillocks, like thoſe in our hop grounds, the firſt rainy weather: And being grown a foot high there, within the ſpace of another month they top them and prune off all the bottom leaves, leaving only ſeven or eight on the ſtalks, that they may be the better fed, and theſe leaves in ſix weeks time will be in their full growth. The planters prune off the ſuckers, and clear them of the horn-worm twice a week, which is call'd worming and ſuckering, and this work laſts three weeks or a month, by which time the leaf from green begins to turn browniſh, and to ſpot and thicken, which is a ſign of its ripening. As faſt as the plants ripen they cut them down, and leave them in the field for half a day, then heap them up and let them lie and ſweat a night, and the next day carry them to the tobacco-houſe, where every plant is hang'd up at a convenient diſtance from each other, for about a month or five weeks; at the end of which time, they ſtrike or take them down in moiſt weather when the leaf gives, or elſe it will crumble to duſt: after which they are laid upon ſticks, and cover'd up cloſe in the tobacco-houſe for a week or a fortnight to ſweat; and then opening the bulk in a wet day the ſervants ſtrip them and ſort them, the top leaves being the beſt, and the bottom the worſt tobacco. The laſt work is to pack it in hogſheads, or bundle it up; which is alſo done in a wet ſeaſon; for in curing of tobacco, wet ſeaſons are as neceſſary as dry to make the leaf pliant.

Colonel Beverley's account of the ſoil and vegetables.

To this account of the Virginian ſoil and vegetables, I ſhall here add Colonel **Beverley**'s obſervations on the ſame ſubject.

The ſoil (ſays this gentleman) is of ſuch variety, according to the difference of ſituation, that one part or other of it ſeems fitted to every ſort of plant that is requiſite either for the benefit or pleaſure of mankind. And were it not for the high mountains on the north-weſt, which are ſuppoſed to retain vaſt magazines of ſnow, and by that means cauſe the wind from that quarter to deſcend a little too cold upon them, 'tis believed that many of thoſe delicious ſummer fruits, growing in the hotter climates, might be kept there green all the winter without the charge of houſing, or any other care than what is due to the natural plants of the country when tranſplanted into a garden; but as that would be no conſiderable charge, any man that is curious might, with all the eaſe imaginable, preſerve as many of them as would gratify a moderate luxury; and the ſummer affords genial heat enough to ripen them to perfection.

Various ſoils.

There are three different kinds of land, according to the difference of ſituation, either in the lower parts of the country, the middle, or that on the heads of the rivers.

1. The lands towards the mouths of the river are generally of a low, moiſt, and fat mould, ſuch as the heavier ſort of grain delights in, as rice, hemp, Indian corn, &c. This alſo is varied here and there with veins of a cold, hungry, ſandy ſoil of the ſame moiſture, and very often lying under water. But this alſo has its advantages, for on ſuch land generally grow the huckle-berries, cran-berries, chinkapins, &c. Theſe low lands are for the moſt part well ſtor'd with oaks, poplars, pines, cedars, cypreſs, and ſweet-gums, the trunks of which are often thirty, forty, fifty, ſome ſixty or ſeventy foot high, without a branch or limb. They likewiſe produce a great variety of ever-greens, unknown to me by name, beſides the beauteous holly, ſweet-myrtle, cedar, and the live-oak, which for three quarters of a year is continually dropping its acorns, and at the ſame time budding and bearing others in their ſtead.

Trees.

Springs, &c.

The land higher up the rivers throughout the whole country is generally a level ground, with ſhallow vallies full of ſtreams and pleaſant ſprings of clear water, having interſperſed here and there among the large levels ſome ſmall hills and extenſive vales. The mold, in ſome places, is black, fat, and thick laid, in others looſer, lighter and thin. The foundation of the mold is alſo various, ſometimes clayey, then gravel and rocky ſtone, and ſometimes marle. The middle of the necks or ridges between the rivers is generally poor, being either a light ſand, or a white or red clay with a thin mold; yet even theſe places are ſtor'd with cheſnuts, chinkapins, acorns of the ſhrub-oak, and a reedy-graſs in ſummer, very good for cattle. The rich lands lie next the rivers and branches, and are ſtor'd with large oaks, walnuts, hickories, aſh, beech, poplar, and many other ſorts of timber of ſurpriſing bigneſs.

The upper lands.

The heads of the rivers afford a mixture of hills, vallies, and plains, and ſome richer than other, whereof the fruits and timber trees are alſo various. In ſome places lie great plats of low and very rich ground, in other large ſpots of meadows and ſavanna's, wherein are hundreds of acres without any tree at all, but yield reeds and graſs of incredible height: And in the ſwamps and ſunken grounds grow trees as vaſtly big as I believe the world affords, and ſtand ſo cloſe together, that the branches or boughs of many of them lock into one another; but what leſſens their value is that the greateſt bulk of them are at ſome diſtance from water-carriage. The land of theſe upper parts affords greater variety of ſoil than any other, and as great variety in the foundations of the ſoil or mold, of which good judgment may be made by the plants and herbs that grow upon it. The rivers and creeks do in many places form very fine large marſhes, which are convenient ſupports for their flocks and herds.

Flowers.

Of ſpontaneous flowers they have an unknown variety; the fineſt crown imperial in the world; the cardinal flower, ſo much extoll'd for its ſcarlet colour, is almoſt in every branch; the moccaſin flower, and a thouſand others not yet known to Engliſh herbaliſts. Almoſt all the year round the levels and vales are beautify'd with flowers of one kind or other, which make their woods as fagrant as a garden.

There is alſo found the fine tulip-bearing laurel-tree, which has the pleaſanteſt ſmell in the world, and keeps bloſſoming and ſeeding ſeveral months together; it delights much in gravelly branches of cryſtal ſtreams, and perfumes the very woods with its odour. So alſo do the large tulip-tree, which we call a poplar; the locuſt, which reſembles much the jeſſamine, and the perfuming crab-tree, during their ſeaſon.

Kitchen-gardens.

A kitchen garden don't thrive better or faſter in any part of the univerſe than there. They have all the culinary plants that grow in England, and in greater perfection than in England. Beſides theſe they have ſeveral roots, herbs, vine-fruits, and ſallad-flowers, peculiar to themſelves; moſt of which will neither increaſe nor grow to perfection in England: Theſe they diſh up various ways, and find them very delicious ſauce to their meats both roaſt and boil'd, freſh and ſalt; ſuch are the Indian creſſes, red-buds, ſaſſafras-flowers, cymnels, melons, and potatoes.

Apples.

You may raiſe apples from the ſeed, which never degenerate into crabs there, but produce as good, or perhaps better fruit than the mother tree (which is not ſo in England) and are wonderfully improved by grafting and managing; yet there are very few planters that graft at all, and much fewer that take any care to get choice fruits.

Cyder.

The fruit-trees are wonderfully quick of growth, ſo that in ſix or ſeven years time from the planting a man may bring an orchard to bear in great plenty, from which he may make ſtore of good cyder, or diſtil great quantities of brandy, for the cyder is very ſtrong and yields abundance of ſpirit; yet they have very few that take any care at all for an orchard; nay, many that have good orchards are ſo negligent of them as to let them go to ruin, and expoſe the trees to be torn and bark'd by the cattle.

Peaches, &c.

Peaches, nectarines, and apricots, as well as plumbs and cherries, grow there upon ſtandard trees. They commonly bear in three years from the ſtone, and thrive ſo exceedingly that they ſeem to have no need of grafting or inoculating, if any body would be ſo good a huſband. And truly I never heard of any that did graft either plumb, nectarine, peach, or apricot, in that country, till very lately.

Peaches and nectarines I believe to be ſpontaneous ſomewhere or other on that continent, for the Indians have and ever had greater variety and finer ſorts of them than the Engliſh. The beſt ſort of theſe cling to the ſtone, and will not come off clear, which they call plumb-nectarines and plumb-peaches, or cling-ſtones. Some of theſe are twelve or thirteen inches in the girt. Theſe ſorts of fruits are raiſed ſo eaſily there that ſome good huſbands plant great orchards of them purpoſely for their hogs, and others make a drink of them, which they call mobby, and either drink it as cyder, or diſtil it off for brandy. This makes the beſt ſpirit next to grapes.

Mobby.

Grapes.

Grape vines of the Engliſh ſtock, as well as thoſe of their own production, bear moſt abundantly if they are ſuffer'd to run near the ground, and increaſe very kindly by ſlipping, yet very few have them at all in their gardens, much leſs endeavour to improve them by cutting and laying. But lately ſome vineyards have been attempted, and one is brought to perfection, yielding ſeven hundred and fifty gallons a year. The wine drinks at preſent greeniſh, but the owner doubts not of good wine in a year or two more, and takes great delight that way.

When a ſingle tree happens in clearing the ground to be left ſtanding with a vine upon it, open to the ſun and air, that vine generally produces as much as four or five others that remain in the woods. I have ſeen in this caſe more grapes upon one ſingle vine than would load a London cart. And for all this the people, till of late, never removed any of them into their gardens, but contented themſelves, throughout the whole country, with the grapes they found thus wild.

Flowers.

A garden is no where ſooner made than there, either for fruits or flowers. Tulips from the ſeed flower the ſecond year. All ſort of herbs have there a perfection in their flavour beyond what I ever taſted in a more northern climate: And yet they have not many gardens in that country fit to bear the name of gardens.

Corn.

All ſorts of Engliſh grain thrive and increaſe there as well as in any other part of the world; as for example, wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, rape, &c. And yet they don't make a trade of any of them. Their peas indeed are troubled with wivels, which eat a hole in them; but this hole does neither damage the ſeed nor make the peas unfit for boiling: And ſuch as are ſow'd late, and gather'd after Auguſt, are clear of that inconvenience.

Rice.

Rice has been try'd there, and is found to grow as well as in Carolina; but it labours under the ſame inconvenience, the want of a community to huſk and clean it, and after all to take it off the planters hands.

Flax.

Flax, hemp, cotton, and ſilk-worms have thriven there formerly, when encouragement was given for making linen, ſilk, &c. But now all encouragement of ſuch things is taken away, or entirely dropp'd by the aſſemblies; and ſuch manufactures are always neglected when tobacco bears any thing of a price.

Silk-graſs.

Silk-graſs is there ſpontaneous in many places. I need not mention what advantage may be made of ſo uſeful a plant, whoſe fibres are as fine as flax, and much ſtronger than hemp.

Gums. Sugar-trees.

The woods produce great variety of incenſe and ſweet gums, which diſtill from ſeveral trees; as alſo trees bearing honey and ſugar; but there is no uſe made of any of them, either for profit or refreſhment.

Naval ſtores.

All ſorts of naval ſtores may be produced there, as pitch, tarr, roſin, turpentine, plank-timber, and all ſorts of maſts and yards, beſides ſails, cordage, and iron; and all theſe may be tranſported by an eaſy water-carriage.

CHAP. VII.

The hiſtory of Virginia.

CHAP. VII. Hiſtory.

THE north-eaſt part of the continent of America was firſt diſcover'd, as has been obſerv'd already, by SEBASTIAN CABOT, a native of Briſtol. He was the ſon of JOHN CABOT, a Genoeſe or Venetian pilot, who reſided in that city, and had made a great many voyages in the ſervice of the court of England, or of Engliſh merchants, and gain'd a mighty reputation for his ſkill in maritime affairs, which induc'd King HENRY VII. to employ him, in the year 1497, to find out a north-weſt paſſage to China; which tho' CABOT was not ſo fortunate to accompliſh, yet he diſcover'd all the north-eaſt coaſt of America, from cape Florida in 25 degrees north latitude to 67 and an half, from whence England claim'd a right to that country prior to the Spaniards or any other European power: And the reaſon no attempt was made to plant or ſend colonies to North-America for a conſiderable time, CABOT himſelf informs us, was the wars that happen'd immediately after.

Virginia diſcover'd by CABOT.

It ſeems ſtrange, however, that neither in the reign of HENRY VII, or in that of his ſon HENRY VIII, or in the reign of EDWARD VI, or Queen MARY, nor till the latter end of the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, which was near an hundred years after this diſcovery of CABOT's, the Engliſh ſhould endeavour to make any ſettlements in this country; but I preſume we were diverted from it for ſome time by our wars with Scotland or France, as CABOT intimates, and afterwards by the various changes that were made in religion, which engag'd our whole attention at home, till the Proteſtant religion was eſtabliſh'd here by Queen ELIZABETH. And when this was effected, ſhe was engag'd in ſupporting the Proteſtants of France, the Low-countries, and Scotland, againſt the Popiſh powers; ſo that it was late in her reign before ſhe was at leiſure to caſt her eyes upon North-America.

No colonies ſent thither till 100 years afterwards.

In the mean time the Spaniards from Mexico invaded Florida, and made themſelves maſters of that part of it which lies upon the gulph of Mexico, as far as the Atlantic ocean. The French alſo made ſome attempts to ſettle themſelves near cape Florida, but were driven from thence by the Spaniards, who notwithſtanding abandon'd this country themſelves for many years, except the ſouth-weſt part of it, which they retain'd on account of it's ſilver mines, giving it the name of New-Mexico: For the Spaniards ſeem'd to ſlight every country in America how fruitful ſoever, that did not produce gold or ſilver; and this I preſume was the reaſon that it remain'd in a manner deſerted for ſo many years, and might have remain'd ſo much longer, if Queen ELIZABETH had not at length obſerv'd, that the moſt effectual way to diſtreſs the Spaniards was to interrupt their trade with America, and intercept the galleons that annually brought their plate from thence.

Mr. RALEGH firſt attempted to fix colonies there.

This induced her to fit out ſeveral ſquadrons of men of war under the command of DRAKE, HAWKINS, RALEGH, and other brave ſea commanders, to cruize on the coaſt of North-America, and ſurpriſe their ports and ſhipping there; in which expeditions the Engliſh became well acquainted with this fruitful and beautiful country of Florida: And Mr. RALEGH being inform'd there were gold mines in it, obtain'd a patent or grant from Queen ELIZABETH, in the year 1584, of all ſuch parts of it as he ſhould diſcover and plant from 33 to 40 degrees north latitude: And becauſe this was the firſt patent that ever was granted to any Engliſhman, authorizing him to ſend colonies to the continent of America, and will furniſh us with abundant matter for our reflections as to the juſtice and expedience of poſſeſſing ourſelves of that country, I ſhall here give an abſtract of it.

Mr. RALEGH's patent to ſend colonies to America.

“ ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting. Know ye, that of our ſpecial grace and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by theſe preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do give and grant to our truſty and well-beloved WALTER RALEGH, Eſq; and to his heirs and aſſignes for ever, free liberty at all times, for ever hereafter, to diſcover and view ſuch remote heathen and barbarous lands and territories not actually poſſeſs'd of any Chriſtian prince, or inhabited by Chriſtian people, as to him or them ſhall ſeem good: And the ſame to have, hold, occupy and enjoy to him, his heirs and aſſignes, for ever, with all prerogatives, juriſdictions, royalties, privileges, and franchiſes thereunto belonging by ſea or land: And the ſaid WALTER RALEGH, his heirs and aſſignes, are hereby impower'd to build and fortify on ſuch lands, &c. at their diſcretion, any ſtatute againſt the departing or remaining out of the realm, or any other ſtatutes to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The dominion of all heathen countries granted him, not poſſeſs'd by Chriſtians.

“ And we do likewiſe impower the ſaid WALTER RALEGH, his heirs and aſſignes, to take and lead in the ſaid voyage, or to inhabit there as many of our ſubjects as ſhall willingly accompany him or them, with ſufficient ſhipping and neceſſaries for their tranſportation. So that they be not reſtrain'd by us, or our ſucceſſors.

Rendering a fifth of the gold in lieu of all ſervices to the crown.

“ And further, the ſaid WALTER RALEGH, his heirs and aſſignes, ſhall hold, occupy, and enjoy all ſuch lands and countries ſo to be diſcover'd and poſſeſs'd, and the cities, towns, caſtles, and villages in the ſame, with the royalties, franchiſes, and juriſdictions thereof, with full power to diſpoſe of them in fee ſimple, or otherwiſe, to any of our ſubjects, reſerving to us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, the fifth part of all the gold and ſilver ore that ſhall be acquired or gotten in ſuch countries: And the ſame ſhall be holden of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors by homage, and the payment of the ſaid fifth part in lieu of all ſervices.

“ And moreover we do by theſe preſents grant, that the ſaid WALTER RALEGH, his heirs and aſſignes, may encounter, expulſe, and reſiſt all ſuch perſons as ſhall, without his or their licenſe, attempt to inhabit in the ſaid countries, or within two hundred leagues of the places where they ſhall abide or fix themſelves, within the ſpace of of ſix years next enſuing; or who ſhall attempt to annoy him or them by ſea or land, impowering the ſaid WALTER RALEGH, his heirs and aſſignes, to take and ſurpriſe all ſuch perſons, with their ſhips, veſſels, goods, and furniture, as without their licenſe ſhall be found trafficking in any harbour, within the limits aforeſaid, and to detain and poſſeſs them as lawful prize.

“ And we do further grant to the ſaid WALTER RALEGH, his heirs and aſſignes, full power and authority to correct, puniſh, pardon, and govern, as well in caſes capital as criminal and civil, all ſuch of our ſubjects as ſhall adventure themſelves in the ſaid voyages or inhabit ſuch lands or countries, according to ſuch laws and ſtatutes as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by him and them for the better government of the ſaid people, ſo as ſuch laws be as agreeable to the laws of England as may be, and be not contrary to the Chriſtian faith profeſſed in the church of England, and ſo as the ſaid people remain ſubject to the crown of England.

“ Witneſs ourſelf at Weſtminſter, 25 March in the twenty-ſixth year of the Queen, anno 1584.”

Two ſhips ſent to Virginia.

While this commiſſion was preparing, Mr. RALEGH formed a ſociety among his friends and acquaintance, who contributed large ſums, and provided two ſhips to go upon this diſcovery, with all manner of neceſſaries for ſuch an enterprize: The command of which being given to Captain PHILIP AMIDAS and Captain ARTHUR BARLOW, they ſet ſail from the weſt of England on the 27th of April, 1584, and the 10th of May arrived at the Canaries, from whence they bent their courſe to the Caribbee Iſlands, which they made on the 10th of June, keeping a more ſoutherly courſe than they needed to have done, as they themſelves obſerved afterwards, apprehending that the current ſat ſo ſtrong to the northward on the coaſt of Florida or Virginia, that there was no ſtemming it; and that miſtake made them go two or three thouſand miles out of their way: However, they arrived at the iſland of Wokokon, near the coaſt of Virginia, or rather of North-Carolina (of which this country is now reckoned a part) and took poſſeſſion thereof in the name of Queen ELIZABETH, whom they proclaimed rightful Queen and Sovereign of the ſame, to the uſe of Mr. RALEGH, according to her Majeſty's grant. But they ſoon diſcovered it to be but an iſland of twenty miles in length, and ſix in breadth, and lying in 34 degrees odd minutes north latitude; the land producing cedars, cypreſs, pines, and vaſt quantities of grapes; nor was there any want of deer, hare, rabbets and wild fowl.

They arrive at the iſland of Wokokon.

After they had continued here three days, an Indian came on board them, and was entertained in the ſhip, after which he catched ſome fiſh and preſented to the Engliſh; and the next day GRANGANIMO, the brother of WINGINA, King of Wingandacoa (as the neighbouring continent was called) came down with forty or fifty of his people to the ſea-ſide. Whereupon ſeveral Engliſh officers went over to him, and were invited to ſit down with him on the matts that were ſpread for that purpoſe, the Prince ſtriking his head and his breaſt, and making a great many ſigns to ſignify they were heartily welcome, as they apprehended. Whereupon they made him ſome ſmall preſents, as they did to four of his people, who ſat on the lower end of the ſame mat; but the Prince took away the things from his men, intimating that they were his ſervants, and that all preſents were to be made to him: And having taken leave of the Engliſh, he returned with more of his people two days after, bringing deer-ſkins, buff, and other peltry to trade with them. Whereupon they ſhewed GRANGANIMO all their merchandize, of which nothing pleaſed him ſo much as a bright pewter-diſh: He took it up, clapped it upon his breaſt, and having made a hole in the brim, hung it about his neck, intimating it would be a good ſhield againſt his enemies arrows. This pewter-diſh they exchanged for twenty ſkins, worth twenty nobles, and a copper-kettle for fifty ſkins, worth as many crowns. They offered alſo a very advantageous exchange for their axes, hatchets, and knives, and would have given any thing for their ſwords, but the Engliſh would not part with them.

They traffick with the Indians.

Mutual civilities.

Two or three days after, the King's brother came on board their ſhips, and eat and drank with them, and ſeemed to reliſh their wine and food very well, and ſome few days after he brought his wife and daughter, and ſeveral more of his children with him. His wife had good features, but was not tall; ſhe appeared exceeding modeſt, and had a cloak or mantle of a ſkin with the furr next her body, and another piece of a ſkin before her. About her head ſhe had a coronet of white coral, and in her ears pendants of pearls about as big as peas, hanging down to her middle, and ſhe had bracelets on her arms. Her huſband alſo wore a coronet or band of white coral about his head ſometimes, but uſually a coronet of copper, or ſome other ſhining metal, which at firſt our adventurers imagined to be gold, but were miſtaken. His hair was cut ſhort, but his wife's was long.

The reſt of his habit was like his wife's. The other women of the better ſort, and the Prince's children, had ſeveral pendants of ſhining copper in their ears. The complexion of the people in general being tawny and their hair black. The Prince's wife was uſually attended by forty or fifty women to the ſea-ſide; but when ſhe came on board (as ſhe did often) ſhe left them on ſhore, and brought only two or three with her.

The King's brother, they obſerved, was very juſt to his engagements; for they frequently delivered him merchandize upon his word, and he ever came within the day and delivered what he had promiſed for them. He ſent them alſo every day as a preſent, a brace of bucks, with hares, rabbets, and fiſh, the beſt in the world; together with ſeveral ſorts of fruits, ſuch as melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds, peas, and ſeveral kinds of roots, as alſo Maiz, or Indian corn.

Afterwards ſeven or eight of the Engliſh officers went in their boat up the river Occam, twenty miles to the northward, and came to an iſland called Roanoak, where they were hoſpitably entertained by GRANGANIMO's wife in his abſence. She preſſed them to ſtay on ſhore all night, and when they refuſed ſhe was much concerned they ſhould be apprehenſive of any danger, and ſent the proviſion on board their boat which ſhe had provided for their ſupper, with matts for them to lie upon: And the captain who wrote the relation it ſeems, was of opinion they might ſafely have continued on ſhore; for a more kind and loving people he thought there could not be in the world, as he expreſſed himſelf.

The Virginians an inoffenſive hoſpitable people.

Theſe Indians having never ſeen any Europeans before, were mightily taken with the whiteneſs of their ſkins, and took it as a great favour if any Engliſhman would permit any of them to touch his breaſt. They were amazed alſo at the magnitude and ſtructure of their ſhips, and at the firing of a muſket they trembled, having never ſeen any fire-arms before.

The Engliſh return home.

The Engliſh continued to trade with the Indians till they had diſpoſed of all the goods they had brought, and loaded their ſhips with ſkins, ſaſſafras and cedar. They procur'd alſo ſome pearls from them, and a little tobacco, which they found the Indians very fond of. After which they parted with this people in a very friendly manner, and return'd home to England, taking with them MANTEO and WANCHESE, two Indians, who appear'd deſirous to embark for England with them; and having made a very profitable voyage, they gave Mr. RALEGH and the reſt of their employers ſuch a glorious account of the country as made them impatient till they had provided ſhips for another voyage. The tobacco the Captains AMIDAS and BARLOW brought home with them in this voyage was the firſt that had been ſeen in England, and was ſoon cry'd up as a moſt valuable plant, and a ſovereign remedy for almoſt every malady. But to proceed.

A ſecond voyage by Sir Edward Greenvile.

Mr. RALEGH and his friends having fitted out a fleet conſiſting of ſeven ſhips, and given the command of it to Sir EDWARD GREENVILE, they ſet ſail from Plymouth, on the 9th of April 1585, and made the Canary Iſlands on the 14th of the ſame month, from whence they ſteer'd to the Antilles, which they made the 7th of May, and on the 12th came to an anchor at the iſland of Porto Rico, where they put their men on ſhore and took in freſh water and proviſions; and ſetting ſail again on the 29th of May they arrived at the iſland of Wokokon on the 26th of June, where the Admiral's ſhip was caſt away going into the harbour, but himſelf and the crew ſaved.

They arrived at Wokokon.

Make diſcoveries on the continent.

The Admiral with ſeveral of his officers, attended with a good guard, went over to the continent on the 11th of July, and came to the town of Secotan, where they were hoſpitably entertain'd by the natives; but ſome pilfering Indian having ſtolen a ſilver cup from the Engliſh, which the natives promis'd to reſtore; and neglecting to do it, the Admiral, in his return plunder'd one of their towns and burnt it with all the corn growing in their fields; at which the country being incens'd the Admiral ſet ſail from the iſland of Wokokon on the 21ſt of July, and arriv'd at Cape Hatteras, where GRANGANIMO, brother to King WINGINA, came on board the fleet, and had a friendly conference with the Admiral; after which the Engliſh landed on the iſland of Roanoak, in the mouth of Albermarle river. Here the fleet remained about ſix weeks, during which time Sir EDWARD GREENVILE took a view of the neighbouring continent again, and made experiments of the goodneſs of the ſoil by ſeveral ſorts of grain he ſow'd, which came up very kindly during his ſtay there: And on the 25th of Auguſt he ſet ſail for England, leaving one hundred and eight men upon the iſland of Roanoak, under the command of Captain RALPH LANE, with directions to make further diſcoveries, promiſing them ſuch ſupplies and reinforcements as might enable them to ſubdue the neighbouring continent.

Burn an Indian town.

Sail to the iſland of Roanoak.

A colony of an hundred and eight men left there.

Sir EDWARD GREENVILE was no ſooner ſail'd for England, but Mr. LANE made preparations with his boats (for I don't perceive one ſhip was left him) to diſcover the continent on the north and weſt; and to the north he view'd the coaſt from the iſland of Roanoak almoſt to cape Henry, at the entrance of the bay of Cheſepeak, being about an hundred and forty miles, in which he met with no oppoſition from the natives; but afterwards communicating his deſign of making a diſcovery as far to the weſtward up the river Morotock, or Albermarle, to his friend King WINGINA, the ſovereign of the oppoſite continent, that Prince was alarmed and gave notice to the neighbouring Princes, his allies, to be upon their guard; for the Engliſh intended nothing leſs, as he conceived, than to make an entire conqueſt of their country, and to extirpate the inhabitants, or to make them ſlaves; and orders were immediately diſpatch'd through the whole country to carry off or deſtroy all their corn and proviſions, and to retire from the banks of the river Morotock with their wives and families, that the Engliſh might find no ſubſiſtance.

Sir Edward Greenvile returns to England. The Engliſh make diſcoveries to the northward.

Propoſe the doing the ſame to the weſtward, which alarms the Indians.

A confederacy form'd againſt the colony.

However, King WINGINA, or PAMISPAN, as he is ſometimes call'd, ſtill pretended great friendſhip for the Engliſh, and promis'd Mr. LANE to furniſh him with guides in this expedition; and to incite him to undertake it, told him, there were great quantities of gold to be found towards the head of the river Morotock, about thirty or forty days journey to the weſtward, and that ſome few days march beyond the head of that river, they would arrive at a great ocean; for as the Engliſh had made WINGINA acquainted with their intended expedition, weakly imagining they ſhould be ſupported in the enterprize by his advice and aſſiſtance; the penetrating Indian diſcerning that the principal views of the Engliſh were to rob them of their treaſures, to make a conqueſt of the country, and find a paſſage to ſome ocean they apprehended lay weſt of Virginia, encourag'd Captain LANE to believe that their expectations would not be diſappointed, but that they would find ſome gold or mineral like it in their mountains, and arrrive at the ocean they mentioned within the ſpace of forty days, where they would meet with pearls of an uncommon ſize; for he propoſed by ſuch repreſentations to draw the Engliſh far up the river into the inland country, where they would run a great hazard of being famiſh'd before they could get back to Roanoak; their fire-arms being ſuch a terror to the Indian Princes, that they deſpaired of overcoming theſe invaders but by ſome ſuch ſtratagem.

Mr.

The country deſtroyed and abandoned by the natives.

The party ſent on the diſcovery in danger of being ſtarved.

A ſecond conſpiracy againſt them.

Admiral Drake arrives at Roanoak.

Mr. Lane not imagining King Wingina, his Indian friend, had ſagacity enough to diſcover the bottom of his deſigns, but ſtill had the ſame friendſhip for the Engliſh he had hitherto profeſſed, enter'd upon the expedition to the weſtward with the guides Wingina had lent him; and not doubting but he ſhould be able to purchaſe corn and fleſh of the natives who inhabited the banks of the river Morotock, he took little proviſion with him; but to his great ſurprize he found the whole country abandoned, and that there was no food to be met with: And as he advanced he obſerved the natives made fires to give notice of his approach, and fled with all their effects. So that our adventurers, after they had rowed four days up the river, were reduced to great ſtraits, having nothing left to ſubſiſt on but the fleſh of two maſtiff-dogs they killed. Whereupon they haſtened to the mouth of the river again, to which they were by good fortune carried down in much leſs time than they went up, and arrived at the iſland of Roanoak on Eaſter-day, 1586; where they found Wingina and his Indians, who ſtill made great profeſſions of friendſhip for the Engliſh, but immediately entered into another conſpiracy with their allies to deſtroy them: And the firſt ſtep Wingina took towards it was to prohibit the natives to furniſh the Engliſh with proviſions; for want of which he was ſenſible they muſt divide themſelves into ſeveral parties to procure food by hunting and fiſhing. Then he appointed a general rendezvous of the Indians near the coaſt, ordering them on the 10th of June, in the night-time, to embark in their canoes and make a deſcent on the iſland of Roanoak; at which inſtant he promiſed them to ſet fire to the hutts of the Engliſh, and as they would be reduc'd to a ſmall number by their ſending detachments to the neighbouring iſlands in ſearch of food, he did not doubt but the natives would be able to knock thoſe on the head who remain'd at Roanoak, when they ſhould run out of their houſes naked and unarm'd to avoid the flames. But this conſpiracy being diſcover'd to captain Lane by Skyco, the ſon of Menatonon, an Indian Prince, with whom captain Lane had contracted an intimate friendſhip, the captain reſolved to be before-hand with Wingina, and on the laſt of May ſurprized him with ſeveral more of the Indian Chiefs, and cut them in pieces. And on the 8th of June following, Sir Francis Drake arrived on the coaſt with a fleet of men of war under his command; which had been employed in attacking and plundering the Spaniſh towns and harbours in North-America.

Takes up the colony and carries them home.

The Admiral being directed to give the colony at Roanoak all the aſſiſtance he could, agreed to leave with them a ſhip and ſome men and proviſions, to enable them to make further diſcoveries on the continent; but underſtanding on what ill terms they were with the natives, and that it would be impoſſible to eſtabliſh a colony there without a much greater force now the Indians were become their enemies, he ordered them to return to England the following Auguſt, which was no ſooner agreed on than there aroſe a ſtorm, in which the whole fleet was in danger of ſhipwreck, and the ſhip and proviſions the Admiral had given them was driven out to ſea and loſt. Whereupon he thought fit to take Mr. Lane and his company to England with him; and thus ended the firſt attempt of Mr. Ralegh to ſettle a colony on the American coaſt.

A ſhip with proviſions arrives.

It was but a few days after Sir Francis Drake had carry'd away Captain Lane and his company from the iſland of Roanoak, before a ſhip arrived with men, ammunition, and proviſions for the colony; but not finding any European there or in the adjacent iſlands or continent, they concluded the colony had been deſtroyed, and returned to England.

Sir Edward Greenvile arrives with three ſhips. Leaves fifteen men at Roanoak.

About a fortnight after the laſt ſhip had left the iſland of Roanoak, Sir Edward Greenvile arrived there with three ſhips, and a much more ample ſupply of ammunition and proviſions, and made all the enquiry he was able after the colony, but could hear nothing of them; however, he left fifteen men, with ammuniton and proviſion for two years, and returned to England.

Another colony of 150 men ſent to Roanoak under Cap. White.

None of the fifteen men to be found.

In the beginning of the year 1587, Sir Walter Ralegh fitted out three ſhips more, on board of which he put one hundred and fifty men, beſides mariners, giving the command of them to Captain John White, whom he appointed governor, but added twelve aſſiſtants, incorporating them by the name of the Governor and Aſſiſtants of the city of Ralegh in Virginia. This little ſquadron ſet ſail from Portſmouth on the 28th of April, 1587, and the 19th of June following made the Caribbee iſlands, landing the planters at the iſland of Santa Cruz to refreſh them and take in freſh water: And re-imbarking their people three days after, they ſet ſail again and arriv'd at Cape Fear (in Carolina) on the 16th of July, where they were in great danger of being caſt away; for they did not ſee the cape till they were within a cable's length of it. From Cape Fear they ſtood to the northward, and arrived at Cape Hatteras, near the iſland of Roanoak, on the 22d of July; whereupon they ſent a party of men to ſearch the iſland of Roanoak for the fifteen men Sir Richard Greenvile had left there the year before, but could find none of them, nor any ſigns of their having been there, unleſs the bones of one man they ſuppoſed had been killed. But at the north end of the iſland they found the fort which had been erected by Captain Lane, and the firſt colony with ſeveral of their houſes undemoliſhed; the lower rooms however were over-run with melons, and deer feeding on them.

An Engliſhman ſurpris'd and killed by the Indians.

Sir Walter Ralegh had ordered Captain White and the colony not to fix themſelves at Roanoak, but to ſail northward as far as the bay of Cheſepeak, and erect a town there; but this was oppoſed by Ferdinando the Spaniſh pilot, to whoſe care the fleet was committed, under pretence that it was too late in the year to look out for another port. Whereupon Governor White and the reſt of the planters determined to ſtay at Roanoak, and to repair the fort and houſes they found there. They had not been on ſhore a week before Mr. George How, one of the court of aſſiſtants, ſtragling a mile or two from the fort, was deſperately wounded with ſixteen arrows by a party of Indians, who had concealed themſelves in the reeds and flags by the ſea-ſide, and ſeeing him diſabled, they beat out his brains with their wooden ſwords and clubs.

A detachment ſent to Croatan.

On the 30th of July, twenty men, under the command of Captain Stafford, were detach'd to the iſland of Croatan, with Menteo the Indian, whoſe mother and relations dwelt in that iſland, to enquire after the fifteen men, and to renew their ancient friendſhip with the people of that iſland. The natives ſeemed at firſt prepared to oppoſe Captain Stafford's landing; but upon his marching towards them with his muſketeers they fled. Whereupon Manteo call'd to his countrymen, telling them the Engliſh came as friends;

and the Indians knowing his voice returned, and throwing away their bows and arrows, bid the Captain welcome, and afterwards conducted him to their town, entertaining him and his people in the beſt manner they could; but they deſir'd the Engliſh would give them ſome badge or mark whereby they might be diſtinguiſhed from their Indian enemies when they met with them out of the iſland, for want of which ſeveral of their friends had been hurt and wounded the year before by Captain LANE and his people. This Captain STAFFORD agreed to, and afterwards directed the Croatans to go over to the continent and acquaint the inhabitants of Secotan, Pomeiok, &c. that if they would accept of the friendſhip of the Engliſh, and enter into an alliance with them, all paſt injuries ſhould be forgot, which the chiefs of the Croatans promiſed to do, and to return within ſeven days with the anſwer of the Weroances, or heads of thoſe tribes (to which our adventurers were pleas'd to give the titles of Kings).

Some account of the fifteen Engliſh that were loſt.

They underſtood alſo from the inhabitants of Croatan, that the fifteen men Sir EDWARD GREENVILE had left at Roanoak the year before, had been ſurpriſed by the people of Secotan and ſome other Indian powers, who coming over to the iſland as friends, took an opportunity to ſet fire to their houſes, and murdered ſome of them as they run out unarm'd to avoid the flames: However, eight or nine of the Engliſh eſcaped to the water-ſide, and went over in their boat to a little iſland on the right-hand of Cape Hatteras; that the Engliſh ſome time after removed from the ſaid iſland, but whither they went, or what became of them they could not tell.

An expedition againſt Secotan.

Captain STAFFORD afterwards returned, and acquainting governor WHITE with what he had done, it was reſolved to wait ſeven days for the anſwer of the Weroances of Secotan, &c. before they entered upon further action. But the ſeven days being expired, and none of the Weroances of Secotan, &c. appearing, nor any anſwer to their meſſage being brought by the men of Croatan, as they had promiſed, the Governor took four and twenty men with him, well arm'd, and went over to the continent on the 8th of Auguſt, in the evening, determining to be revenged on the people of Secotan and their allies for driving the fifteen Engliſh from Roanoak, and murdering Mr. How: And having been informed where one of their principal towns was, he attacked it in the night-time, with an intent to deſtroy all the men in it; but inſtead of his enemies he found his friends of Croatan poſſeſs'd of the place, and hurt and wounded ſeveral of them before he diſcover'd his miſtake; for the people of Secotan, after they had murder'd HOW, expecting this viſit, had retir'd to the in-land country with precipitation, and left their corn, tobacco, and fruits behind them, which the people of Croatan had been gathering in: And this was the reaſon they did not return within the ſeven days, as they had promiſed. They readily acknowledged therefore that the miſchief they had received was by miſtake, and that they themſelves were the occaſion of it by not keeping their words.

The Indians on the ſea-coaſt run away.

Manteo baptized, and made Governor of Croatan.

Governor WHITE being returned to Roanoak on the 13th of Auguſt, MANTEO the Indian was baptized, and conſtituted Lord of the iſland of Roanoak, and of the oppoſite continent of Deſamongapeak, as Sir WALTER RALEGH had order'd; and on the 18th of the ſame month, Mrs. ELEANOR DARE, wife of Mr. ANANIAS DARE, one of the court of aſſiſtants, and daughter of Governor WHITE, was delivered of a daughter, afterwards baptized by the name of VIRGINIA. And now all the planters ſtores and proviſions being landed, and the ſhips ready to ſail, the colony determined to ſend back two of the court of aſſiſtants to England to ſolicit for further re-inforcements and ſupplies, thoſe they had with them not being thought ſufficient to eſtabliſh a colony on the continent, as the Indians were moſt of them their profeſs'd enemies. But at length it was thought moſt proper to depute Governor WHITE himſelf, who had the greateſt intereſt at the court of England, and on whoſe diligence and application they could moſt rely: And with great reluctance he was prevailed on to undertake this office, apprehending his reputation might ſuffer if he had left the colony and return'd to England before he had effected any thing.

Mrs. Dare deliver'd of her daughter Virginia.

Governor White ſent to England for ſupplies.

White arrives in England a little before the Spaniſh invaſion in 1588.

Captain WHITE ſetting ſail for England, arriv'd there at a time when the nation was alarm'd with the rumour of the intended Spaniſh invaſion, which was attempted the following ſummer, 1588, to oppoſe which the Queen and the whole kingdom were employ'd, eſpecially DRAKE, RALEGH, and the reſt of the ſea commanders. And as the ſtate ſeem'd to be in imminent danger, all leſſer enterprizes were neglected or poſtpon'd, and conſequently Governor WHITE's application in behalf of the unhappy colony he had left in America was very little attended to, inſomuch that he was not able to obtain leave for any ſhips to be ſent thither till the beginning of the year 1590: And then all that he could procure was an order that three ſmall men of war, which were going to cruize againſt the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies, ſhould take ſome re-inforcements and proviſions on board for the colony at Roanoak; which order they were far from obeying as they ought to have done, for they only took Governor WHITE on board, refuſing to carry either planters or proviſions thither. Sir WALTER RALEGH either had not intereſt enough at this time to cauſe his orders to be obey'd, or was employ'd in enterprizes wherein he expected to acquire more wealth or glory than in ſupporting his Virginian colony, which occaſioned his neglecting thoſe unfortunate people who had been induc'd to hazard their lives and all that was dear to them in his ſervice.

Above two years before he could get any ſhips ſent to Roanoak.

Mr. WHITE relates, that the commanders of the men of war with whom he went to America, having ſpent moſt of the ſummer in cruizing among the Spaniſh iſlands, did not arrive at Roanoak till the middle of Auguſt, 1590; and that ſearching the iſland of Roanoak they found, by ſome inſcriptions cut on the trees and beams of the houſes, that the colony was removed to the iſland of Croatan. But before they removed they had buried their cheſts, and great part of their effects, which the Indians afterwards dug up and ſpoiled. Governor WHITE, with much importunity, procur'd the conſent of the Captains of the men of war to follow the colony to Croatan: But the weather growing tempeſtuous they were in great danger of ſhipwreck, and loſt moſt of their anchors and cables. Whereupon they ſailed directly to England, and left the colony to ſhift for themſelves; and whether they were famiſh'd, or cut in pieces by the Indians, or periſhed in attempting to get home by ſea, I could never learn, for they have never been heard of from that day to this. This muſt render people exceeding cautious how they engage in ſuch enterprizes on the faith and promiſes of courtiers to ſupport them. The ſafety of the ſtate, a project of more importance, or the proſpect of gaining greater treaſures another

The colony remov'd to Croatan.

Where they periſhed, being abandoned by Sir Walter Ralegh.

way, are too often thought ſufficient reaſons for abandoning our diſtreſſed friends: And indeed, during the year 1588, when the whole kingdom was at ſtake, there might be ſome colour for Sir Walter's not ſending re-inforcements to his colony; but when that was over, and an invaſion no longer feared, he might, one would have thought, have caſt an eye towards a company of men who had run the greateſt hazard, relying upon his word and honour to ſuſtain them. He might, ſurely, have re-inforced his colony, or brought them back, conſidering the figure he then made in the court of England and royal navy: But I doubt, the capture of the galleons, the plunder of Cades, and the gold-mines of Guiana, which he went in ſearch of ſoon after, put the Virginian colony too much out of his head, after he found himſelf diſappointed in his principal view of poſſeſſing mountains of gold in Virginia.

Sir Walter charged with levity as well as avarice.

Goes in ſearch of other gold mines at Guiana.

Sir Walter alſo ſeems chargeable with levity as well as avarice, ſince after he had obtained the property of Virginia by letters patents from Queen Elizabeth, and had ſent ſeveral colonies thither, he became in a ſhort time ſo regardleſs of that country, or the fate of thoſe who had embarked in that enterprize in confidence of being ſupported by him, that he went in ſearch of other gold-mines in Guiana, the magazine of all rich metals (as he terms it) and made ſome voyages in perſon thither, in which he was however miſerably diſappointed, and diſcovered great weakneſs and credulity in the accounts he had left behind him of that country; for he was made to believe there was more gold and precious ſtones in Guiana than in Mexico and Peru; though it appears there is leſs of either there than in any part of Spaniſh America. He was made to believe alſo that one of the nations of Guiana were a headleſs people, and that their mouths were in the middle of their breaſts, and their eyes in their ſhoulders; of which he tells us, there was no doubt to be made, he having been aſſured of it from a cloud of witneſſes. Whatever prudence and conduct Sir Walter may have diſcovered on other occaſions, the proſpect of gold-mines and mountains of precious ſtones he expected to find in Guiana ſeem to have diſordered his brain to a very great degree; for after repeated diſappointments, he never deſiſted his ſearch, until at length it prov'd fatal to him.

Purchase indeed relates, that while he was endeavouring in perſon to diſcover the gold-mines of Guiana, he did order ſome veſſels to enquire after his colony at Roanoak, but was deceived by thoſe he employed, who never went the voyage, except one Mace, who undertook it in the year 1602, and was killed by the natives on his going on ſhore with ſeveral of his crew, the reſt eſcaping with difficulty.

Thus it appears but too evident, that Sir Walter Ralegh's expectations of diſcovering immenſe treaſures in Guiana were in a great meaſure the ruin of our firſt attempts to ſettle colonies in Virginia.

He ſeems in raptures when he firſt viſited thoſe ſhores, which he endeavours to make his friends believe were all gold and precious ſtones.

I am aſſured, ſays Sir Walter, by ſuch Spaniards as have ſeen Manoa, the imperial city of Guiana, and which they (the Spaniards) call El Dorado, or the Golden-city, that for the greatneſs, the riches, and excellent ſituation, it exceeds all the world. All the veſſels and utenſils of the Emperor's houſe are of gold and ſilver, with ſtatues of gold reſembling giants. There are alſo the figures of all animals, beaſts, birds, and fiſhes, as big as the life. There is not any vegetable but they have the figure of it in gold; and golden-billets lie piled up on heaps, in imitation of fire-wood. And in another place he relates, that there were mountains of diamonds in Guiana; which it is evident he believed himſelf, though in fact there was never any ſuch city as Manoa, or ſuch an Emperor as he mentions, and very little gold to be met with in Guiana, as the French and Dutch will inform us, who have ſettlements in that very country, which he places between the equator and five degrees of north latitude, or between the rivers Oronoque and Amazon. However, his expectations of finding it what he deſcribes was no doubt the reaſon of his neglecting thoſe colonies which he had ſent to Virginia: That he was conſcious of the diſtreſs they muſt be reduced to appears by his telling the Spaniards, in one of the voyages he made to Guiana, that he was bound for Virginia, to relieve the people he left there: And he informs us, that he had an intention to have viſited them in his return from Guiana, if the winds had favoured him.

And it is not the moſt improbable conjecture, that the reaſon Queen Elizabeth did not aſſiſt him with her ſhips and forces to ſubdue this golden country, as he had repreſented it to be, was, that he had deceived her once before, by repreſenting Virginia as ſuch which he now neglected. She had found his weak ſide. She diſcerned his avarice and credulity, and did not think fit to hazard her ſhips or ſubjects until ſhe had better proofs of the reality of thoſe treaſures. Theſe are ſome of the reaſons that this Princeſs made no further attempts to ſettle colonies in America in her reign, though ſhe lived a dozen years or more after White's laſt expedition to Virginia. She was too wiſe a Princeſs to be deceived twice by one perſon in the ſame caſe, and no private adventurers would undertake to ſend colonies thither after they ſaw ſuch a body of men abandoned by their employers.

As Sir Walter himſelf obſerves, it was the hopes of gold that was the principal and almoſt only motive to theſe undertakings. Our people had obſerved the ſucceſs of the Spaniards, and imagined that gold and ſilver-mines were as common in America as Lead-mines are in Europe. The firſt adventurers, whether Engliſh or Spaniſh, had no view or thought of finding any thing elſe in that new world but gold and ſilver, that would anſwer the expence and hazard of ſuch voyages. They did not dream at that time, that the Virginian tobacco would be as profitable as a gold-mine, as we found it afterwards to be, when we purchaſed with it moſt of the merchandize of Europe as with ready money. Nor did they foreſee that extenſive and profitable traffick that is now carried on between Europe and the plantations; which is, in reality, a greater advantage to ſome powers than the mines of Peru and Mexico are to the Spaniards.

I have been the more particular in this part of the hiſtory relating to the firſt attempts of the Engliſh to ſettle colonies on the coaſt of Virginia, becauſe I find Colonel Beverley and Mr. Oldmixon, who have written the hiſtory of it, have omitted many material facts, and do not ſeem to have entered into the real motives of deſerting that enterprize in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Some errors in Mr. Oldmixon's hiſtory.

Mr. Oldmixon alſo has committed ſome miſtakes in the ſhort relation he gives us; for firſt he tells us, that ſeveral of the colony left at Roanoak, under the command of Captain Lane, were cut off by the natives, whereas there was not one of Captain Lane's men killed by them. He adds alſo, that they remained at Roanoak until Auguſt, 1586, when it appears Sir Francis Drake took them on board in June 1586, and carried them to England.

He makes Captain White to conſtitute a government, conſiſting of a Governor and twelve Counſellors, whereas White himſelf was appointed Governor by Sir Walter Ralegh, and twelve Aſſiſtants given him before he left England, who were incorporated by the name of the Governor and Aſſiſtants of the city of Ralegh in Virginia.

He relates, that Mrs. Dare, who was delivered of the firſt child on the coaſt of Virginia, was the daughter of Mr. Ananias Dare; but it ſeems ſhe was the daughter of Governor White, and wife of Mr. Dare, one of the court of Aſſiſtants.

The colony is likewiſe repreſented to be in great diſtreſs before Governor White returned to England, whereas he did not remain at Roanoak above two or three months at moſt, returning to England the latter end of the year 1587, in which time the proviſions they carried with them could not be ſpent; and it appears to have been Autumn, when the corn and fruits were ripe, of which they received large ſupplies from the continent while Governor White was there, and had then plenty of fiſh upon the coaſt. The reaſon of ſending Governor White to England was to procure a reinforcement of troops, and ſupplies of ammunition and proviſions, without which it was foreſeen they could not eſtabliſh themſelves on the continent, as they were then in a ſtate of hoſtility with the Indians, who would neither treat or traffick with them after they found the Engliſh intended to uſurp the dominion of their country, and had taken upon them to put to death ſome of their Weroances or great men.

Mr. Oldmixon relates alſo, that after two years, Governor White procured three ſhips to be fitted out with men and proviſions for the colony of Roanoak; whereas, according to Mr. White's own account of that matter, all that he could procure of the government was, to permit three men of war, which were going to cruize in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, to call at Roanoak, and complains that they refuſed to take either men or proviſions on board, and would not ſo much as let him carry a ſervant with him.

Mr. Oldmixon adds, that the misfortunes of this colony were the occaſion that no further attempts were made to plant Virginia in this reign; whereas it is agreed on all hands, that no body knew what their fate was until a great while afterwards. Sir Walter did not ſuppoſe the Virginian colony was loſt in the year 1594, for in that very year he tells us, he had ſome thoughts of calling on them in his return from Guiana; and Purchase obſerves he ſent a bark to enquire after them ſo late as the year 1602.

An enquiry by what right Chriſtian Princes invade Pagan countries.

Give me leave, before I proceed further in this hiſtory, to make ſome reflections on that authority Chriſtian Princes and States have heretofore aſſumed and exerciſed (and which ſome ſtill claim) of invading and uſurping the dominion of all infidel nations, and treating the natives as their ſlaves and vaſſals, and to conſider the right they pretend to of excluding both Chriſtians and Pagans from all countries whither they have ſent any colonies.

The Pope ſeems firſt to have aſſumed an authority of diſpoſing of ſuch countries as were in the poſſeſſion of Infidels or Hereticks by virtue of the powers he pretends to derive from Jesus Christ: And in this all Chriſtian Princes appear to have acquieſced when he granted the eaſt to the Portugueſe and the weſt to the Spaniards. No European power pretended to diſturb either of thoſe crowns in the enjoyment of what they poſſeſſed themſelves of in the heathen world for many years. But the Pope's power of transferring infidel kingdoms to whom he pleaſed was no ſooner called in queſtion than every ſovereign Prince in Europe aſſumed the like authority, and in all their patents for diſcovery granted their ſubjects the dominion and property of every Pagan country they ſhould invade; being induced to it, I preſume, by the Turkiſh maxim, that dominion is founded in grace, or in other words, that unbelievers could have no right to this world any more than the next. This ſeems to have been the univerſal opinion of both Proteſtants and Papiſts when Queen Elizabeth granted Sir Walter Ralegh a patent to ſubdue and govern thoſe Pagan countries he ſhould diſcover; the tenour of that patent implying as much: though, at this day, we are generally agreed, that Chriſtian Princes have nothing to do to invade or inſlave Heathen nations, but that Pagan Princes and States have as good a right to their countries, their liberties and poſſeſſions as the beſt and moſt powerful Chriſtian Monarchs have to their dominions in this part of the world; and conſequently all the invaſions and uſurpations that have been made upon the Heathen world by Chriſtians were unjuſt, and the conqueſt of them upon ſuch unjuſt grounds could give none of them a right to the territories of thoſe Pagan powers, or to the properties of their ſubjects, ſo long as there were any heirs remaining to claim their reſpective rights; which the Spaniards, Portugueſe, and Dutch, ſeem to have been ſo conſcious of, that they in a manner extirpated the nations they conquered to defeat all prior claims, and thus by exceſs of villainy have, as they imagine, derived a right to themſelves by way of occupancy: The poſſeſſor being deemed by ſome to have the beſt right where none can ſhew a better, eſpecially after a long and uninterrupted poſſeſſion. But this can never be ſound doctrine ſurely in regard to kingdoms, inaſmuch as it encourages wicked uſurpers to be ſtill greater villains in order to eſtabliſh themſelves. One would rather be inclined to believe that any neighbouring nation had a right to ſuch ruined and abdicated kingdoms, and that it was incumbent on all other powers to unite in driving the uſurper from a country he had thus barbarouſly invaded and deſtroyed.

On the other hand it is ſaid, that America was but thinly inhabited in compariſon of this part of the world, and there was room enough both for them and us: That no Prince or private man can have a right to exclude all others from a country too large for the preſent poſſeſſors to enjoy or cultivate: And that by teaching the natives huſbandry and other arts, we ſhewed them the way to live elegantly, and to make five hundred acres of land of more value than twenty thouſand, which were before nothing but bogs or foreſts, and inhabited by wild beaſts more than men. It could never be the deſign of the creation that the earth ſhould remain the property of a few huntſmen, unimproved and uncultivated, as America muſt have done if the Europeans had been excluded from ſending colonies thither.

To this it is reply'd, that we ought not however to have intruded ourſelves by force to the prejudice of the original inhabitants, but to have proceeded in the method ſome of the ancients did. We ought to have inſinuated ourſelves into their good opinion, to have ſhewn them the beauty and the excellence of the Chriſtian religion, and the benevolent principles it taught: We ought to have convinced them how beneficial the European arts and ſciences would be to them and their country, and then we ſhould not have failed of being received with kindneſs, and even veneration, as Ceres and Bacchus anciently were: We ſhould have been looked upon as good angels, or at leaſt as the great benefactors of mankind; and admitted and even invited to ſhare their country with them for the ſake of the improvements we might make in it. But admitting we had a right to fix ourſelves in any vacant parts of America, we certainly could have none to drive the natives from the reſt, and inſult and tyrannize over them: And I have not obſerv'd any inſtance from our firſt attempts to ſettle colonies there to this day, where we have treated the natives with humanity and benevolence, but they have been ready to reſign to us as much of their reſpective countries as we could plant and cultivate, upon very moderate conſiderations.

And as for that other piece of tyranny ſo generally practiſed by the Spaniards, Dutch, and Portugueſe, namely, the excluding the natives from converſing or trafficking with any other people but their own, and the debarring all other nations from entering their ports, I cannot ſee the juſtice of it. Every free people in this part of the world have certainly the liberty of trading with thoſe of another without aſking leave of the Spaniards or the Dutch, notwithſtanding thoſe powers may have colonies in ſome part of the ſaid continent or iſlands. How their poſſeſſing a town or two upon the Indian coaſt can give them a right of excluding all other European nations from reſorting thither and trafficking with the natives, or what right any European powers can have to lie with their ſhips before the Indian harbours, and to oppoſe and even murder the natives for attempting to ſell the produce of their country to foreigners, as the Dutch do in the Eaſt-Indies, and the Spaniards in America, is not eaſy to conceive.

Such reflections as theſe are not only natural but unavoidable upon enquiring into the original of our American colonies.

I proceed now to the remaining part of the Virginian hiſtory; and though I cannot approve the conduct of our nation in all places, yet it will appear that we have uſed leſs violence and oppreſſion in the ſettlements we have made than any other nation, and in many places have fairly contracted with the inhabitants for what we have obtained, and given them what they eſteem'd a valuable conſideration for the lands they transferred to us.

The Virginian hiſtory continued.

In the year 1602, on the 26th of March, Captain Gilbert alſo ſet ſail from Plymouth with thirty-two mariners and landmen; the landmen being commanded by Captain Gosnold, and deſigned for a colony. They arrived in that part of Virginia now called New-England, being in 42 degrees north latitude, on the 14th of May following; where there came on board them ſeveral of the natives in an European boat, ſome of them alſo being cloathed like Europeans, the boat and cloaths having been given them by ſome fiſhermen who frequented Newfoundland; but moſt of them had mantles of Deer-ſkins. They afterwards ſailed to the ſouthward, and came to a promontory call'd Cape Cod, from the ſhoals of Cod-fiſh they met with there, and that name it retains to this day. Here Captain Gosnold went on ſhore, and found Peas, Strawberries, and other fruits growing, and ſaw a great deal of good timber. They ſailed from this point to the ſouthward, and arrived at another promontory, which they call'd Gilbert's Point, the name of the captain of the ſhip, the ſhores appearing full of people. Some of them came on board, and tho' they were peaceable enough, they were obſerved to be thieviſh. The Engliſh afterwards bending their courſe to the ſouth-weſt, they came to an uninhabited iſland in 41 degrees, to which they gave the name of Martha's Vineyard; and to another iſland, a little further to the ſouthward, they gave the name of Elizabeth Iſland, and theſe iſlands are ſtill call'd by thoſe names.

Upon Elizabeth Iſland, lying about four miles from the continent, Captain Gosnold propoſed to ſettle with his little colony, and to that end went on ſhore there on the 28th of May. He found the iſland cover'd with timber and underwood, among which were oak, aſh, beech, walnut, hazel, cedars, cypreſs, and ſaſſafras. And as to fruits, here were cherries, vines, gooſberies, ſtrawberries, raſberries, ground-nuts, and Peas; and alſo variety of roots and ſallad-herbs. Here, in the middle of a freſh water lake, which ſurrounded a little rocky iſland, containing an acre of ground, they began to erect a houſe and fort capable of receiving twenty men.

A fort erected by the Engliſh

While this was doing, Captain Gosnold ſail'd over to the continent, where he found a great many people, and was treated very courteouſly by them, every one making a preſent of what he had about him, ſuch as ſkins, furrs, tobacco, chains and necklaces of copper, ſhells, and the like for which the Engliſh gave them ſome toys, and returned to their fort.

Two or three days afterwards, one of the Indian Chiefs, with fifty ſtout men armed with bows and arrows, came over from the continent to the iſland in their country boats, and there being then but eight Engliſhmen on ſhore, they ſtood upon their guard until the natives gave them to underſtand they came in a friendly manner to viſit them. Whereupon they were invited to eat and drink, and ſat down to dinner with the Engliſh on their heels, expreſſing a great deal of good humour. The Indians made them another viſit two or three days after, when they behaved themſelves very peaceably alſo; but one of the natives having ſtolen a ſhield, was made to return it, and they ſeemed apprehenſive the Engliſh would revenge it; but finding them ſtill eaſy and ſociable, they were merry together, and parted again in a friendly manner. But as two of the Engliſh were ſtraggling by the ſea-ſide two days after, to get Crabs, four Indians attacked them, and wounded one of the Engliſh with an arrow; whereupon the other Engliſhman diſarmed the aggreſſor, and the reſt run away. This ſeems to have been the only quarrel there was between the Engliſh and the Indians in this voyage; however, the colony which was deſign'd to be left there, who were twenty in number, being apprehenſive it would be difficult for them to ſubſiſt till ſupplies and re-inforcements came from England, if the natives ſhould prove their enemies, eſpecially as their proviſions, upon examination, appear'd much ſhorter than was expected; it was reſolved to abandon their little fort in

The Engliſh abandon their fort and return to England.

in the iſland, and return (all of them) to England. Having therefore taken on board ſome Cedar and Saſſafras, Beaver-ſkins, Deer-ſkins, black Fox-ſkins, and other peltry they had receiv'd of the natives for the goods they carry'd thither; they ſet ſail from the iſland of Elizabeth on the 18th of June, arriving at Exmouth in Devon, on the 23d of July following, without having loſt one man; but they made no attempt to find their unhappy countrymen, who had been left at Roanoak, in the year 1587.

Mr. Hackluit and others licenſed to trade to Virginia by Sir Walter Ralegh.

The next year (1603) the reverend Mr. HACKLUIT, Prebendary of the Cathedral of Briſtol, a gentleman of an enterprizing genius, who compiled the firſt collection of voyages that ever was publiſhed in Engliſh, having convers'd with ſome of the laſt adventurers, propos'd to the merchants of Briſtol the ſending ſome ſhips on the ſame voyage; which they conſented to, and he agreed to become an adventurer with them: But as Sir WALTER RALEGH had a patent for the planting Virginia, it was thought proper to ſend Mr. HACKLUIT and ſome others to him to obtain his leave for making the voyage; which he readily granted under his hand and ſeal, together with all the profits they ſhould make by it, having no longer any thoughts of planting that country himſelf.

Captain Pringe's voyage.

Queen Elizabeth dies.

Being thus authoris'd to traffick to Virginia, our adventurers fitted out a ſmall Veſſel, called the Speedwell, burthen fifty ton, and man'd with thirty hands, of which MARTIN PRINGE, an expert mariner, was appointed commander. They alſo ſent another ſmall bark with him of twenty-ſix ton, and carrying fourteen hands; both which veſſels being victual'd for eight months, they put on board a cargo conſiſting of cloathing both Linen and woollen, hats, ſhoes, ſtockings, carpenters tools, implements of huſbandry and gardening, looking-glaſſes, pins, needles, thread, and other haberdaſhers wares; knives, ſciſſars, fiſh-hooks, bells, beads, and other glittering toys, which they apprehended moſt acceptable to the Indians; with which they ſet ſail from King's-Road, near Briſtol, on the 20th of March, 1603-4; but being put back by contrary winds, they run into Milford-Haven, where they lay till the 10th of April (in which interval they heard of the death of Queen ELIZABETH, that happen'd on the 24th of March 1603-4) when ſetting ſail again, they arriv'd on the coaſt of Virginia (now New-England) in 43 degrees north latitude; from whence they bent their courſe ſouth-weſt till they came into 41 degrees, and going on ſhore there, cut a good quantity of Saſſafras and carried it on board; but leſt they ſhould be ſurpris'd in the woods by the natives while they were at work, they erected a little fort or redoubt, wherein they left their effects and four or five men to guard them while the reſt were at work. The natives came and traffick'd with the Engliſh, forty or fifty in a company, and ſometimes upwards of an hundred, who eat and drank and were very merry with our adventurers, eſpecially when they obſerv'd a lad in their company playing upon a Guittar. They would get round about him, and taking hands, dance twenty or thirty in a ring, after the American manner. Our adventurers obſerv'd, that the natives were more afraid of two maſtiff Dogs they carried with them than of twenty men; and when they deſign'd to get rid of their company they let looſe one of theſe Maſtiffs; whereupon the natives would ſhriek out and run away to the woods; but 'tis probable this uſage, and the erecting a fortification in their country, made the Indians at length look upon the Engliſh as their enemies; for our adventurers inform us, that a party of Indians came and ſurrounded their fort a few days after, when moſt of them were abſent, and would probably have ſurpriz'd it, if the Captain of the ſhip had not fir'd two Guns and alarm'd the workmen in the woods, who thereupon return'd to the relief of the fort. The Indians pretended indeed they had no hoſtile intentions; but our people never cared to truſt them afterwards. And the day before the Engliſh embark'd, the natives came down again in great numbers and ſet fire to the woods where they had cut the Saſſafras; which 'tis probable, was deſigned to let the Engliſh know, they would preſerve nothing in their country which ſhould invite ſuch gueſts to viſit them again; for no doubt the great guns and fire-arms had rendered the Engliſh very terrible to them as well as their dogs.

As to the produce of the ſoil, Captain PRINGE made the ſame obſervations as Captain GOSNOLD had done in the former voyage, adding, that the natives wore their hair tied up and adorned with a great many feathers, flowers, and glittering toys; and that the men had nothing before their nudities but a piece of ſkin of a hand-breadth, which was faſtened to their girdles before and behind, and brought between their legs; and to theſe girdles, which were made of Snake-ſkins, they alſo hung their Tobacco-pouches. They ſaw but two of their women, who wore aprons made of ſkins that reached down to their knees, and had mantles of bear-ſkins, which they hung on one ſhoulder. Their boats were made of the bark of the birch-tree, much of the form of ours, but larger, and ſewed together with Oſier-twigs, the ſeams being covered with a kind of roſin or turpentine of a very fragrant ſmell: And theſe veſſels were ſo exceeding light, that one of them, which would carry nine men, did not weigh ſixty pounds.

Pringe returns to England.

The latter end of July, our adventurers loaded their leaſt bark with ſaſſafras, and ſent her home to England; and on the 9th of Auguſt they ſet ſail with their other ſhip, having gotten a cargo of ſkins and furrs, for which they truck'd away the cloathing and hard ware they carried thither. They arrived at the ſoundings, in the chaps of the chanel, within five weeks after they left the coaſt of Virginia, where they met with contrary winds, ſo that they did not come to King's-Road till the 2d of October, 1604; the Speedwell, the biggeſt ſhip, having been out ſix months in this voyage, and the leaſt ſhip, called the Diſcoverer, five months and a half.

The Lords Southampton and Arundel ſend a ſhip to Virginia. Captain Weymouth's voyage.

In the year 1605, two enterprizing noblemen (viz.) HENRY Earl of Southampton, and THOMAS Lord Arundel, equipp'd a ſhip called the Archangel, and gave the command of it to Captain GEORGE WEYMOUTH, who ſet ſail from the Downs on the 31ſt of March, and came upon the coaſt of Virginia, or rather New-England, on the 14th of May following, being then, as he found by obſervation, in 43 degrees of north latitude. From whence he ſtood to the ſouthward, and arrived at a good harbour, not far from the mouth of HUDSON's river, in 41 degrees odd minutes; and becauſe they diſcovered this harbour on Whitſunday they gave it the name of Pentecoaſt Harbour.

Here they traded with the natives to great advantage, getting forty Beaver-ſkins for the value of five ſhillings in knives and other cutlers wares. Several of the Indians came on board and were entertained, and ſome of the Engliſh went on ſhore, and lay in the Indian houſes all night; but always took that caution to keep ſome of the natives

Some of the Indians ſurpriſed and brought away by the Engliſh.

tives on board as hoſtages; and theſe people not uſing the like caution, when the Engliſh had finiſhed their buſineſs they ſurpriſed three or four of the natives and detained them on board, reſolving to carry them to England; of which their friends being apprized, uſed various ſtratagems to make repriſals by taking ſome of the Engliſh, but had no opportunity; for our adventurers never went on ſhore afterwards, but in a body and well armed, nor would they venture far into the country, having diſcovered an ambuſcade of ſeveral hundred Indians that lay ready to intercept their retreat; whereupon our adventurers cry out mightily of the treacherous diſpoſition of the Indians; whereas they themſelves were much more guilty of treachery in ſurpriſing and running away with ſeveral of the natives. It was natural to expect the Indians would revenge this piece of violence if they could have met with an opportunity, either upon themſelves or the next Europeans that viſited their coaſt, and whenever they have upon the like provocations endeavoured to do themſelves juſtice, our people never fail to exclaim againſt the treachery and barbarity of the Indians, who have much more reaſon to complain of the Europeans for their invaſions and treachery than we have to exclaim againſt them for retaliating ſuch injuries.

Captain Weymouth returns to England.

There happened nothing more worth mentioning in this voyage, but that our adventurers having made a very good market, ſet ſail for England on Sunday the 16th of June, and made the iſlands of Scilly, near the land's end of England, on the 16th of July following.

The enterprizing and mercantile part of the nation being by this time ſufficiently apprized that a very advantagious commerce might be carried on with North-America, tho' they ſhould not meet with gold and ſilver, as the Spaniards had done in that part of the world, and Sir WALTER RALEGH's patent being forfeited by his attainder in the firſt year of this reign, ſeveral gentlemen and merchants petitioned his majeſty King JAMES I. for a patent to enable them to raiſe a joint ſtock, in order to ſettle colonies in Virginia, obſerving that this could never be done effectually but by a company or corporation.

King James's patent for planting Virginia.

Whereupon King JAMES, by his letters patents, dated the 10th of April, 1606, reciting, that Sir THOMAS GATES and Sir GEORGE SUMMERS, Knights; RICHARD HACLUIT Clerk, Prebendary of Weſtminſter, EDWARD-MARIA WINGFIELD, THOMAS HANHAM, and RALEGH GILBERT, Eſquires; WILLIAM PARKER and GEORGE POPHAM, Gentlemen, and divers others, his loving ſubjects, had petitioned him for leave to ſend colonies to Virginia, and ſuch other parts of America, as either appertained to this crown, or which were not actually poſſeſſed by any other Chriſtian Prince or people, and lying between 34 and 45 degrees of northern latitude, and within an hundred miles of the ſea-coaſt; and for the ſpeedy accompliſhment of the ſaid plantation, intended to divide themſelves into two ſeveral companies, the one conſiſting of the adventurers of the city of London, who were deſirous to fix themſelves between the 34th and 41ſt degrees of north latitude; and the other, conſiſting of the adventurers of the cities of Briſtol and Exeter, and the town of Plymouth, who were deſirous to ſettle between 38 and 45 degrees on the coaſt of Virginia in America. His Majeſty, in order to promote ſo noble a work, which might tend to the glory of GOD by propagating the Chriſtian Religion among the Infidels and Savages, and bring them to humanity and civility, did graciouſly accept their petition: And for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, did grant and agree, that the ſaid Sir THOMAS GATES, Sir GEORGE SUMMERS, RICHARD HACKLUIT, and EDWARD-MARIA WINGFIELD, adventurers of the city of London, and all others that ſhould aſſociate with them, ſhould be called the firſt colony, and might begin their firſt plantation at any place upon the ſaid coaſt of Virginia or America, where they ſhould think fit, between 34 and 41 degrees of latitude; and ſhould have all the lands, woods, rivers, ports, fiſhings and hereditaments whatſoever to the ſame belonging or appertaining, from the firſt ſeat of their plantation for fifty miles either way along the coaſt north and ſouth, and an hundred miles to the weſtward within land, with all the iſlands over-againſt the ſaid coaſt, for the ſpace of an hundred miles at ſea, with all the lands, ports, rivers, harbours, fiſhings and mines thereto belonging or appertaining; and liberty to build, plant, and fortify thereon: And that no other ſubjects of this crown ſhould be permitted to ſettle themſelves on the lands to the weſtward of this colony without their leave. And his Majeſty did grant to the aforeſaid THOMAS HANHAM, RALEGH GILBERT, WILLIAM PARKER, and GEORGE POPHAM, of the cities of Briſtol and Exeter, and town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, and all others that ſhould aſſociate with them, that they ſhould be called the ſecond colony, and might begin their firſt plantation upon the ſaid coaſt of Virginia or America, where they ſhould think fit, between 38 and 45 degrees of latitude, and enjoy all the lands, ports, rivers, fiſhing, and hereditaments thereto belonging, with the like extent of land and ſea from the ſeat of their plantation, as was granted to the firſt colony.

And it was provided, that the reſpective colonies ſhould not plant within the ſpace of one hundred miles of each other.

That each company ſhould have a council conſiſting of thirteen perſons, in whom the government ſhould be lodged; but limited by certain articles under the privy-ſeal.

They were impowered alſo to dig mines in and beyond their repective limits to the weſt-ward, paying the crown a fifth of all gold, and a fifteenth of all copper-ore they ſhould get. They were alſo impowered to ſeize all ſhips that ſhould trade within their reſpective limits, to coin money, raiſe forces for their defence, &c.

Three ſhips ſent out by the London adventurers.

The London adventurers, or the firſt company, were no ſooner authorized to ſend colonies to Virginia by this patent but they fitted out three veſſels, (viz.) one of an hundred tons, another of forty, and a pinnance of twenty tons, in which were ſent an hundred and ten land-men, with arms, ammunition, tools and implements for building, fortification and tillage, cloathing, toys, and other merchandize, to traffick with the Indians, and every thing proper for a colony: The command of this little ſquadron being committed to Captain CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, an excellent ſeaman, and one who was uſed to Weſt-India voyages; but the orders for the government of the colony, and the names of the members of the council, who were to have the adminiſtration of affairs when they arrived in Virginia, were ſealed up, and directed not to be opened until they went on ſhore.

They ſet ſail from London on the 20th of December, 1606, but the wind not being favourable, they made it the 5th of January before they reached the Downs, and were detained here and upon the coaſt of England ſeveral weeks more. After which they bent their courſe to the Canary Iſlands, where they took in freſh water, and then ſailed to the Caribbee Iſlands, where they arrived on the 23d of February. They ſet their men on ſhore on ſeveral of theſe iſlands, and remained amongſt them a month and upwards, but chiefly on the iſland of Nevis, where their men lived upon the proviſions they found in the iſland.

On the 3d of April they ſet ſail from Nevis, and on the 29th of the ſame month diſcovered the land of Virginia, and the ſame day were ſo fortunate as to enter the bay of Cheſepeak, between the two Capes; the ſouthermoſt of which they named Cape Henry, and the northermoſt Cape Charles, in compliment to the two Princes, the King's ſons; which Capes are about ſeven leagues (not nine leagues, as I ſaid by miſtake in deſcribing their ſituation) aſunder.

They could not poſſibly have found a better place for their purpoſe (tho' they were driven thither by a ſtorm, and hit upon it by accident) there being more commodious rivers and harbours in this bay than in any part of North America; the want whereof, in a great meaſure, defeated Sir WALTER RALEGH's attempts of ſettling colonies on this coaſt.

They land at Cape Henry, in 37 degrees north latitude.

A ſkirmiſh with the natives.

They landed firſt on the ſouth ſide, near Cape Henry, which lies in 37 degrees north latitude, and found it a very fruitful and delightful country; which while ſome of the gentlemen were taking a view of with uncommon pleaſure after the fatigue of a tedious and tempeſtuous voyage, they fell into an ambuſcade of Indians, who ſhot a ſhower of arrows from the woods and deſperately wounded two of the Engliſh; but upon the firing a volley of ſmall ſhot they took to their heels and fled, giving notice by fires from place to place of the arrival of our adventurers.

Point Comfort.

Poſſeſſion taken of the country.

The water, upon ſounding the ſouth ſide of the entrance of the bay, being found ſo ſhallow that their ſhips could not come near the ſhore, it was reſolved to try the oppoſite coaſt, where they found the chanel cloſe to the land to be eight or ten fathom deep. Whereupon they named that point of land Point Comfort, and brought their ſhips thither, having the day before erected a croſs at Cape Henry, and formally taken poſſeſſion of the country in the name of King James I.

The Engliſh entertained by the natives.

At their landing on Cape Comfort, five of the natives appear'd at a diſtance, and ſeem'd very much afraid of the Engliſh, till Captain NEWPORT made ſigns of peace and friendſhip, when they laid down their bows and arrows, and came forwards with a great deal of courage, inviting the Engliſh to their town, which they pointed to, and call'd by the name of Keceughtan; and a party of our adventurers going thither with them were entertain'd very hoſpitably. They brought them alſo pipes and tobacco to ſmoak, and danced and ſung after the manner of their country, to divert their new gueſts; of whom, however, they ſeem'd to have ſome apprehenſions, for when the Engliſh firſt came to the town, they ſet up a lamentable howling, and laying their faces on the ground tore it up with their nails; which the Engliſh then look'd upon as ſome religious ceremony, but I am apt to think, by their howling and geſtures, they rather expreſs'd their fears that thoſe foreigners would one day ſubdue their country, being acquainted with the execution they had done with their fire-arms in the firſt encounter they had with their countrymen on the other ſide the bay. The entertainment being ended, Captain NEWPORT made the natives ſome preſents of beads and other toys, and then return'd to his ſhip.

As to the colony, the firſt buſineſs they enter'd upon after they landed was to open their orders, where they found the following gentlemen appointed of the council (viz.) BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, EDWARD WINGFIELD, CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, JOHN SMITH, JOHN RATCLIFFE, JOHN MARTIN, and GEORGE KENDALL, of whom WINGFIELD was choſen Preſident, but they thought fit to leave Captain SMITH out of the council; for it ſeems the reſt of the gentlemen were ſo ſet againſt him that they had confined him priſoner ever ſince their leaving England; which PURCHASE inſinuates was occaſioned by their envy at his ſuperior talents, and becauſe the company in England ſeemed to rely more on his ſkill and experience than on any of the reſt: And it appears, that the planters themſelves were ſo convinced of his abilities afterwards, that they were obliged not only to admit him into their council, but in a manner to reſign the adminiſtration into his hands, after they had by their perpetual jarrs and weak management almoſt ruined the company's affairs. To proceed.

On the 4th of May, Captain NEWPORT had an interview with one of their Weroances, or Kings, as the Engliſh call them, named PASPAHE, and the day following with RAPAHANNA, the Weroance or Chief of another tribe, who invited the Engliſh to his town, and treated them handſomely. The next three or four days they ſailed up the river Powhaton, to which they gave the name of James river, in ſearch of a proper place to ſettle the colony; and having pitched upon one between forty and fifty miles from the mouth of the river, they landed all the men there that were intended to be left in the country, and began to erect a ſlight fort, which they barricadoed with trees, and built ſome few hutts, to which they gave the name of James town.

The colony fix at James Town.

The place they choſe was a peninſula, two thirds thereof being encompaſſed by the river Powhaton, and the other third by a ſmall narrow river, capable however of receiving veſſels of an hundred tons almoſt as far as the main river, and at ſpring tides it over-flows and runs into the river Powhaton, making the place a perfect iſland, containing about two thouſand acres of firm land, beſides, a great deal of marſhy ground; which ſituation was looked upon as a great ſecurity againſt the attacks of the Indians.

The very firſt night the Engliſh landed, the natives ſurrounded the iſland with their canoes; but finding our adventurers upon their guard and ready to receive them, they fled. On the 18th of May, the Weroance PASPAHE, in whoſe country they were ſettled, came to their quarters, attended by an hundred armed Indians; and obſerving the Engliſh ſtand to their arms, would have had them laid them down; but the colony apprehending he had ſome hoſtile intentions, refuſed, and one of his company ſtealing a hatchet, the perſon from whom he took it ſtruck the ſavage, and took it from him; whereupon his countrymen were preparing to revenge the affront, and the Engliſh to defend their companion, when the Weroance ſuddenly roſe up and departed in a great rage: However, he ſent a buck to the fort as a preſent ſoon after, and pretended to be their friend, offering them as much of his country as they deſired for a plantation; but I find the colony remained jealous of this Weroance, ſuſpecting he only waited for an opportunity to ſurpriſe them.

Captain Newport returns to England.

The colony reduced to great diſtreſs.

Captain Smith goes in ſearch of proviſions. Takes it by force from the natives on their refuſal to ſell him any.

A deſign formed to abandon the fort.

Smith taken by the King of Powhaton.

His life ſaved by Pacahunta, Powhaton's daughter; and a peace made between the natives and the colony.

On the 15th of June, 1607, their fort was finiſhed, being of a triangular figure, with three baſtions and four or five pieces of artillery mounted on each. And now they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to reſiſt all the power of the natives. They planted alſo two pieces of ground on the peninſula with Indian corn to ſerve them the ſucceeding winter; and Captain Newport, on the 22d of June, 1607, returned to England, leaving in the colony one hundred and four effective men, who ſoon began to find the want of the ſhips, from which they had hitherto purchaſed bread, flour, and ſtrong liquors, and remained in pretty good health: But the fruits of the country being now the principal part of their food, and very little good liquor ſtirring, many of the colony fell ſick of fluxes and fevers, and ſeveral died, among whom were Captain Gosnold, one of the council, and ſome other gentlemen of quality; and others were cut off by the natives in the woods, as they wandered in ſearch of fruits or game, and the reſt were in a manner ſhut up and beſieged in their fort, where, with continual watching, bad diet, and want of good lodging, they were reduced to a very miſerable condition, and by the month of September had buried fifty of the colony: The reſt alſo had periſhed if the natives had continued their attacks; but it ſeems they were now become more pacifick, and conſented to traffick with the Engliſh again, giving them veniſon, wild-fowl, corn, and other proviſions for their merchandize. But every man endeavouring to under-ſell his neighbour, and the Indians imagining they had been cheated and impoſed upon therefore in their former bargains, broke off all commerce and intercourſe with the colony again, and they were a ſecond time reduced to a ſtarving condition. Whereupon every one turned his eyes upon Captain Smith as the only man that could extricate them out of theſe difficulties; and having depoſed their preſident, they made choice of another, who committed the conduct of their affairs entirely to the Captain. This gentleman having made ſome addition to their fortifications, to ſecure the colony againſt the attacks of the Indians, and made their houſes and lodgings more commodious, he took ſeven armed men with him in his boat, and went down the river in order to purchaſe corn of the more diſtant tribes of Indians, who refuſing alſo to ſell him any, he went to their houſes and took their corn away by force. Whereupon three or fourſcore of the ſavages aſſembled, and marching with their idol carried before them, charged the Engliſh with their bows and arrows. The Captain returned their compliment with a volley of his muſkets, loaden with piſtol ſhot. Whereupon they run away leaving their idol behind them; and this brought them to a capitulation, wherein they agreed, that upon reſtoring their God they would furniſh them with as much corn as they wanted: And having loaded his boat, he returned in triumph to the fort, where he found the preſident and ſome others had formed a deſign to abandon the plantation, and return in the pinnace to England: But having now plenty of corn, and abundance of wild-fowl in the rivers, as the winter came on, theſe thoughts were laid aſide for the preſent; and Captain Smith proceeded on another expedition to make diſcoveries and bring in more corn for the colony, in which he had ſeveral ſucceſsful encounters with the forces of the Weroance of Powhaton; but going on ſhore in a certain creek with only two of his men, he fell into an ambuſcade of his enemies, the two men were killed, and himſelf falling into a bog was taken priſoner by Apaconcanough, Powhaton's general, and being brought before that Prince, he ordered his brains to be beaten out with clubs, an uſual execution among the ſavages: However, his life was ſaved by the interceſſion of Paçahunta, Powhaton's daughter, who was ſo enamoured with the Captain that ſhe took him in her arms, and vowed ſhe would die with him if he ſuffered, and at length prevailed upon her father not only to give him his life but his liberty, and furniſh him with whatever he wanted; and the Captain returning to the fort was frequently viſited by this lady, who revealed to him the ſtratagems of his enemies, and defeated the deſigns of the Indians againſt the fort, tho' 'tis ſaid ſhe was not more than fourteen or fifteen years of age when ſhe tranſacted theſe affairs.

Captain Newport arrives.

In the mean time the colony had laid another plot to abandon the plantation, which the Captain returned juſt time enough to prevent; but upon his arrival, Powhaton's people bringing to the fort great plenty of corn, veniſon, wild-fowl, and all manner of proviſions, all of them altered their minds, and determined to wait till they received freſh ſupplies from Europe: Nor was it long after Captain Smith's return to the fort before Captain Newport came from England with ſupplies of men and proviſions; but the Phoenix, commanded by Captain Nelson, which came in company with him till they made the land of Virginia, was driven back as far as the Caribbee Iſlands by ſtormy weather, and did not arrive at James Town till ſome time afterwards.

Captain Newport had received directions from the company in England to endeavour to cultivate a friendſhip with the Indian Princes, and particularly with Powhaton, who is ſtiled Emperor by our adventurers, the reſt paying him ſome kind of homage, tho' all of them ſeem to have been ſoveraigns in their reſpective territories.

Powhaton crowned.

To Powhaton, therefore, the company ſent a crown of gilded copper, a bed, and chair of ſtate, with robes and other enſigns of majeſty, ordering the colony to ſee him ſolemnly crowned, upon condition that he would acknowledge the King of Great-Britain his ſovereign, without reſigning however any part of his dominions to him or his ſubjects, except what they ſhould purchaſe of him or his vaſſals for a valuable conſideration; which Powhaton agreeing to, Captain Newport, and Captain Smith marched with three or fourſcore more of the colony to Powhaton's capital, where they crowned and enthroned the Indian Monarch in the beſt manner their circumſtances would admit of; and the other Princes, who attended his coronation, had preſents made them, and promiſed alſo to acknowledge the King of Great-Britain their ſovereign, ſeveral of them accepting of copper and other merchandize for ſuch parts of their reſpective territories as they yielded to the Engliſh; but great complaints were made by ſome againſt Captain Newport's conduct in paying too great a ſubmiſſion towards Powhaton, and ſuffering him to take all manner of Engliſh merchandize at his own price, whereby the value of Engliſh goods was ſunk; and would purchaſe nothing to any advantage! And Powhaton and his vaſſal Princes became exceeding inſolent in their demands. The Captain is alſo cenſured for embezzling the proviſions he brought for the uſe of the colony, and ſelling thoſe very proviſions the company ſent them at extravagant prices, making a perfect tavern of his ſhip for three or four months he remained in the country, and eating up part of thoſe ſtores with his ſeamen which were deſigned for the ſupply of the colony, whereby they were reduced to great ſtraits as ſoon as he was gone, and muſt have periſhed if Captain Smith had not taken ſome extraordinary meaſures for their preſervation; for the colony relying on the late treaty of alliance concluded with the Indians, imagined they ſhould be ſupplied with corn and fleſh from the country by way of barter or truck for their goods, and had neglected to plant corn, or lay up any proviſions againſt a time of need; from which they were chiefly diverted by an affair which they apprehended would make all their fortunes at once, namely, the gathering the gilded ſand they found in a neighbouring rivulet, which they took to be gold, and were ſo confident of it that they loaded Captain Newport's ſhip home with it, tho' it proved to their great diſappointment common duſt. But they ſent home alſo certain ſpecimens of pitch, tar, glaſs, and ſoap-aſhes, which had been made by ſome Poles and Germans the company hired to go to Virginia to promote theſe manufactures; and theſe might have turned to good account if the colony had not been diverted from proceeding in them by other purſuits.

The colony ſend home common ſand for gold-duſt.

Pitch, tar, and glaſs made in Virginia.

The Engliſh take corn by force from the natives.

In the mean time Captain Smith obſerving to what low circumſtances the colony was reduced again, and that the Indians refuſed to ſell them proviſions unleſs at extravagant prices, he made ſeveral incurſions into their country, and compelled the natives to bring him in both corn and fleſh at the former prices, repreſenting to the council that the Indians were not to be dealt with in any other manner; they muſt either reſolve to abandon the country or exert their authority, and ſhew the Indians they were in a condition to force proviſions from them, if they refuſed. This he looked upon as the only way to preſerve the colony from ſtarving, and to plant the country to advantage: And the council not being able to find out any other expedients for their preſervation, thought fit to concur in the Captain's meaſures. He afterwards proceeded to rebuild James Town, which had been deſtroyed by a fire while he and Captain Newport were attending on Powhaton. He alſo cauſed a ſufficient quantity of Indian corn to be planted, to ſerve them the following year: And the ſhip Phœnix arriving ſoon after with proviſions from Europe, the colony was now in no want of any thing. Whereupon Captain Smith left the council to take care of the fort, and went with a party upon further diſcoveries up the ſeveral bays and rivers; at which all the Indian nations were greatly alarmed, no longer doubting but that the deſign of the Engliſh was to make an entire conqueſt of their country, and therefore oppoſed him wherever they thought themſelves ſtrong enough, and laid ambuſcades in the woods and bogs, to cut off his retreat; but he was ſo fortunate as to eſcape all their ſtratagems, defeated ſeveral bodies of Indians, and made Paspahe and ſeveral more of their Chiefs priſoners. In theſe excurſions he diſcovered the country of the Monacans, that of the Acomacks on the eaſtern ſide of the bay of Cheſepeak; the nations of Wicomoco and Patowmack, and even the Saſquehannah Indians at the head of the bay of Cheſepeak; and ſo harraſſed the territories of the Emperor Powhaton that he and his vaſſal Princes were glad to make their ſubmiſſion, and to accept of ſuch a peace as Smith was pleaſed to grant them.

Captain Smith makes further diſcoveries.

Defeats ſeveral Indian Princes.

I ſhall not go about to juſtify this conduct of Smith any further than it was neceſſary; but if we would lay the ſaddle upon the right horſe, the original cauſe of theſe outrages muſt be aſcribed either to the company in England, who made ſo little proviſion for the colony that they had no way to ſubſiſt but by rapine, or upon ſome of thoſe they employed, who took no care to plant corn, or lay in proviſions at the proper ſeaſons, whereby they were reduced to the wretched circumſtances already mentioned: And the roguery of the Captains and Agents employed to carry over ſupplies to the colony was ſtill another occaſion of their diſtreſs; for it ſeems they frequently applied ſuch ſtores to their own uſe, and what was worſe, ſold them to the colony at extravagant rates; and under all theſe wants and miſmanagements it was no wonder there were diviſions among them, which was another reaſon they had no better ſucceſs, and were forced to plunder the country inſtead of planting it.

Captain Smith obſerves, that two thirds of the adventurers came over with a view of finding every thing provided to their hands without any care or labour of their own, and were ſubſiſted by the labours of the other induſtrious third, until he compelled them all to take ſhare in the work, and then he ſoon planted ground enough to ſubſiſt the colony in plenty: And by moderate exerciſe and good food ſaw them not only reſtored to their healths, but in a very flouriſhing condition; and as there was now no longer any neceſſity of procuring food from the Indians by violence, they lived and trafficked very amicably together; and the Weroances ſuffered him to make ſeveral other ſettlements in their country. When their affairs were in this proſperous ſituation, there arrived ſix or ſeven ſhips from England, with between three and four hundred planters, and ſuch ample ſupplies of ammunition and proviſion as would have enabled the colony to have made an entire conqueſt of Virginia, or at leaſt to have procured what terms they ſaw fit of the Indians, if they had been under any command; but as things were managed, this ſupply only brought the affairs of the colony into confuſion. For the company in England imagining that the diviſions among the council in Virginia, in whom the government there was lodged, were the occaſion of moſt of the miſmanagements that had happened, procured a new patent from King James, whereby they were impowered to appoint a Governor, with a more ample authority than they had by the preceding patent, and prevailed on the Lord De la War to accept of the government of their new colony, who thereupon made Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, and Captain Newport his deputies until his arrival: And theſe gentlemen ſet ſail from England with nine ſhips and five hundred men in the month of May, 1609. All the three deputy governors being embarked in one ſhip, were unfortunately caſt away on the iſlands of Bermudas, being then uninhabited, but they and all the people eſcaped to the ſhore, where finding plenty of proviſions they took poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands for the crown of England; and from Sir George Summers they have been ever ſince called the Summer-Iſlands.

Lord De la War appointed governor.

SirGeorge Summers and the two other deputies caſt away on the iſlands of Bermudas.

Part of their fleet arrive in Virginia.

In the mean time the reſt of their fleet arrived ſafe in the bay of Cheſepeak, with the re-inforcement abovementioned, where they found Captain Smith preſident; but gave out they were not obliged to obey him, ſince there was another commiſſion granted, which had ſuperſeded his, and they expected the arrival of the Deputy-governors every day.

However Captain Smith kept them in tolerable good order while he remained amongſt them; and made ſome new ſettlements, particularly at Nanſamund, and the falls of James River; but being unfortunately blown up with gun-powder, as he was out upon diſcovery, he was ſo mangled and wounded that he was forced to return to England; after which there happened ſuch diviſions among the Engliſh again that every thing was neglected which tended either to their defence or ſubſiſtance; and they were reduced by the ſword, ſickneſs or famine, from five hundred to three or fourſcore, when Sir THOMAS GATES and Sir GEORGE SUMMERS arrived from Bermudas to their relief; having built two veſſels with ſuch materials as they found upon that iſland, to tranſport them and their people to Virginia; where meeting with nothing but complaints from the colony, and ſeeing little likelihood of ſucceeding in the plantation, as they wanted proviſions and all other neceſſaries, they agreed to return to England with the colony; and were actually ſailing out of the bay when the Lord DE LA WAR arrived from England, and obliged them all to go back to James Town.

The Lord DE LA WAR, upon his arrival, reprimanded the planters for their diviſions, idleneſs, and ill conduct, which had occaſioned their misfortunes; adviſing them to reform, or he ſhould be compelled to draw the ſword of juſtice and cut off the delinquents: Declaring, however, he had much rather draw his ſword in their defence and protection; and telling them, for their encouragement, that he had brought them ſuch plenty of proviſions that they would be in no danger of wanting for the future, if they were not wanting to themſelves in providing ſuch things as the country produced. Then he proceeded to conſtitute a council, conſiſting of Sir THOMAS GATES, his Lieutenant-General; Sir GEORGE SUMMERS, his Admiral; the honourable GEORGE PERCY, one of his Captains; Sir FERDINANDO WEINMAN, his Maſter of the Ordnance, and CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, his Vice-Admiral. Theſe and the reſt of his officers having taken the oaths to the government, and entered on their ſeveral employments, his next care was to furniſh his people with fleſh; for notwithſtanding there were not leſs than five or ſix hundred hogs in the plantation when Captain SMITH went to England, there was not one left alive at this time: They had been either eaten by the colony, or killed by the Indians, who, to diſtreſs them, had alſo driven all the deer and other game out of the country; and the Engliſh were ſo ill provided with nets, that though there was plenty of fiſh in their rivers, they knew not how to take them.

The company had ſent over a ſupply of cloathing, biſcuit, flour, beer, and other liquors; but taking it for granted that they had hogs, veniſon, fowl and fiſh enough in the country, had made no proviſion of fleſh. Whereupon Sir GEORGE SUMMERS, the Admiral, was diſpatched to Bermudas to bring over live hogs from thence; for theſe Sir GEORGE found plenty of in that iſland when he was caſt away there, though there were no people upon it. The Governor alſo ſet ſome to fiſhing within the bay, and others without, where there were ſhoals of Cod-fiſh; but their nets and tackle were ſo defective that they could not catch any; whereupon he endeavoured to ſettle a correſpondence with POWHATON and other Indian Princes, that he might purchaſe fleſh of them for other Engliſh goods; and in ſome of theſe negotiations he ſucceeded, particularly with the King of Patowmack, one of the moſt potent of the Indian Princes. But notwithſtanding he repreſented to POWHATON that he had already promiſed to acknowledge the King of England for his ſovereign, accepted of a crown and ſceptre, and other enſigns of royalty from him, with preſents of great value; this Prince would give him no other anſwer, but that he expected the Engliſh ſhould depart his country, or confine themſelves within the limits of James Town Iſland, and not range through every part of the country, as they continued to do, only with a view of ſubduing it, as he apprehended; threatning to iſſue his orders to cut them off and deſtroy them, if ever they were found without the limits he preſcribed them; and commanded the meſſengers his lordſhip ſent to him not to ſee his face again unleſs they brought him a coach and ſix horſes; for in theſe he had been informed by ſome Indians, who had been in England, their great Weroances were drawn in.

Powhaton threatens the Engliſh.

Lord De la War brings him to terms.

The Lord DE LA WAR finding he was to expect no friendſhip from POWHATON, determined he ſhould fear him: Having taken an Indian priſoner, therefore, he cut off his right-hand, and ſent him to his maſter POWHATON, letting him know that he would ſerve all his ſubjects in that manner, and burn all the corn in his country (which was ripe at this time) if he did not forbear all acts of hoſtility for the future; which had ſo good an effect that the colony lived in peace and plenty for ſome time, every day making freſh diſcoveries, and forming new alliances with ſome Indian Princes. And thus the company's affairs being happily eſtabliſhed again by the conduct of the Lord DE LA WAR, Sir THOMAS GATES was ſent to England to give an account of the ſtate of the colony, the ſhips being freighted home with cedar, black walnut, and iron ore; which returns appeared ſo inconſiderable, that the company were in ſuſpence whether they ſhould not ſend for the Lord DE LA WAR and the colony home: However, they firſt deſired Sir THOMAS GATES's opinion upon it; who told them, that theſe were not the only returns they were to expect; that if they would ſend over men who underſtood how to make pitch, and tar, and plant hemp and flax, they might furniſh England with all manner of naval ſtores; and that it would be very eaſy alſo to ſet up a manufacture of ſilk, the country abounding in mulberry-trees as well as ſilk-graſs; that the ſoil was exceeding fruitful, producing corn, graſs, grapes, and other fruits in abundance; that European cattle and poultry multiplied prodigiouſly; and there was great plenty of veniſon, fiſh and fowl, which they could never want when they ſhould be provided with boats, nets, and engines to take them: The company need then be at very little charge to ſupport the colony. On the contrary, they would in a ſhort time meet with returns anſwerable to their expectations. Whereupon the company reſolved to proceed with alacrity to improve their Virginian plantation; in which reſolution they were confirmed by the Lord DE LA WAR, who returned to England about this time (Anno 1610.) for the recovery of his health.

Naval ſtores to be had in Virginia. And ſilk.

Lord De la War returns to England.

He acquainted the company, that he had no intention to abandon their ſervice; but as ſoon as his health was reſtored he would return to his government again. In the mean time he had left Mr. GEORGE PERCY his Deputy-governor, a man of great honour and reſolution, in whoſe conduct they might confide, till Sir THOMAS GATES ſhould return thither: That Captain ARGOLL had ſettled a trade with ſeveral of the Indian Chiefs; and for the defence of the colony he had erected three forts more than he found there, viz. two near Point Comfort; and a third at the falls of James River, adjoining to which were large fields he had ordered to be planted with Indian vines, and roots; ſo that there was no danger of the colony's being in any diſtreſs for the future, if they were not wanting to themſelves.

Dale carries over a ſupply.

On the 10th of May, 1611, Sir **THOMAS DALE** arrived at Virginia with three ſhips and ſupplies of men, cattle, and proviſions, and immediately ſet his people to work to plant corn (which the colony had neglected, tho' it was late in the ſpring) and had a tolerable good crop.

Gates's adminiſtration.

Sir **THOMAS GATES** arrived in Auguſt following with ſix ſhips, three hundred and fifty planters, and a proportionable ſupply of cattle, ammunition and proviſions, taking the government upon him as Deputy to the Lord **DE LA WAR**, who ſtill remained ſick in England. This gentleman planted and fortified Henrico County, to the weſtward of James Town, and made lines, defended with paliſadoes, to preſerve their cattle from the Indians; for ſtill King **POWHATON** refuſed the alliance of the Engliſh, and harraſſed and plundered their plantations which lay expoſed. Whereupon Captain **ARGOLL** took an opportunity of ſurpriſing his celebrated daughter, the Princeſs **PACAHUNTA**, in the year 1612, and carried her to James Town, where ſhe was treated however according to her quality, and the eminent ſervices ſhe had done the Engliſh: And ſtill continuing her good offices, the King her father was, after two years, reconciled to the colony, and conſented to her marrying Mr. **JOHN ROLF**, an Engliſh gentleman.

The Princeſs Pacahunta married to Mr. Rolf.

And had more of our people intermarried with the Indians, I am inclined to think it would have been the moſt effectual way of eſtabliſhing the colony in peace; for **POWHATON** is ſaid to look upon this match as a ſincere mark of the friendſhip of the Engliſh. But our adventurers appear'd unaccountably ſqueamiſh in this particular. They ſeemed to deſpiſe and abhor ſuch alliances, which rendered the natives averſe to us afterwards. Whereas, if the Engliſh had continued to inter-marry with them, they would in time have became one nation, and thoſe maſſacres and other calamities that enſued had infallibly been avoided. The natives probably would have embraced the Chriſtian religion voluntarily, as this Princeſs did. But to proceed.

A peace between the Engliſh and King Powhaton.

A peace being concluded with King **POWHATON** upon this marriage, in the year 1613, the Engliſh and his ſubjects lived in a good underſtanding, and trafficked together for ſome time: And the Chickahommony Indians, another tribe, by their example alſo concluded a peace with the colony which now appeared in a very flouriſhing condition: And in the year 1616, Sir **THOMAS DALE** leaving the adminiſtration of the government to Captain **YARDLY**, returned to England, carrying Mr. **ROLF** and the Princeſs his wife with him, where King **JAMES**'s Queen and court paid her the ſame honours that were due to a European lady of the ſame quality, after they were informed by Captain **SMITH** what ſervices ſhe had done the Engliſh nation, and particularly how ſhe had ſaved the Captain's life when his head was upon the block.

The Princeſs Pacahunta comes to England.

But it ſeems before this Princeſs married Mr. **ROLF**, ſhe had been given to underſtand, that Captain **SMITH** was dead; for he was the firſt man that ſhe had ſet her affections upon, and I make no doubt he had promiſed to marry her when he was in her father's court; for when he came to wait upon her, on her arrival in England, ſhe appeared ſurpriſed, turned away from him with the utmoſt ſcorn and reſentment, and it was ſome hours before ſhe would be prevailed with to ſpeak to him. She could not believe any man would have deceived her for whom ſhe had done ſo much, and run ſo many hazards; and when ſhe did vouchſafe to hear his excuſes, ſhe ſtill reproached him with ingratitude. In all her behaviour, 'tis ſaid, ſhe behaved herſelf with great decency and ſuitable to her quality, and mighty expectations there were of the future ſervices ſhe would have done the Engliſh upon her return to her own country; but ſhe was taken ill at Graveſend, as ſhe was about to embark for Virginia, and died in that town a very devout Chriſtian, 'tis ſaid, leaving one only ſon, named **THOMAS ROLF**, whoſe poſterity now flouriſh in Virginia, and enjoy lands deſcended to them as heirs of the Princeſs **PACAHUNTA**. But to return.

Captain Yardly firſt encourages the planting tobacco.

Captain **YARDLY**, during his adminiſtration, firſt promoted the planting of tobacco, finding there began to be a great demand for it in Europe, which brought an immediate gain to the company; but 'tis ſaid he did not ſo much regard the buildings and fortifications, and planting of corn, as he ought to have done. On the contrary, he entered into the greateſt intimacy with the Indians, employed them in hunting and fiſhing for the colony, and they lived together very ſociable in his time.

Argoll governor.

Captain **ARGOLL**, who ſucceeded him, did not approve of this familiarity and confidence in the natives, but repaired the forts that were running to decay, and affected to render himſelf more formidable to the Indians than his predeceſſor. Both theſe gentlemen ſeem to have been but deputies to the Lord **DE LA WAR**; for in the year 1618, that nobleman embarked again for his government of Virginia with a reinforcement of two hundred men, and ſupplies for the colony; but meeting with contrary winds, which rendered the paſſage more tedious than uſual, the ſhip's company became ſickly, and his Lordſhip died in the voyage, with thirty or forty planters more that embarked with him.

Lord De la War dies.

Whereupon Mr. **ARGOLL** was continued ſome time longer in the government, which he ſpent in making diſcoveries on the coaſt of New-England and New-Scotland, or Acadia; and finding the French had made ſome ſettlements there he expelled them from thence, the crown of England claiming thoſe countries as parts of Virginia.

The French driven from New-England.

Powhaton dies.

This year (1618) alſo died the famous **POWHATON**, being ſucceeded in his empire by his brother **ITOPATIN**; but he being a weak Prince, **OPPACONCANOUGH**, King of Chickahommony, afterwards uſurp'd the empire, reducing ſeveral more of the neighbouring Weroances under his dominion; however, both **OPPACONCANOUGH** and **ITOPATIN** renewed the peace with the Engliſh on the death of **POWHATON**.

Sir George Yardly's ſecond government.

Governor **ARGOLL**, being recalled from Virginia ſoon after his expedition to the northward, left the adminiſtration in the hands of Captain **POWEL**, to whom Captain **YARDLY** ſucceeded, having been knighted by King **JAMES**. He carried over with him a reinforcement of twelve hundred men, and proportionable ſupplies of cattle and proviſions. I preſume the company were by this time ſenſible of the advantage of planting tobacco; and as Sir **GEORGE YARDLY** firſt put them upon it, thought him the propereſt perſon to encourage that plantation.

The government ſettled as in England.

Sir **GEORGE**, upon his arrival, applied himſelf to render the government as like that of England as poſſible. He increaſed the number of the council, intending they ſhould ſupply the place of a houſe of lords, and ſummoned an aſſembly of burgeſſes from every ſettlement in the country.

The firſt aſſembly, 1620.

country. The firſt aſſembly or parliament ſet at James Town in Virginia, in May, 1620, and then compoſed but one houſe, though they afterwards ſeparated, and ſat as the parliament do in England in two houſes; and Mr. **BEVERLEY** inſinuates that the views of the upper and lower houſe have been different ever ſince.

Negroes firſt imported.

The lands parcelled out among the planters.

Negroes were firſt brought over to Virginia this year in a Dutch ſhip; and proving extremely ſerviceable in planting tobacco, more were imported annually from Guinea: And now Sir **GEORGE** proceeded to parcel out the lands, allotting to the company a certain proportion in ſeveral diſtricts for the ſupport of the government; other portions were allotted for the uſe of a college and ſchools intended to be erected. Glebes were aſſigned in every pariſh for the ſupport of the miniſters, and the planters had their reſpective ſhares allotted them; whereupon, 'tis ſaid, they became exceeding induſtrious, and began to vie with each other in planting, building, and other improvements; and encouragements were offered to all ſuch as ſhould come and ſettle in Virginia, and increaſe the colony. Whereupon freſh ſupplies of men and cattle continually arrived, and new ſettlements were daily made in all parts of the country. Salt-works were ſet up at Cape Charles, on the eaſtern ſhore, and an iron-work at Falling-Creek in James River, where they found the iron-ore good, and had near brought that work to perfection. At this time, ſays my author, (Mr. **BEVERLEY**) the fame of the riches and plenty in which the Engliſh lived at Virginia was exceeding great, and aſcribes their happineſs in a great meaſure to the prudent conduct of Sir **GEORGE YARDLY**, but condemns him however for neglecting the fortifications; and indeed if he took upon him to parcel out the lands of the Indians among the Engliſh without their leave, and gave them no valuable conſideration for them, it could not be expected the natives ſhould long remain their friends; however, during this government, I meet with no complaint or miſunderſtanding on either ſide, which makes me of opinion theſe allotments were made with the conſent of the Indians; and if the ſucceeding governor had behaved himſelf in the like friendly manner towards the natives, poſſibly none of thoſe heart-burnings or maſſacres which followed had ever happened.

The colony flouriſhes.

Wyat's government.

Sir **GEORGE YARDLY**'s government of three years expiring in the year 1621, he was ſucceeded by Sir **FRANCIS WYAT**, a young gentleman, who arrived in James town in the month of October, with twelve hundred planters; and the ſame year fifty men more were carried thither by Captain **NEWPORT**, whom he planted in a part of the country to which he gave his own name. But there was, it ſeems, ſuch quantities of tobacco exported from Virginia at this time, that orders were ſent from England, that no planters ſhould be permitted to ſend over more than an hundred weight of tobacco in one year. They were adviſed to apply themſelves to the making of pot-aſh and other manufactures; to plant more corn, and improve their ſtocks of cattle inſtead of running too much upon tobacco.

Courts of juſtice inſtituted.

In the year 1622, according to Colonel **BEVERLEY**, inferiour courts were firſt inſtituted by the general aſſembly under the name of country courts, for the trial of civil and criminal cauſes, reſerving an appeal to the Governor and Council, which remained ſtill the ſupreme court of judicature. The Colonel proceeds to give us an account of the maſſacre, which happened the ſame year, wherein he obſerves, that the great increaſe of the planters, and the long quiet the Engliſh had enjoyed among the Indians ſince the marriage of the Princeſs **PACAHUNTA** with Mr. **ROLF**, had lulled all men into a fatal ſecurity. The Engliſh became every where familiar with the Indians, eating, drinking, and ſleeping amongſt them; by which means they were perfectly acquainted with all our Engliſh ſtrength and the uſe of our arms, knowing at all times when and where to find our people, whether at home or in the woods, in bodies or diſperſed, in condition of defence or indefenſible. This expoſing of their weakneſs gave them occaſion to think more contemptibly of the Engliſh than otherwiſe perhaps they would have done; for which reaſon they became more hardy to attempt any thing againſt them.

Oppaconcanough's plot to maſſacre the Engliſh.

Thus, upon the loſs of one of their leading men (a War-captain as they call him) who was ſuppoſed to be juſtly put to death, however their King **OPPACONCANOUGH** appeared enraged, and in revenge laid the plot of a general maſſacre of the Engliſh, to be executed on the 22d of March, 1622, a little before noon, at a time when our men were all at work abroad in their plantations, diſperſed and unarmed. This conſpiracy was to have taken effect upon all the ſeveral ſettlements at one and the ſame inſtant, except on the eaſtern ſhore, whither this plot did not reach. The Indians had been made ſo familiar with the Engliſh as to borrow their boats and canoes to croſs the river when they went to conſult with their neighbouring Indians upon this execrable conſpiracy; and to colour their deſign the better, they brought preſents of deer, turkeys, fiſh, and fruits to the Engliſh the evening before. The very morning of the maſſacre they came freely and unarmed among them, eating with them, and behaving themſelves with the ſame freedom and friendſhip as formerly, till the very minute they were to put their plot in execution; then they fell to work all at once, every where ſurpriſing and knocking the Engliſh on the head, ſome with their hatchets, which they call tommahauks, others with the hoes and axes of the Engliſh themſelves, ſhooting at thoſe who eſcaped the reach of their hands; ſparing neither age nor ſex, but deſtroying man, woman, and child, according to their cruel way of leaving none behind to reſent the outrage. But whatever was not done by ſurprize that day was left undone, and many that made early reſiſtance eſcaped.

Three hundred and forty-ſeven murdered.

By the account taken of the Chriſtians murdered that morning, they were found to be three hundred and forty-ſeven, moſt of them falling by their own inſtruments and working-tools.

The maſſacre had been much more general had not this plot been providentially diſcovered to the Engliſh ſome hours before the execution. It happened thus:

The conſpiracy diſcovered by an Indian.

Two Indians, that uſed to be employed by the Engliſh to hunt for them, happened to lie together the night before the maſſacre in an Engliſhman's houſe where one of them was employed. The Indian that was the gueſt fell to perſuading the other to riſe and kill his maſter, telling him that he would do the ſame by his own the next day: Whereupon he diſcovered the whole plot that was deſigned to be executed on the morrow. But the other, inſtead of entering into the plot and murdering his maſter, got up (under pretence of going to execute his comrade's advice) went into his maſter's chamber, and revealed to him the whole ſtory that he had been told. The maſter hereupon aroſe, ſecured his own houſe, and before day got to James Town, which together with ſuch plantations as could receive notice time enough, were ſaved by this means; the reſt alſo who happened to be watchful in their defence eſcaped. Captain Croshaw in his veſſel at Patowmack had notice given him by a young Indian, by which means he came off untouch'd.

The occaſion of this maſſacre.

The occaſion of Oppaconcanough's furious reſentment was this: The War-captain mentioned before to have been killed was called Nemattanow. He was an active Indian, a great warrior, and in much eſteem amongſt them; inſomuch, that they believed him to be invulnerable and immortal, becauſe he had been in many conflicts and eſcaped untouched from them all. He was alſo a very cunning fellow, and took great pride in preſerving and increaſing this their ſuperſtition concerning him; affecting every thing that was odd and prodigious to work upon their admiration; for which purpoſe, he would often dreſs himſelf up with feathers after a fantaſtick manner, and by much uſe of that ornament obtained among the Engliſh the nick-name of Jack of the Feather.

Nemattanow's character.

This Nemattanow coming to a private ſettlement of one Morgan, who had ſeveral toys, he had a mind to perſuade him to go to Pamunky to diſpoſe of them. He gave him hopes what mighty bargains he might meet with there, and kindly offered him his aſſiſtance. At laſt Morgan yielded to his perſuaſion, but was no more heard of; and it is believed that Nemattanow killed him by the way, and took away his treaſure; for within a few days this Nemattanow returned to the ſame houſe with Morgan's cap upon his head, where he found two ſturdy boys, who aſked for their maſter, and would have had him before a juſtice of peace, but he refuſed to go, and very inſolently abuſed them; whereupon they ſhot him down, and as they were carrying him to the Governor he died.

As he was dying he earneſtly preſſed the boys to promiſe him two things; 1ſt, that they would not tell how he was killed; and 2dly, that they would bury him among the Engliſh. So great was the pride of this vain infidel, that he had no other views but the being eſteemed after his death (as he had endeavoured to be while he was alive) invulnerable and immortal; though his increaſing faintneſs ſufficiently convinced him of the falſity of both. He imagined, that being buried among the Engliſh perhaps might conceal his death from his own nation, who might think him tranſlated to ſome happier country. Thus he pleaſed himſelf to the laſt gaſp with the boys promiſes to carry on the deluſion. The killing this Indian champion was all the provocation given to that haughty and revengeful man Oppaconcanough to act this bloody tragedy, and to take ſuch indefatigable pains to engage in ſuch horrid villany all the Kings and nations bordering upon the Engliſh ſettlement on the weſtern ſhore of Cheſepeak.

This maſſacre (adds Mr. Beverley) gave the Engliſh a fair pretence of endeavouring the total extirpation of the Indians, but more eſpecially of Oppaconcanough and his nation: Accordingly they ſet themſelves about it, making uſe of the Roman maxim (faith is not to be kept with hereticks) to obtain their ends; for after ſome months fruitleſs purſuit of them who could but too dextrouſly hide themſelves in the woods, the Engliſh feigned a deſire of peace, giving them all manner of fair words and promiſes of oblivion, deſigning thereby (as their own letters now on record, and their own actions thereupon prove) to draw the Indians home, and entice them to plant their corn near their habitations adjoining to thoſe of the Engliſh, and then to cut it up when the ſummer ſhould be too far ſpent, and ſo to leave them no hopes of another crop that year; by which means they propoſed to bring them to want neceſſaries and ſtarve. And the Engliſh did accordingly bring the Indians to plant their corn at their uſual habitations, whereby they gained an opportunity of repaying them ſome part of the debt in their own coin; for they fell ſuddenly upon them, cut to pieces ſuch of them as could not make their eſcape, and afterwards totally deſtroyed their corn.

The Engliſh act a treacherous part.

And maſſacre the Indians in their turn.

Another effect of the maſſacre of the Engliſh was the reducing all the ſettlements again to ſix or ſeven in number for their better defence. Beſides, it was ſuch a diſheartening to ſome good projects then juſt advancing, that to this day, they have never been put in execution; namely, the glaſs-houſes in James Town, and the iron-work at Falling-Creek, which has been already mentioned. The maſſacre fell ſo hard upon this laſt place, that none eſcaped but a boy and a girl, who with great difficulty hid themſelves.

The glaſs-manufacture and iron-work ruined.

A lead-mine diſcovered.

The ſuperintendant of this iron-work had alſo diſcovered a vein of lead-oar, which he kept private, and made uſe of to furniſh all the neighbours with bullets and ſhot: But he being cut off with the reſt, and the ſecret not having been communicated, this lead-mine could never after be found, till Colonel Bird ſome years ago prevailed with an Indian, under pretence of hunting, to give him a ſign, by dropping his Tommahauk at the place (he not daring publickly to diſcover it for fear of being murdered.) The ſign was accordingly given, and the company at that time found ſeveral pieces of good lead-oar upon the ſurface of the ground, and marked the trees thereabouts; notwithſtanding which, I know not by what witchcraft it happens, but no mortal to this day could ever find that place again, tho' it be upon part of the Colonel's own poſſeſſions; and ſo it reſts till time and thicker ſettlements diſcover it.

Thus the company of adventurers having, by frequent acts of miſmanagement, met with vaſt loſſes and misfortunes, many grew ſick of it, and parted with their ſhares, and others came into their places, and promoted the ſending in freſh recruits of men and goods; but the chief deſign of all parties concerned was to fetch away merchandize from thence, aiming more at ſudden gain than to form any regular colony, or eſtabliſh a ſettlement in ſuch a manner as to make it a laſting happineſs to the country.

Grants to particular perſons independent of the company.

Several gentlemen went over upon their particular ſtocks, ſeparate from that of the company, with their own ſervants and goods, each deſigning to obtain land from the government as Captain Newport had done, or at leaſt to obtain patents according to the regulation for granting lands to adventurers; others ſought their grants of the company in London, and obtained authorities and juriſdictions, as well as land, diſtinct from the authority of the government; which was the foundation of great diſorder, and the occaſion of their following misfortunes. Among others, one Captain Martin having made very conſiderable preparations towards a ſettlement, obtained

Occaſions confuſion.

Another maſſacre.

tained a ſuitable grant of land, and was made one of the council there; but he graſping ſtill at more, and aiming at dominion as well as boundleſs poſſeſſions, cauſed ſo many differences, that at laſt he put all things into diſtraction; and the Indians ſtill ſeeking revenge, took advantage of the diſſenſions, and fell foul again on the Engliſh, gratifying their vengeance with new blood-ſhed.

The company diſſolved. The crown appoints a Governor, &c.

The fatal conſequences of the company's male-adminiſtration cried ſo loud, that King CHARLES I. coming to the crown of England, expreſſed a tender concern for the poor people that had been betrayed thither and loſt; upon which conſideration he diſſolved the company in the year 1626, reducing the country and government under his own immediate direction, appointing the Governor and Council himſelf, and ordering all patents and proceſs to iſſue in his own name, reſerving to himſelf a quit-rent of two ſhillings for every hundred acres of land, and ſo pro rata.

The country being thus taken into the King's hands, his Majeſty was pleaſed to re-eſtabliſh the conſtitution by a Governor, Council, and Aſſembly, and to confirm the former methods and juriſdictions of the ſeveral courts, as they had been appointed in the year 1620, and placed the laſt reſort in the aſſembly. He likewiſe confirmed the rules and orders made by the firſt aſſembly for apportioning the land and granting patents to particular adventurers.

This was a conſtitution according to their hearts deſire, and things ſeemed now to go on in a happy courſe for encouragement of the colony: People flocked over thither apace, every one took up land by patent to his liking, and, not minding any thing but to be maſters of great tracts of land, they planted themſelves ſeparately on their ſeveral plantations; nor did they fear the Indians, but kept them at a greater diſtance than formerly; and they, for their parts, ſeeing the Engliſh ſo ſenſibly increaſe in number, were glad to keep their diſtance and be peaceable.

This liberty of taking up land, and the ambition each man had of being lord of a vaſt, tho' unimproved territory, together with the advantage of the many rivers which afford a commodious road for ſhipping at every man's door, has made the country fall into ſuch an unhappy ſettlement and courſe of trade, that to this day they have not any one place of cohabitation among them that may reaſonably bear the name of a town.

The conſtitution being thus firmly eſtabliſhed, and continuing its courſe regularly for ſome time, people began to lay aſide all fears of any future misfortune. Several gentlemen of condition went over with their whole family, ſome for bettering their eſtates, others for religion, and other reaſons beſt known to themſelves; among theſe the noble CECILIUS CALVERT, Lord Baltimore, a Roman-catholick, thought, for the more quiet exerciſe of his religion, to retire with his family into that new world; for this purpoſe, he went to Virginia, to try how he liked the place; but the people there looked upon him with an evil eye, on account of his religion, for which alone he ſought this retreat, and by their ill treatment diſcouraged him from ſettling in that country.

Upon that provocation his Lordſhip reſolved upon a farther adventure, and finding land enough up the bay of Cheſepeak, which was likewiſe bleſſed with many brave rivers, and as yet altogether uninhabited by the Engliſh, he began to think of making a new plantation of his own; and for his more certain direction in obtaining a grant of it, he undertook a journey northward, to diſcover the land up the bay, and obſerve what might moſt conveniently ſquare with his intent.

Lord Baltimore obtains a grant of Maryland.

His lordſhip finding all things in this diſcovery according to his wiſh returned to England; and becauſe the Virginia ſettlements at that time reached no farther than the ſouth ſide of Patowmack river, his Lordſhip got a grant of the propriety of Maryland, bounding it to the ſouth by Patowmack river, on the weſtern ſhore, and by a line from Point Look-out on the eaſtern ſhore; but died himſelf before he could embark for the promiſed land.

Maryland had the honour to receive its name from Queen MARY, royal conſort of King CHARLES I.

The old Lord Baltimore being thus taken off, and leaving his deſigns unfiniſhed, his ſon and heir, in the year 1633, obtained a grant or patent, and went over in perſon to plant this new colony.

By this unhappy accident a country which nature had ſo well contrived for one became two ſeparate governments. This produced a moſt unhappy inconvenience to both; for theſe two being the only countries under the dominion of England that plant tobacco in any quantity, the ill conſequence to both is, that when one colony goes about to prohibit the traſh or mend the ſtaple of that commodity, to help the market, then the other, to take the advantage of that market, pours into England all they can make, both good and bad, without diſtinction. This is very injurious to the other colony, which had voluntarily ſuffered ſo great a diminution in the quantity, to mend the quality; and this is notoriouſly maniſeſted from that incomparable Virginia law appointing ſworn agents to examine their tobacco.

Other parts of Virginia ſeparated from it.

Neither was this all the miſchief that happened to Virginia upon this grant, for the example of it had dreadful conſequences, and was in the end one of the occaſions of another maſſacre of the Indians; for this precedent of my Lord Baltimore's grant which intrenched upon the charters and bounds of Virginia, was hint enough for other courtiers (who never intended a ſettlement as my Lord did) to find out ſomething of the like kind to make money of. This was the occaſion of ſeveral very large defalcations from Virginia, within a few years afterwards, which were forwarded and aſſiſted by the contrivance of the Governor Sir JOHN HARVEY; inſomuch, that not only the land itſelf, quit-rents and all, but the authorities and juriſdictions that belonged to the colony, were given away; nay, ſometimes in thoſe grants he included the very ſettlements that had been before made.

As this gentleman was irregular in this, ſo he was very unjuſt and arbitrary in his other methods of government: He exacted with rigour the fines and penalties which the unwary aſſemblies of thoſe times had given chiefly to himſelf, and was ſo haughty and furious to the council and the beſt gentlemen of the country, that his tyranny grew at laſt inſupportable; ſo that in the year 1639, the council ſent him priſoner to London, and with him two of their number to maintain the articles againſt him. This news being brought to King CHARLES I. his Majeſty was very much diſpleaſed, and without hearing any thing cauſed him to return Governor again; but by the next ſhipping he was graciouſly pleaſed to change him; and ſo made amends for this man's male adminiſtration, by ſending the good and juſt Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY to ſucceed him.

While theſe things were tranſacting there was ſo general a diſſatisfaction, occaſioned by the oppreſſions of Sir JOHN HARVEY, and the difficulties in getting him out, that the whole colony was in confuſion. The ſubtle Indians, who took all advantages, reſented the incroachments upon them by his grants: They ſaw the Engliſh uneaſy and diſunited among themſelves, and by the direction of OPPACONCANOUGH their King, laid the groundwork of another maſſacre, wherein by ſurprize they cut off near five hundred Chriſtians more. But this execution did not take ſo general effect as formerly, becauſe the Indians were not ſo frequently ſuffered to come among the inner habitations of the Engliſh; and therefore the maſſacre fell ſevereſt on the ſouth-ſide of James river, and on the heads of the other rivers, but chiefly of York river, where this OPPACONCANOUGH kept the ſeat of his government.

A third maſſacre.

OPPACONCANOUGH was a man of large ſtature, noble preſence, and extraordinary parts; tho' he had no advantage of literature (that being no where to be found among the American Indians;) yet he was perfectly ſkilled in the art of governing his rude countrymen. He cauſed all the Indians, far and near, to dread his name, and had them all entirely in ſubjection.

This King, in SMITH's hiſtory, is called brother to POWHATON, but by the Indians he was not ſo eſteemed: For they ſay he was a Prince of a foreign nation, and came to them a great way from the ſouth-weſt. And by their accounts we ſuppoſe him to have come from the Spaniſh-Indians, ſomewhere near Mexico, or the mines of St. Barbe. But be that matter how it will, from that time till his captivity, there never was the leaſt truce between the Indians and the Engliſh.

Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY, upon his arrival ſhewed ſuch an oppoſition to the unjuſt grants made by Sir JOHN HARVEY, that very few of them took effect, and ſuch as did were ſubjected to the ſettled conditions of the other parts of the government, and made liable to the payment of the full quit-rents. He encouraged the country in ſeveral eſſays of pot-aſh, ſoap, ſalt, flax, hemp, ſilk, and cotton. But the Indian war enſuing upon this laſt maſſacre, was a great obſtruction to theſe good deſigns, by requiring all the ſpare men to be employed in defence of the country.

OPPACONCANOUGH, by his great age and the fatigues of war (in which Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY followed him cloſe) was now grown ſo decrepid that he was not able to walk alone, but was carried about by his men wherever he had a mind to move. His fleſh was all macerated, his ſinews ſlackened, and his eye-lids became ſo heavy that he could not ſee, but as they were lifted up by his ſervants. In this low condition he was when Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY hearing that he was at ſome diſtance from his uſual habitation, reſolved at all adventures to ſeize his perſon, which he happily effected; for with a party of horſe he made a ſpeedy march, ſurprized him in his quarters, and brought him priſoner to James Town; where by the Governor's command he was treated with all the reſpect and tenderneſs imaginable. Sir WILLIAM had a mind to ſend him to England, hoping to get reputation by preſenting his Majeſty with a royal captive, who at his pleaſure could call into the field ten times more Indians than Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY had Engliſh in his whole government. Beſides, he thought this ancient Prince would be an inſtance of the healthineſs and long life of the natives in that country. However, he could not preſerve his life above a fortnight; for one of the ſoldiers reſenting the calamities the colony had ſuffered by this Prince's means, baſely ſhot him through the back after he was made priſoner, of which wound he died.

Oppaconcanough taken priſoner.

Killed.

He continued brave to the laſt moment of his life, and ſhewed not the leaſt dejection at his captivity. He heard one day a great noiſe of the treading of people about him, upon which he cauſed his eye-lids to be lifted up, and finding that a croud of people were let in to ſee him, he called in high indignation for the Governor, who being come, OPPACONCANOUGH ſcornfully told him, that had it been his fortune to take Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY priſoner, he ſhould not meanly have expoſed him as a ſhew to the people.

After this Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY made a new peace with the Indians, which continued for a long time unviolated, inſomuch that all thoughts of future injuries from them were laid aſide; but he himſelf did not long enjoy the benefit of this profound peace, for the unhappy troubles of King CHARLES the firſt increaſing in England, proved a great diſturbance to him and all his people. They, to prevent the infection from reaching that country, made ſevere laws againſt the Puritans, tho' there were as yet none among them. But all correſpondence with England was interrupted, the ſupplies leſſened, and trade obſtructed. In a word, all people were impatient to know what would be the event of ſo much confuſion.

A peace with the Indians.

The grand rebellion in England.

At laſt the King was traiterouſly beheaded in England, and OLIVER inſtalled Protector. However, his authority was not acknowledged in Virginia for ſeveral years after, till they were forced to it by the laſt neceſſity. For in the year 1651, by CROMWELL's command, Captain DENNIS, with a ſquadron of men of war, arrived there from the Caribbe-Iſlands, where they had been ſubduing Barbadoes. The country at firſt held out vigorouſly againſt him; and Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY, by the aſſiſtance of ſuch Dutch veſſels as were then there, made a brave reſiſtance. But at laſt DENNIS contrived a ſtratagem which betrayed the country. He had got a conſiderable parcel of goods aboard which belonged to two of the council, and found a method of informing them of it. By this means they were reduced to the dilemma either of ſubmitting or loſing their goods. This occaſioned factions among them, ſo that at laſt, after the ſurrender of all the other Engliſh plantations, Sir WILLIAM was forced to yield to the Uſurper on the terms of a general pardon. However, it ought to be remembered to his praiſe, and to the immortal honour of that colony, that it was the laſt of all the King's dominions that ſubmitted to the uſurpation, and afterwards the firſt caſt it off; and Sir WILLIAM never took any poſt or office under the Uſurper.

Virginia the laſt of the King's dominions that ſubmitted to the Uſurper.

OLIVER had no ſooner ſubdued the plantations but he began to contrive how to keep them under, that ſo they might never be able for the time to come to give him further trouble. To this end he thought it neceſſary to break off their correſpondence with all other nations, thereby to prevent their being furniſhed with arms, ammunition, and other warlike proviſions. According to this deſign he contrived a ſevere act of parliament, whereby he prohibited the plantations from receiving or exporting any European commodities but what ſhould be carried to them by Engliſhmen, and in Engliſh-built ſhips. They were abſolutely forbid correſponding with any nation or colony not ſubject to the crown of England; neither

The ordinance concerning navigation to the plantations.

ther was any alien ſuffered to manage a trade or factory; in all which things the plantations had been till then indulged for their encouragement.

Notwithſtanding this act of navigation, the Protector never thought the plantations enough ſecured, but frequently changed the Governors to prevent their intriguing with the people; ſo that during the time of the uſurpation they had no leſs than three Governors there, namely, Diggs, Bennet, and Matthews.

The ſtrange arbitrary curbs he put upon the plantations exceedingly afflicted the people. He had the inhumanity to forbid them all manner of trade and correſpondence with other nations at a time when England itſelf was in diſtraction, and could neither take off their commodities, nor ſupply them ſufficiently with its own. Neither had they been ever uſed to ſupply them with half the commodities they expended, or to take off above half the tobacco they made. Such violent proceedings made the people deſperate, and inſpired them with a deſire to uſe the laſt remedy to relieve themſelves from the lawleſs uſurpation. In a ſhort time afterwards a fair opportunity happened; for Governor Matthews died, and no perſon was ſubſtituted to ſucceed him in the government. Whereupon the people applied themſelves to Sir William Berkley, (who had continued at this time upon his own plantation in a private capacity) and unanimouſly re-choſe him their Governor.

The Virginians firſt throw off the uſurper's yoak.

Sir William Berkley had all along retained an unſhaken loyalty for the Royal Family, and therefore generouſly told the people, that he could not approve of the Protector's rule, and was reſolved never to ſerve any body but the lawful heir to the crown; and that if he accepted the government it ſhould be upon their ſolemn promiſe, after his example, to venture their lives and fortunes for the King, who was then in France.

This was no great obſtacle to them, and therefore with an unanimous voice they told him, that they were ready to hazard all for the King. Now this was actually before the King's return to England, and proceeded from a brave principle of loyalty, for which they had no example. Sir William Berkley embraced their choice, and forthwith proclaimed Charles the ſecond, King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and Virginia, and cauſed all proceſs to be iſſued in his name. Thus his Majeſty was actually King in Virginia, before he was ſo in England. But it pleaſed God to reſtore him ſoon after to the throne of his anceſtors; and ſo that country eſcaped being chaſtiſed for throwing off the uſurpation.

Upon the King's reſtoration he ſent Sir William Berkley a new commiſſion with leave to return to England, and a power to appoint a deputy in his abſence; for his majeſty in his exile had received intelligence of this gentleman's loyalty, and during that time had renewed his commiſſion.

Upon this Sir William Berkley appointed Colonel Francis Morrison Deputy-Governor, and went for England to wait on his Majeſty, by whom he was kindly received. At his return he carried his Majeſty's preſſing inſtructions for encouraging the people in huſbandry and manufactures, but more eſpecially to promote ſilk and vineyards. There is a tradition that the King, in complement to that colony, wore at his coronation a robe made of the ſilk that was ſent from thence. But this was all the reward the country had for their loyalty; for the parliament was pleaſed to renew the act contrived by the Uſurper for diſcouraging the plantations, with ſeverer reſtraints and prohibitions by bonds, ſecurities, &c.

Several beneficial laws confirmed after the reſtoration.

During the time of Sir William Berkley's abſence, Colonel Morrison had, according to his directions, reviſed the laws, and compiled them into one body, ready to be confirmed by the aſſembly at his return. By theſe laws the church of England was confirmed in the eſtabliſhed religion, the charge of the government ſuſtained, trade and manufactures were encouraged, a town projected, and all the Indian affairs ſettled.

The pariſhes were likewiſe regulated, competent allowances were made to the miniſters to the value of about fourſcore pounds a year, beſides glebes and perquiſites; and the method of their preferment was ſettled. Convenient churches and glebes were provided, and all neceſſary pariſh-officers inſtituted. Some ſteps were made alſo towards a free-ſchool and college, and the poor were effectually provided for.

Duties.

For ſupport of the government, the duty of two ſhillings per hogſhead on all tobacco's, and that of one ſhilling per ton port-duty on ſhipping, were made perpetual; and the collectors were obliged to account for the ſame to the general aſſembly.

Silk and linen manufactures encouraged.

Leather.

Salt.

Ship-building.

For encouragement of manufactures, prizes were appointed for the makers of the beſt pieces of linen cloth, and a reward of fifty lb. of tobacco was given for each lb. of ſilk. All perſons were enjoined to plant mulberry-trees for the food of the ſilk-worm, according to the number of acres of land they held. Tan-houſes were ſet up in each county at the county charge, and publick encouragement was given to a ſalt-work on the eaſtern ſhore. A reward was appointed in proportion to the tonnage of all ſea veſſels built there, and an exemption allowed from all fees and duties payable by ſuch ſhipping.

The King had commanded that all ſhips trading to Virginia ſhould go to James Town, and there enter before they broke bulk; but the aſſembly, from the impracticableneſs of that command, excuſed all except the James River ſhips from that order, and left the others, in the rivers they were bound to, to ride diſperſed as the commanders pleaſed; by whoſe example the James River ſhips were no ſooner entered with the officer in James Town, but they all diſperſed themſelves to unload and trade all over the river. By this means the deſign of towns was totally baulked, and this order proved only an eaſe to the officer of James River, and a means of creating a good place to him.

The limits between the Engliſh and the Indians ſettled.

Peace and commerce with the Indians was ſettled by a law, and their boundaries preſcribed. Several other acts were made ſuiting the neceſſity of the government, ſo that nothing then ſeemed to remain but the improvement of the country and encouragement of thoſe manufactures the King had been pleaſed to recommend, together with ſuch others as ſhould be beneficial.

The only way to promote the building of towns.

Sir William Berkley, at his return gave a ſanction to this body of laws, and being then again in full poſſeſſion of his government, and at perfect peace with the Indians, ſet all hands induſtriouſly to work in making country improvements. He paſſed a new act for encouragement in James Town, whereby ſeveral houſes were built therein at the charge of ſeveral counties. However, the main ingredient for the advancement of towns was ſtill wanting, namely, the confinement of all ſhipping and trade to them only; by defect of which all the other expedients availed nothing; for moſt of the buildings were ſoon converted into houſes of entertainment.

Laws againſt the ſectaries.

Anno 1663, divers ſectaries in religion beginning to ſpread themſelves there, great reſtraints were laid upon them under ſevere penalties to prevent their increaſe.

This made many of them fly to other colonies, and prevented abundance of others from going over to ſeat themſelves among them. And as the former ill treatment of my Lord Baltimore kept many people away, and drove others to Maryland, ſo the preſent ſeverities towards the Nonconformiſts kept off many more who went to the neighbouring colonies.

A plot of the Republicans againſt the government.

The rigorous circumſpection of their trade, the proſecution of the ſectaries, and the little demand of tobacco, had like to have had very fatal conſequences: For the poor people becoming thereby very uneaſy, their murmurings were watched and fed by ſeveral mutinous and rebellious Oliverian ſoldiers that were ſent thither as ſervants. Theſe depending upon the diſcontented people of all ſorts, formed a villainous plot to deſtroy their maſters and afterwards to ſet up for themſelves.

This plot was brought ſo near to perfection that it was the very night before the deſigned execution e'er it was diſcovered; and then it came out by the relenting of one of their accomplices, whoſe name was **Birkenhead**. This man was ſervant to Mr. **Smith** of Purton in Gloceſter County, near which place, (viz.) Poplar-Spring, the miſcreants were to meet the night following, and put in execution their horrid conſpiracy.

Detected.

Upon this diſcovery by **Birkenhead**, notice was immediately ſent to the Governor at Green-Spring; and the method he took to prevent it was by private orders that ſome of the militia ſhould meet before the time at the place where the conſpirators were to rendezvous, and ſeize them as they came ſingly up to it; which orders being happily executed their deviliſh plot was defeated. However, there were but a few taken, becauſe ſeveral of them making their eſcape turned back ſuch of their fellows as they met on the road, and prevented moſt of them from coming up or being diſcovered.

Four of theſe rogues were hanged, but **Birkenhead** was gratified with his freedom and a reward of two hundred pounds ſterling.

For the diſcovery and happy diſappointment of this plot an anniverſary thankſgiving was appointed on the 13th of September, the day it was to be put in execution: And it is great pity ſome other days are not commemorated as well as that.

The news of this plot being tranſmitted to King **Charles** the ſecond, his Majeſty ſent his royal commands to build a fort at James Town, for the ſecurity of the Governor, and to be a curb upon all ſuch traiterous attempts for the future; but the country thinking the danger over, only raiſed a battery of ſome ſmall pieces of cannon.

The plantations to receive their merchandize and proviſions only from England.

Another misfortune happened to the plantations this year, which was a new act of parliament in England, laying a ſeverer reſtraint upon their ſupplies than formerly. By this act they could have no foreign goods which were not firſt landed in England, and carried directly from thence to the plantations; the former reſtraint of importing them only by Engliſhmen in Engliſh built ſhipping not being thought ſufficient.

This was a misfortune which cut with a double edge; for 1ſt, it reduced their ſtaple tobacco to a very low price; and 2dly, it raiſed the value of European goods to what the merchants pleaſed to put upon them.

The Virginians prohibit the planting tobacco.

For this their aſſembly could think of no remedy but to be even with the merchants, and make their tobacco ſcarce by prohibiting the planting of it for one year; and during that idle year to invite the people to enter upon manufacturing flax and hemp. But Maryland not concurring in this project, they were obliged in their own defence to repeal the act of aſſembly again, and return to their old drudgery of planting tobacco without profiting by it.

The country thus miſſed of their remedy in the ſtint of tobacco, which on the contrary multiplied exceedingly by the great increaſe of ſervants. This, together with the abovementioned curbs on trade, exaſperated the people, becauſe now they found themſelves under a neceſſity of exchanging their commodities with the merchants of England on their own terms. The aſſembly therefore again attempted the ſtint of tobacco, and paſſed another act againſt planting it for one year; and Carolina and Maryland both agreed to it. But ſome accident hindering the agent of Carolina from giving notice thereof to Maryland by the day appointed, the Governor of that province proclaimed the act void, altho' every body there knew that Carolina had fully agreed to all things required of them. But he took advantage of this nice punctilio becauſe of the loſs ſuch a diminution would have been to his annual income; and ſo all people relaps'd again into the diſeaſe of planting tobacco.

Virginia was more nettled at this ill uſage from Maryland than at her former abſolute denial; but was forced to take all patiently, and by fair means get relief if ſhe could. They therefore appointed agents to re-aſſume the treaty, and ſubmitted ſo low as to ſend them to St. Marys, then the reſidence of the Governor of Maryland, and the place where the aſſemblies met. Yet all this condeſcenſion could not hold them to their bargain. The Governor ſaid, he had obſerved his part of the agreement, and would not call an aſſembly any more upon that ſubject.

Forts ordered on ſeveral rivers for ſhips to ride under. Which took place for one year only.

In this manner two whole years were ſpent, and nothing could be accompliſhed for their relief. In the mean while England was ſtudious to prevent their receiving ſupplies from any other country. To do that more effectually, it was thought expedient to confine the trade of that colony to one place. But that being not found practicable becauſe of the many great rivers that divide their habitations, and the extraordinary conveniencies of each, his Majeſty ſent directions to build forts in the ſeveral rivers, and enjoined all the ſhips to ride under thoſe forts: And farther ordered, that thoſe places ſhould only be the ports of trade.

This inſtruction was punctually obſerved for a year, and preparations were made for forts by caſting up breaſt-works in ſuch places as the aſſembly appointed, and the ſhipping did for that time ride at thoſe places. But the great fire and plague happening in London immediately upon it made their ſupplies that year very uncertain; and the terror the people were in leſt the plague ſhould be brought over with the ſhips from London, prevented them from reſiding at thoſe ports, for fear of being all ſwept away at once; and ſo every body was left at liberty again.

Still no favour could be obtained for the tobacco trade, and the Engliſh merchants afforded but a bare ſupport of cloathing for their crops. The aſſembly was full enough of reſentment, but overlooked their right way of redreſs. All they could do was to cauſe looms and workhouſes to be ſet up in the ſeveral counties at the county charge. They renewed the rewards of ſilk, and put great penalties upon every neglect of making flax and hemp. About this time they ſuſtained ſome damage by the Dutch war, for which reaſon they ordered the forts to be re-built with brick. But having yet no true notion of the advantage of towns they did not oblige the ſhips to ride under them; which thing alone, well executed, would have anſwered all their deſires.

Further diſcoveries attempted.

Sir **William Berkley**, who was always contriving and induſtrious for the good of the country, was not contented to ſet a uſeful example at home by the eſſays he made of pot-aſh, flax, hemp, ſilk, &c. but was alſo reſolved to make new diſcoveries abroad amongſt the Indians.

The Apalathian mountains.

For this end he employed a ſmall company of about fourteen Engliſh and as many Indians, under the command of Captain **Henry Batt**, to go upon ſuch an adventure. They ſet out together from Appamattox, and in ſeven days march reached the foot of the mountains. The mountains they firſt arrived at were not extraordinary high or ſteep, but after they had paſſed the firſt ridge they encountered others that ſeemed to reach the clouds, and were ſo perpendicular and full of precipices, that ſometimes in a whole day's march they could not travel three miles in a direct line. In other places they found large level plains and fine ſavanna's three or four miles wide, in which were an infinite quantity of turkies, deer, elks, and buffaloes, ſo gentle and undiſturbed that they had no fear at the appearance of the men, but would ſuffer them to come almoſt within reach of their hands. There they alſo found grapes ſo prodigiouſly large that they ſeemed more like bullace than grapes. When they traverſed theſe mountains they came to a fine level country again, and diſcovered a rivulet that deſcended backwards. Down that ſtream they travelled ſeveral days till they came to old fields and cabbins where the Indians had lately been, but were ſuppoſed to have fled at the approach of **Batt** and his company. However, the Captain followed the old rule of leaving ſome toys in their cabbins for them to find at their return, by which they might know they were friends. Near to theſe cabbins were great marſhes, where the Indians which Captain **Batt** had with him made a halt, and would poſitively proceed no farther. They ſaid, that not far from that place lived a nation of Indians that made ſalt and ſold it to their neighbours; that this was a great and powerful people which never ſuffered any ſtrangers to return that had once diſcovered their towns. Captain **Batt** uſed all the arguments he could to get them forward, but in vain; and ſo to pleaſe thoſe timorous Indians the hopes of this diſcovery were fruſtrated, and the detachment was forced to return. In this journey it is ſuppoſed that **Batt** never croſſed the great ridge of mountains, and kept up under it to the ſouthward; but of late years the Indian traders have diſcovered on this ſide the mountains, about five hundred miles to the ſouthward, a river they called Oukfuſky, full of broad ſunken grounds and marſhes, but falling into the bay or great gulph between Cape Florida and the mouth of the Miſſiſippi; which I ſuppoſe to be the river where **Batt** ſaw the Indian cabbins and marſhes, but is gone to from Virginia without ever piercing the high mountains, and only encountering the point of an elbow, which they make a little to the ſouthward of Virginia.

Diſcoveries as far as the gulph of Mexico.

Upon Captain **Batt**'s report to Sir **William Berkley** he reſolved to make a journey himſelf, that ſo there might be no hindrance for want of ſufficient authority, as had been in the aforeſaid expedition. To this end he concerted matters for it, and had pitched upon his Deputy-Governor. The aſſembly alſo made an act to encourage it. But all theſe preparations came to nothing by the confuſion that happened there ſoon after by **Bacon**'s rebellion; And ſince that, there has never been any ſuch diſcovery attempted from Virginia, unleſs when Governor **Spotswood** found a paſſage over the great ridge of mountains and went over them himſelf.

Bacon's rebellion.

The occaſion of this rebellion is not eaſy to be diſcovered; but 'tis certain there were many things that concurred towards it; for it cannot be imagined that upon the inſtigation of two or three traders only, who aimed at a monopoly of the Indian trade, as ſome pretend to ſay, the whole country would have fallen into ſo much diſtraction, in which people did not only hazard their necks by rebellion, but endeavoured to ruin a Governor whom they all entirely loved, and had unanimouſly choſen; a gentleman who had devoted his whole life and eſtate to the ſervice of the country, and againſt whom, in thirty-five years experience, there had never been one ſingle complaint. Neither can it be ſuppoſed that upon ſo ſlight grounds they would make choice of a leader they hardly knew, to oppoſe a gentleman that had been ſo long and ſo deſervedly the darling of the people. So that in all probability there was ſomething elſe in the wind, without which the body of the country had never been engaged in that inſurrection.

The grievances which occaſioned it.

Four things may be reckoned to have been the main ingredients towards this inteſtine commotion (viz.) Firſt, The extreme low price of tobacco, and the ill uſage of the planters in the exchange of goods for it, which the country, with all their earneſt endeavours, could not remedy. Secondly, The ſplitting the colony into proprieties, contrary to the original charters, and the extravagant taxes they were forced to undergo to relieve themſelves from thoſe grants. Thirdly, The heavy reſtraints and burdens laid upon their trade by act of parliament in England. Fourthly, The diſturbance given by the Indians; of all which in their order.

Firſt, Of the low price of tobacco, and the diſappointment of all ſort of remedy, I have ſpoken ſufficiently before.

Secondly, Of ſplitting the country into proprieties.

King **Charles** the Second, to gratify ſome nobles about him, made two great grants out of that country. Theſe grants were not of the uncultivated wood-land only, but alſo of plantations, which for many years had been ſeated and improved under the encouragement of ſeveral charters granted by his royal anceſtors to that colony. Thoſe grants were diſtinguiſhed by the names of the northern and ſouthern grants of Virginia, and the ſame men were concerned in both. They were kept dormant ſome years after they were made, and in the year 1674 begun to be put in execution. As ſoon as ever the country came to know this, they remonſtrated againſt them, and the aſſembly drew up an humble addreſs to his Majeſty, complaining of the ſaid grants as derogatory to the previous charters and privileges granted to that colony by his Majeſty and his royal progenitors. They ſent to England Mr. Secretary **Ludwell** and Colonel **Park** as their Agents, to addreſs the King to vacate theſe grants: And the better to defray that charge, they laid a tax of fifty pounds of tobacco per poll for two years together, over and above all other taxes, which was an exceſſive burden. They likewiſe laid amercements of ſeventy, fifty, or thirty pounds of tobacco, as the cauſe was, on every law caſe tried throughout the country. Beſides all this, they applied the ballance remaining due upon account of the two ſhillings per hogſhead and fort duties to this uſe; which taxes and amercements fell heavieſt on the poor people, the effect of whoſe labour would not cloath their wives and children. This made them deſperately uneaſy, eſpecially when after a whole years patience under all theſe preſſures they had no encouragement from their Agents in England to hope for remedy, nor any certainty when they ſhould be eaſed of thoſe heavy impoſitions.

Thirdly. Upon the back of all theſe misfortunes came out the act of 25 Car. II. for better ſecuring the plantation trade. By this act ſeveral duties were laid on the trade from one plantation to another. This was a new hardſhip, and the rather becauſe the revenue ariſing by this act was not applied to the uſe of the plantation wherein it was raiſed, but given clear away; nay, in that country it ſeemed to be of no other uſe but to burden the trade, or create a good income to the officers; for the collector had half, the comptroller a quarter, and the remaining quarter was ſubdivided into ſalaries till it was loſt.

By the ſame act alſo very great duties were laid on the fiſheries of the plantations, if manufactured by the Engliſh inhabitants there, while the people of England were abſolutely free from all cuſtoms: Nay, tho' the oil, blubber, and whalebone, which were made by the inhabitants of the plantations, were carried to England by Engliſh and in Engliſh-built ſhips, yet it was held to a conſiderable duty more than the inhabitants of England paid.

Theſe were the afflictions that country laboured under when the fourth accident happened, viz. the diſturbance offered by the Indians to the frontiers.

This was occaſioned; Firſt, by the Indians on the head of the bay. Secondly, by the Indians on their own frontiers.

Firſt. The Indians at the head of the bay drove a conſtant trade with the Dutch in Monadas, now called New-York; and to carry on this they uſed to come every year by the frontiers of Virginia to hunt and purchaſe ſkins and furrs of the Indians to the ſouthward. This trade was carried on peaceably while the Dutch held Monadas, and the Indians uſed to call on the Engliſh in Virginia on their return, to whom they would ſell part of their Furrs, and with the reſt go on to Monadas. But after the Engliſh came to poſſeſs that place, and underſtood the advantages the Virginians made by the trade of their Indians, they inſpired them with ſuch a hatred to the inhabitants of Virginia, that inſtead of coming peaceably to trade with them, as they had done for ſeveral years before, they afterwards never came but only to commit robberies and murders among them.

Secondly. The Indians upon their own frontiers were likewiſe inſpired with ill thoughts of them; for their Indian Merchants had loſt a conſiderable branch of their trade they knew not how, and apprehended the conſequences of Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY's intended diſcoveries (eſpouſed by the aſſembly) might take away the remaining part of their profit. This made them very troubleſome to the neighbouring Indians, who, on their part, obſerving an unuſual uneaſineſs in the Engliſh, and being terrified by their rough uſage, immediately ſuſpected ſome wicked deſign againſt their lives, and ſo fled to their remoter habitations. This confirmed the Engliſh in their belief that they had been the murderers, till at laſt they provoked them to be ſo in earneſt.

This addition of miſchief to minds already full of diſcontent, made people ready to vent all their reſentment againſt the poor Indians. There was nothing to be got by tobacco, neither could they turn any other manufacture to advantage; ſo that moſt of the poorer ſort were willing to quit their unprofitable employments and go volunteers againſt the Indians.

At firſt they flocked tumultuouſly, running in troops from one plantation to another without a head, till at laſt the ſeditious humour of Colonel NATHANAEL BACON led him to be of the party. This gentleman had been brought up at one of the Inns of court in England, and had a moderate fortune. He was young, bold, active, of an inviting aſpect, and powerful elocution. In a word, he was every way qualified to head a giddy and unthinking multitude. Before he had been three years in the country he was, for his extraordinary qualifications, made one of the council, and in great honour and eſteem among the people. For this reaſon he no ſooner gave countenance to this riotous mob, but they all preſently fixed their eyes upon him for their General, and accordingly made their addreſſes to him. As ſoon as he found this, he harangued them publickly: He aggravated the Indian miſchiefs, complaining that they were occaſioned for want of a due regulation of their trade: He recounted particularly the other grievances and preſſures they lay under, and pretended that he accepted of the command with no other intention but to do them and the country ſervice, in which he was willing to encounter the greateſt difficulties and dangers. He farther aſſured them he would never lay down his arms till he had revenged their ſufferings upon the Indians, and redreſſed all their other grievances.

By theſe inſinuations he wrought his men into ſo perfect an unanimity that they were one and all at his devotion. He took care to exaſperate them to the utmoſt, by repreſenting all their misfortunes. After he had begun to muſter them he diſpatched a meſſenger to the Governor, to whom he aggravated the miſchiefs done by the Indians, and deſired a commiſſion of General to go out againſt them. This gentleman was in ſo great eſteem at that time with the council, that the Governor did not think fit to give him a flat refuſal; but ſent him word he would conſult the council and return him a farther anſwer.

In the mean time BACON was expeditious in his preparations, and having all things in readineſs began his march, depending on the authority the people had given him. He would not loſe ſo much time as to ſtay for his commiſſion, but diſpatched ſeveral meſſengers to the Governor to haſten it.

On the other hand, the Governor, inſtead of a commiſſion, ſent poſitive orders to him to diſperſe his men and come in perſon to him on pain of being declared a rebel.

This unexpected order was a great ſurprize to BACON, and not a little trouble to his men; however, he was reſolved to proſecute his firſt intentions, depending upon his ſtrength and intereſt with the people; nevertheleſs he intended to wait upon the Governor, but not altogether defenſeleſs. Purſuant to this reſolution he took about forty of his men down with him in a ſloop to James town, where the Governor was with his council.

Matters did not ſucceed there to Mr. BACON's ſatisfaction; wherefore he expreſſed himſelf a little too freely, for which being ſuſpended from the council, he went away in a huff with his ſloop and followers. The Governor filled a long boat with men, and purſued the ſloop ſo cloſe, that Colonel BACON removed into his boat to make more haſte: But the Governor had ſent up by land to the ſhips at Sandy Point where he was ſtopped and ſent down again. Upon his return he was kindly received by the Governor, who knowing he had gone a ſtep beyond his inſtructions in having ſuſpended him, was glad to admit him again of the council; after which he hoped all things might be pacified.

Notwithſtanding, Colonel BACON ſtill inſiſted upon a commiſſion to be General of the volunteers, and to go out againſt the Indians, from which the Governor endeavoured to diſſuade him but to no purpoſe; becauſe he had ſome ſecret project in view. He had the luck to be countenanced in his importunities by the news of freſh murders and robberies committed by the Indians. However, not being able to accompliſh his ends by fair means, he ſtole privately out of town, and having put himſelf at the head of ſix hundred volunteers, marched directly to James town, where the aſſembly was then ſitting. He preſented himſelf before the aſſembly, and drew up his men in battalia before the houſe wherein they ſat. He urged to them his preparations, and alledged, that if the commiſſion had not been delayed ſo long, the war againſt the Indians might have been finiſhed.

The Governor reſenting this inſolent uſage worſt of all, and now abſolutely refuſed to grant him any thing, offering his naked breaſt againſt the arms of his followers. But the aſſembly fearing the fatal conſequence of provoking a diſcontented multitude ready armed, who had the Governor, council, and aſſembly entirely in their power, addreſſed the Governor to grant BACON his requeſt. They prepared themſelves the commiſſion, conſtituting him General of the forces of Virginia, and brought it to the Governor to be ſigned.

The Governor compelled to ſign Bacon's commiſſion of General.

With much reluctancy the Governor ſigned it, and thereby put the power of war and peace into BACON's hands. Upon this he marched away immediately, having gained his end, which was in effect a power to ſecure a monopoly of the Indian trade to himſelf and his friends.

But proclaims him a rebel afterwards.

As ſoon as General BACON had marched to ſuch a convenient diſtance from James town, that the aſſembly thought they might deliberate with ſafety, the Governor, by their advice, iſſued a proclamation of rebellion againſt him, commanding his followers to ſurrender him and forthwith diſperſe themſelves, giving orders at the ſame time for raiſing the militia of the country againſt him.

The people being much exaſperated, and General BACON by his addreſs and eloquence having gained an abſolute dominion over their hearts, they unanimouſly reſolved, that not a hair of his head ſhould be touched, much leſs to ſurrender him as a rebel. Therefore they kept to their arms, and inſtead of proceeding againſt the Indians they marched back to James town, directing their fury againſt ſuch of their friends and countrymen as ſhould dare to oppoſe them.

The Governor forced to fly from James Town which the rebels burnt.

The Governor ſeeing this fled over the bay to Acomack, whither he hoped the infection of BACON's conſpiracy had not reached: But there, inſtead of that people's receiving him with open arms in remembrance of the former ſervices he had done them, they began to make terms with him for redreſs of their grievances, and for the eaſe and liberty of trade againſt the acts of parliament abovementioned. Thus Sir WILLIAM, who had been almoſt the idol of the people, was, by reaſon of their calamity and jealouſy, abandoned by all except ſome few who went over to him from the weſtern ſhore in ſloops and boats, among which Major ROBERT BEVERLY was the moſt active and ſucceſsful commander; ſo that it was ſome time before he could make head againſt BACON; but left him to range through the country at diſcretion.

General BACON at firſt held a convention of ſuch of the chief gentlemen of the country as would come to him, eſpecially of thoſe about Middle Plantation, who were near at hand. At this convention they made a declaration to juſtify his unlawful proceedings, and obliged people to take an oath of obedience to him as their General. Then by their advice, on pretence of the Governor's abdication, he called an aſſembly by writs ſigned by himſelf and four others of the council.

Bacon takes an oath of his followers and ſummons an aſſembly.

By this time the Governor had got together a ſmall party to ſide with him. Theſe he furniſhed with ſloops, arms and ammunition, under command of Major ROBERT BEVERLY, in order to croſs the bay and oppoſe the malecontents. By this means there happened ſome ſkirmiſhes, in which ſeveral were killed and others taken priſoners. Thus they were going on by a civil war to deſtroy one another, and lay waſte their infant country, when it pleaſed GOD, after ſome months confuſion, to put an end to their misfortunes as well as to BACON's deſigns by his natural death.

Bacon dies, which puts an end to the rebellion.

He died at Dr. GREEN's in Glouceſter county, but where he was buried was never yet diſcovered; tho' afterwards there was great enquiry made with deſign to expoſe his bones to publick infamy.

In the mean while thoſe diſorders occaſioned a general neglect of huſbandry, and a great deſtruction of the ſtocks of cattle; ſo that people had a dreadful proſpect of want and famine. But the malecontents being thus diſunited by the loſs of their General, in whom they all confided, they began to ſquabble among themſelves, and every man's buſineſs was how to make the beſt terms he could for himſelf.

Lieutenant General INGRAM (whoſe true name was JOHNSON) and Major General WALKLATE ſurrendered on condition of pardon for themſelves and their followers; tho' they were both forced to ſubmit to an incapacity of bearing office in that country for the future.

Peace being thus reſtored, Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY returned to his former ſeat of government and every man to his ſeveral habitation.

While this inteſtine war was fomenting there, the Agents of the country in England could not ſucceed in their remonſtrance againſt the propriety grants, tho' they were told that thoſe grants ſhould be revoked; but the news of their civil war reaching England about the ſame time, the King would then proceed no farther in that matter; ſo the Agents thought it their beſt way to compound with the proprietors. Accordingly, they agreed with them for four hundred pounds a man, which was paid, and ſo all the clamour againſt thoſe grants ended, neither was any more heard of them until above a dozen years afterwards.

But all thoſe Agents could obtain after their compoſition with the Lords was merely the name of a new charter, granting only ſo much of their former conſtitution as mentioned a reſidence of the Governor and Deputy, a granting of eſcheat lands for two pounds of tobacco per acre compoſition; and that the lands ſhould be held of the crown in the ſame tenure as Eaſt-Greenwich, that is free and in common ſoccage, and have their immediate dependance on the crown.

A regiment arrives in Virginia from England.

When this ſtorm, occaſioned by Bacon, was blown over, and all things quiet again, Sir William Berkley called an aſſembly for ſettling affairs in the country, and for making reparation to ſuch as had been oppreſſed. After which a regiment of ſoldiers arrived from England, which were ſent to ſuppreſs the inſurrection; but they coming after the buſineſs was over, had no occaſion to exerciſe their courage. However, they were kept on foot there about three years after, and in the Lord Colepepper's time paid off and diſbanded.

The confuſion occaſioned by the civil war, and the advantage the Indians made of it in butchering the Engliſh upon all their frontiers, cauſed ſuch a deſolation and put the country ſo far back that to the year 1704 they had ſeated very little beyond the boundaries that were then inhabited. At that time James Town was burnt down to the ground by Richard Laurence, one of Bacon's Captains, who, when his own men, that abhorred ſuch barbarity, refuſed to obey his command, he himſelf became the executioner and fired the houſes with his own hands.

This unhappy town did never after arrive to the ſplendour it then had; and now it is almoſt deſerted, by removing, in Governor Nicholson's time, the aſſembly and general court from thence to Williamſburgh, an inland place about ſeven miles from it.

Sir William Berkley dies in England.

With the regiment above-mentioned arrived commiſſioners, to enquire into the occaſion and authors of this rebellion; and Sir William Berkley came to England, where from the time of his arrival his ſickneſs obliged him to keep his chamber till he died; ſo that he had no opportunity of kiſſing the King's hand. But his Majeſty declared himſelf well ſatisfied with his conduct in Virginia, and was very kind to him during his ſickneſs, often enquiring after his health, and commanding him not to hazard it by too early an endeavour to come to court.

Jeffreys Governor.

Upon Sir William Berkley's voyage to England, Herbert Jeffreys, Eſq; was appointed Governor. He made formal articles of peace with the Indians, and held an aſſembly at Middle Plantation, wherein they ſettled and allowed a free trade with the Indians, but reſtrained it to certain marts to which the Indians ſhould bring their commodities; and this alſo to be under ſuch certain rules as were by that aſſembly directed. But this method was not agreeable to the Indians, who had never before been under any regulation. They thought that if all former uſages were not reſtored the peace was not perfect; and therefore did not ſo much rely upon it, which made thoſe new reſtrictions uſeleſs.

Governor Jeffreys's time was very ſhort there; he being taken off by death the year following.

Chicheley Governor.

After him Sir Henry Chicheley was made Deputy-governor in the latter end of the year 1678. In his time the aſſembly, for the greater terror of the Indians, built magazines at the heads of the four great rivers, and furniſhed them with arms, ammunition, and men in conſtant ſervice.

This aſſembly alſo prohibited the importation of tobacco, which Carolina and ſometimes Maryland were wont to ſend thither in order for its being ſhipped off for England. But in that I think Virginia miſtook her intereſt; for had they permitted this cuſtom to become habitual, and thus ingroſſed the ſhipping, as would ſoon have happened, they could eaſily have regulated the trade of tobacco at any time, without the concurrence of thoſe other colonies, and without ſubmitting to their perverſe humours as formerly.

The Virginians miſtake their intereſt.

Lord Colepepper Governor.

The ſpring following, Thomas Lord Colepepper arrived there Governor, and carried with him ſome laws which had been drawn up in England to be enacted in their aſſembly: And coming with the advantage of reſtoring peace to a troubled nation, it was not difficult for him to obtain whatever he pleaſed from the people. His influence too was the greater by the power he had of pardoning thoſe who had a hand in the diſorders committed in the late rebellion.

In his firſt aſſembly he paſſed ſeveral acts very obliging to the country, (viz.) Firſt, an act of naturalization, whereby the power of naturalizing foreigners was placed in the Governor. Secondly, an act for cohabitation and encouragement to trade and manufactures, whereby a certain place in each country was appointed for a town, in which all goods imported and exported were to be landed and ſhipped off, bought and ſold; which act was kindly brought to nothing by the oppoſition of the tobacco merchants of England. Thirdly, an act of general pardon and oblivion, whereby all the tranſgreſſions and outrages committed in the time of the late rebellion were entirely remitted, and reparation allowed to people that ſhould be evil ſpoken of on that account.

The Engliſh merchants diſcourage the building towns in Virginia.

By paſſing ſome laws that obliged the country, the Lord Colepepper carried on that which was very pleaſing to himſelf, (viz.) the act for raiſing a publick revenue for the better ſupport of the government. By this he got the duties contained therein to be made perpetual, and that the money which before uſed to be accounted for to the aſſembly, ſhould from thenceforth be diſpoſed of by his Majeſty's ſole direction, for the ſupport of the government. When this was done, he obtained of the King, out of the ſaid duties, a ſalary of two thouſand pounds per annum, inſtead of one thouſand which was formerly allowed. Alſo one hundred and ſixty pounds per annum for houſe-rent, beſides all the uſual perquiſites.

The Governor obtains a ſalary of 2000 l. per ann.

In thoſe ſubmiſſive times his Lordſhip reduced the greateſt perquiſite of his place to a certainty, which before that was only gratuitous; that is, inſtead of the maſters of ſhips making preſents of liquors or proviſions towards the Governor's houſe-keeping, as they were wont to do, he demanded a certain ſum of money, remitting that cuſtom. This rate has ever ſince been demanded of all commanders as a duty, and is twenty ſhillings for each ſhip or veſſel under an hundred tons, and thirty ſhillings for each ſhip upwards of that burden, to be paid every voyage or port-clearing.

Coin.

This noble Lord ſeemed to lament the unhappy ſtate of the country in relation to their coin. He was tenderly concerned that all their caſh ſhould be drained away by the neighbouring colonies, which had ſet ſo low an eſtimate upon it as Virginia; and therefore he propoſed the raiſing of it.

This was what the country had formerly deſired, and the aſſembly was about making a law for it; but his Lordſhip ſtopp'd them, alledging it was the King's prerogative, by virtue of which

he

An artifice of the Governor to defraud the people

Which affects their ſalaries.

he would do it by proclamation. This they did not approve of, well knowing if that were the caſe, his Lordſhip and every other Governor would at any time have the ſame prerogative of altering it, and ſo people ſhould never be at any certainty, as they quickly after found from his own practice; for his drift was only to make advantage of paying the ſoldiers. Money for that purpoſe being put into his Lordſhip's hands, he provided light pieces of eight, which he with this view had bought at a cheap rate. When this contrivance was ripe for execution he extended the royal prerogative, and iſſued forth a proclamation for raiſing the value of pieces of eight from five to ſix ſhillings, and as ſoon as they were admitted current at that value, he produced an order for paying and diſbanding the ſoldiers. Then thoſe poor fellows, and ſuch as had maintained them, were forced to take their pay in thoſe light pieces of eight at ſix ſhillings. But his Lordſhip ſoon after himſelf found the inconvenience of that proclamation, for people began to pay their duties and their ſhip-money in coin of that high eſtimate; which was like to cut ſhort his Lordſhip's perquiſites, and ſo he was forced to make uſe of the ſame prerogative to reduce the money again to its former ſtandard.

In leſs than a year the Lord COLEPEPPER returned to England, leaving Sir HENRY CHICHELEY Deputy-governor.

The country being then ſettled again, made too much tobacco, or too much traſh tobacco for the market; and the merchants would hardly allow the planter any thing for it.

This occaſioned much uneaſineſs again, and the people from former experience deſpairing of ſucceeding in any agreement with the neighbouring governments, reſolved a total deſtruction of the tobacco in that country, eſpecially of the ſweet-ſcented; becauſe that was planted no where elſe. In purſuance of which deſign they contrived that all the plants ſhould be deſtroyed while they were yet in the beds, and after it was too late to ſow more.

The Virginians deſtroy their tobacco.

Accordingly the ring-leaders in this project began with their own firſt, and then went to cut up the plants of ſuch of their neighbours as were not willing to do it themſelves. However, they had not reſolution enough to go through with their work.

This was judged ſedition and felony. Several people were committed upon it, and ſome condemned to be hanged: And afterwards the aſſembly paſſed a law to make ſuch proceedings felony for the future (whatever it was before) provided the company kept together after warning by a Juſtice.

After this accident of plant-cutting, the Lord COLEPEPPER returned and held his ſecond aſſembly, in which he contrived to gain another great advantage over the country. His Lordſhip, in his firſt voyage thither, perceiving how eaſily he could twiſt and manage the people, conceived new hopes of retrieving the propriety of the Northern-neck, as being ſo ſmall a part of the colony. He conceived that while the remain[illegible] eſcaped free, which was far the greater part, they would not engage in the intereſt of the leſſer number, eſpecially conſidering the diſcouragements they had met with before in their former ſolicitation; though all this while, and many years afterwards, his Lordſhip did not pretend to lay publick claim to any part of the propriety.

It did not ſquare with this project that appeals ſhould be made to the general-aſſembly, as till then had been the cuſtom. He feared the burgeſſes would be too much in the intereſt of their countrymen, and adjudge the inhabitants of the Northern-Neck to have an equal liberty and privilege in their eſtates with the reſt of Virginia, as being ſettled upon the ſame foot. In order therefore to make a better pennyworth of thoſe poor people, he ſtudied to overturn this odious method of appealing to the aſſembly, and to fix the laſt reſort in another court.

Lord Colepepper promotes diviſions among the Virginians.

Deprives the aſſembly of the privilege of hearing appeals.

To bring this point about, his Lordſhip contrived to blow up a difference in the aſſembly between the council and the burgeſſes, privately encouraged the burgeſſes to inſiſt upon the privilege of determining all appeals by themſelves excluſive of the council; becauſe they having given their opinions before in the general-court, were for that reaſon unfit judges in appeals from themſelves to the aſſembly. This ſucceeded according to his wiſh, and the burgeſſes bit at the bait under the notion of privilege, never dreaming of the ſnake that lay in the graſs, nor conſidering the danger of altering an old conſtitution ſo abruptly. Thus my Lord gained his end, for he repreſented that quarrel with ſo many aggravations, that he got an inſtruction from the King to take away all appeals from the general-court to the aſſembly and cauſe them to be made to him in council, if the thing in demand was of three hundred pounds value, otherwiſe no appeal from the general-court.

Of this his Lordſhip made ſufficient advantage; for in the confuſion that happened in the end of King JAMES the ſecond's reign, viz. in October, 1688, he having got an aſſignment from the other patentees, gained a favourable report from the King's council at law upon his patent for the Northern-Neck.

When he had ſucceeded in this, his Lordſhip's next ſtep was to engage ſome noted inhabitant of the place to be on his ſide. Accordingly he made uſe of his couſin, Secretary SPENCER, who lived in the ſame Neck, and was eſteemed as wiſe and great a man as any of the council. This gentleman did but little in his Lordſhip's ſervice, and only gained ſome few ſtrays that uſed to be claim'd by the Coroner in behalf of the King.

Lord Colepepper gains the propriety of the Northern Neck by artifice.

Upon the death of Mr. Secretary SPENCER, he engaged another noted gentleman, an old ſtander in that country, though not of the Northern-Neck, Colonel PHILLIP LUDWELL, who was then in England. He went over with this grant in the year 1690, and ſet up an office in the Neck, claiming ſome eſcheats; but he likewiſe could make nothing of it. After him Colonel GEORGE BRENT and Colonel WILLIAM FITZ-HUGH, that were noted lawyers and inhabitants of the ſaid Neck, were employed in that affair, but ſucceeded no better than their predeceſſors. The people in the mean while complained frequently to their aſſemblies, who at laſt made another addreſs to the King, but there being no agent in England to proſecute it, that likewiſe miſcarried. At laſt Colonel RICHARD LEE, one of the council, a man of note, an inhabitant of the Northern-Neck, privately made a compoſition with the proprietor for his own land. This broke the ice, and ſeveral were induced to follow ſo great an example; ſo that by degrees they were generally brought to pay their quit-rents into the hands of the proprietor's agents. And at laſt it was managed for them by Colonel ROBERT CARTER, another of the council, and the greateſt freeholder in that propriety.

To return to my Lord COLEPEPPER's government. I cannot omit an uſeful thing which his Lordſhip was pleaſed to do with relation to their courts of juſtice. It ſeems nicety of pleading, with all the juggle of Weſtminſter-hall was creeping into their courts. The clerks began in ſome caſes to enter the reaſons with the judgments, pretending to ſet precedents of inviolable form to be obſerved in all future proceedings. This my Lord found fault with, and retrenched all dilatory pleas as prejudicial to juſtice, keeping the courts cloſe to the merits of the cauſe, in order to bring it to a ſpeedy determination, according to the innocence of former times, and cauſed the judgments to be entered up ſhort, without the reaſon, alledging, that their courts were not of ſo great experience as to be able to make precedents to poſterity, who ought to be left at liberty to determine according to the equity of the controverſy before them.

Shortens proceedings at law.

Forts demoliſh'd and guards of light horſe in their ſtead.

In his time alſo were diſmantled the forts built by Sir HENRY CHICHELEY at the heads of the rivers, and the forces there were diſbanded, as being too great a charge. The aſſembly appointed ſmall parties of light horſe in their ſtead, to range by turns upon the frontiers; theſe being choſen out of the neighbouring inhabitants might afford to ſerve at eaſier rates, and yet do the buſineſs more effectually. They were raiſed under the title or name of Rangers.

After this the Lord COLEPEPPER returned again for England, his ſecond ſtay not being much longer than the firſt; and Sir HENRY CHICHELEY being dead, he proclaimed his kinſman Mr. Secretary SPENCER, Preſident, though he was not the eldeſt member in the council.

Lord Howard of Effingham Governor. His extortions and oppreſſions.

The next year, being 1684, upon the Lord COLEPEPPER's refuſing to return to Virginia, FRANCIS Lord HOWARD of Effingham was ſent over Governor. In order to increaſe his perquiſites, he impoſed the charge of an annual under ſeal of twenty ſhillings each for ſchool-maſters, five pounds for lawyers at the general-court, and fifty ſhillings each lawyer at the county-courts. He alſo extorted an exceſſive fee for putting the ſeal to all probates and wills and letters of adminiſtration, even where the eſtates of the deceaſed were of the meaneſt value. Neither could any be favoured with ſuch adminiſtration or probate without paying that extortion. If any body preſumed to remonſtrate againſt it, his Lordſhip's behaviour towards that man was very ſevere. He kept ſeveral perſons in priſon and under confinement from court to court, without bringing them to trial; which proceedings and many others were ſo oppreſſive, that complaints were made thereof to the King, and Colonel PHILLIP LUDWELL was appointed agent to appear againſt him in England; whereupon the ſeal-money was taken off.

During the firſt ſeſſion of aſſembly in this noble Lord's time, the duty on liquors imported from the other Engliſh plantations was firſt impoſed. It was then laid on pretence of leſſening the levy by the poll for payment of publick taxes, but more eſpecially for re-building the State-houſe, which had not been re-built ſince LAURENCE burnt it in BACON's time.

This duty was at firſt laid on wine and rum only at the rate of three-pence per gallon, with an exemption of all ſuch as ſhould be imported in the ſhips of Virginia owners; but the like duty has ſince been laid on other liquors alſo, and is raiſed to four-pence per gallon on wine and rum, and one penny per gallon on beer, cyder, lime-juice, &c. and the privilege of Virginia owners taken away, to the great diſcouragement of their ſhipping and home trade.

This Lord, though he pretended to no great ſkill in legal proceedings, yet he made great innovations in their courts, pretending to follow the Engliſh forms. Thus he created a new court of chancery diſtinct from the general-court, which had ever before claimed that juriſdiction. He erected himſelf into a Lord-chancellor, taking the gentlemen of the council to ſit with him as mere aſſociates and adviſers, not having any vote in the cauſes before them. And that it might have more the air of a new court, he would not ſo much as ſit in the ſtate-houſe where all the other publick buſineſs was diſpatched, but took the dining-room of a large houſe for that uſe. He likewiſe made arbitrary tables of fees peculiar to this high court. However, his Lordſhip not beginning this project very long before he left the country, all theſe innovations came to an end upon his removal, and the juriſdiction returned to the general-court again in the time of Colonel NATHANIEL BACON, whom he left Preſident.

During that gentleman's preſidency, which began in 1689, the project of a college was firſt agreed upon. The contrivers drew up their ſcheme and preſented it to the Preſident and Council. This was by them approved and referred to the next aſſembly; but Colonel BACON's adminiſtration being very ſhort, and no aſſembly call'd all the while, this pious deſign could proceed no further.

Nicholſon Governor.

Anno 1690, FRANCIS NICHOLSON, Eſq; being appointed Lieutenant-governor under the Lord Effingham, arrived there. This gentleman diſcourſed freely of country improvements, inſtituted publick exerciſes, and gave prizes to all thoſe that ſhould excel in the exerciſes of riding, running, ſhooting, wreſtling, and cudgel-playing. When the deſign of a college was communicated to him, he promiſed it all imaginable encouragement. The firſt thing deſired of him in its behalf, was the calling of an aſſembly; but this he could by no means agree to, being under obligations to the Lord Effingham to ſtave off aſſemblies as long as he could, for fear there might be farther repreſentations ſent over againſt his Lordſhip; who was conſcious to himſelf how uneaſy the country had been under his deſpotick adminiſtration.

When that could not be obtained, then they propoſed that a ſubſcription might paſs through the colony, to try the humour of the people in general, and ſee what voluntary contributions they could get towards it. This he granted, and he himſelf, together with the council, ſet a generous example to the other gentlemen of the country; ſo the ſubſcriptions at laſt mounted to about two thouſand five hundred pounds, in which ſum is included the generous benevolences of ſeveral merchants of London.

Anno 1691, an aſſembly being called, this deſign was moved to them, and they eſpouſed it heartily; and ſoon after made an addreſs to King WILLIAM and Queen MARY in its behalf, and ſent the reverend Mr. JAMES BLAIR, their agent, to England, to ſolicit their Majeſties charter for it.

It was propoſed that three things ſhould be taught in this college, viz. languages, divinity, and natural philoſophy.

The aſſembly was ſo fond of Governor Nicholson at that time, that they preſented him the ſum of three hundred pound as a teſtimony of their good diſpoſition towards him. But he having an inſtruction to receive no preſent from the country, they drew up an addreſs to their Majeſties, praying that he might have leave to accept it, which was granted; and he gave one half thereof to the college.

A college erected.

Their Majeſties were well pleaſed with that pious deſign of the plantation, and granted a charter according to the deſire of Mr. Blair their agent.

Their Majeſties were graciouſly pleaſed to give near two thouſand pound ſterling, the ballance then due upon the account of quit-rents, towards the founding the college; and towards the endowing of it they allowed twenty thouſand acres of choice land, together with the revenue ariſing by the penny per pound on tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland to the other plantations.

It was a great ſatisfaction to the archbiſhops and biſhops to ſee ſuch a nurſery of religion founded in that new world; eſpecially for that it was begun in an epiſcopal way, and carried on wholly by zealous conformiſts to the church of England.

In this firſt aſſembly, Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson paſſed acts for encouragement of the linnen manufacture, tanning, currying, and ſhoemaking. He alſo in that ſeſſion paſſed a law for cohabitation and improvement of trade.

Before the next aſſembly he tacked about, and was quite the reverſe of what he was in the firſt, as to cohabitation. Inſtead of encouraging ports and towns, he ſpread abroad his diſlike of them, and went among the people finding fault with thoſe things which he and the aſſembly had unanimouſly agreed upon the preceding ſeſſion: Such a violent change there was in him that it proceeded from ſome other cauſe than barely the inconſtancy of his temper. He had received directions from thoſe Engliſh merchants, who well knew that cohabitation would leſſen their conſigned trade.

The building towns in Virginia diſcouraged again.

Andros Governor.

In February 1692, Sir Edmund Andros arrived governor. He began his government with an aſſembly which over-threw the good deſigns of ports and towns: But the groundwork of this proceeding was laid before Sir Edmund's arrival. However, this aſſembly proceeded no farther than to ſuſpend the law till their Majeſties pleaſure ſhould be known. But it ſeems the merchants in London were diſſatisfied and made publick complaints againſt it, which their Majeſties were pleaſed to hear, and afterwards referred the matter back to the aſſembly again, to conſider if it were ſuitable to the circumſtances of the country, and to regulate it accordingly. But the aſſembly did not then proceed any farther in it, the people themſelves being infected by the merchants letters.

At this ſeſſion Mr. Neal's project for a poſt-office, and his patent of poſt-maſter general in thoſe parts of America were preſented. The aſſembly made an act to promote that deſign, but by reaſon of the inconvenient diſtance of their habitations and want of towns this project fell to nothing.

With Sir Edward Andros was ſent over the college charter, and the ſubſequent aſſembly declared that the ſubſcriptions which had been made to the college were due and immediately demandable. They likewiſe gave a duty on the exportation of ſkins and furrs for its more plentiful endowment, and the foundation of the college was laid.

The ſubſcription money did not come in with the ſame readineſs with which it had been under-written. However, there was enough given by their Majeſties and gathered from the people to keep all hands at work, and carry on the building, the foundation whereof they then laid; and the reſt upon ſuit had judgment given againſt them.

Sir Edmund a good Governor.

Sir Edmund Andros was a great encourager of manufactures. In his time fulling-mills were ſet up by act of aſſembly. He alſo gave particular marks of his favour towards the propagating of cotton, which ſince his time has been much neglected. He was likewiſe a great lover of method and diſpatch in all ſorts of buſineſs, which made him find fault with the management of the ſecretary's office; and indeed with very good reaſon, for from the time of Bacon's rebellion till then there was never any office in the world more negligently kept: Several patents of land were entered blank upon the record, many original patents, records, and deeds, with other matters of great conſequence, were thrown looſe about the office, and ſuffered to be dirtied, torn, and eaten by the moths and other inſects. But upon this gentleman's acceſſion to the government he immediately gave directions to reform all theſe irregularities; he cauſed the looſe and torn records of value to be tranſcribed into new books, and ordered conveniencies to be built within the office for preſerving the records from being loſt and confounded as before. He preſcribed methods to keep the papers dry and clean, and to reduce them into ſuch order as that any thing might be turned to immediately. But all theſe conveniencies were burnt ſoon after they were finiſhed in October 1698, together with the office itſelf and the whole ſtate-houſe: But his diligence was ſo great in that affair, that tho' his ſtay afterwards in the country was very ſhort, yet he cauſed all the records and papers which had been ſaved from the fire to be ſorted again, and regiſtered in better order than ever they had been before. In this condition he left them at his quitting the government.

He made ſeveral orders to rebuild the State-houſe in the ſame place; and had his government continued ſix months longer, 'tis probable he would have effected it after ſuch a manner as might have been leaſt burthenſome to the people, deſigning the greateſt part at his own coſt.

Sir Edmund Andros being upon a progreſs one ſummer, called at a poor man's houſe in Stafford county for water; there came out to him an ancient woman, and with her a lively briſk lad about twelve years old. The lad was ſo ruddy and fair that his complexion gave the governor a curioſity to aſk ſome queſtions concerning him; and to his great ſurpriſe was told that he was the ſon of that woman at ſeventy-ſix years of age. His excellency ſmiling at this improbability, enquired what ſort of man had been his father. To this the good woman made no reply, but inſtantly ran and led her huſband to the door, who was then above an hundred years old. He confirmed all that the woman had ſaid about the lad, and notwithſtanding his great age was ſtrong in his limbs and voice, but had loſt his ſight. The woman, for her part, was without complaint, and ſeemed to retain a vigour very uncommon at her years. Sir Edmund was ſo well pleaſed with this extraordinary account, that after having made himſelf known to them, he offered to take care of the lad; but they would by no means be perſuaded to part with him: However, he gave them twenty pounds.

Nicholſon Governor again.

In November 1698, Francis Nicholson, Eſq; was removed from Maryland to be governor of Virginia; but he went not then with that ſmoothneſs on his brow he had carried with him when he was appointed lieutenant-governor. He talked then no more of improving manufactures, towns, and trade; but inſtead of encouraging the manufactures, he ſent over inhuman memorials againſt them, oppoſite to all reaſon. In one of theſe he remonſtrates, that the tobacco of that country often bears ſo low a price that it would not yield cloaths to the people that make it; and yet preſently after, in the ſame memorial, he recommends it to the parliament to paſs an act forbidding the plantations to make their own cloathing, which in other words is deſiring a charitable law that the planters ſhall go naked. In a late memorial concerted between him and his creature Colonel Quarry, 'tis moſt humbly propoſed, That all the Engliſh colonies on the continent of North America be reduced under one government and under one Vice-roy, and that a ſtanding army be there kept on foot to ſubdue the Queen's enemies, ſurmiſing that they were intending to ſet up for themſelves.

Propoſed to have one Vice-roy over all the colonies, and a ſtanding army in America.

Two ſides of the quadrangle of the college finiſhed.

He began his government with a ſhew of zeal for the church. In the latter end of his time one half of the intended building, that is, two ſides of the ſquare, were carried up and finiſhed; in which were allotted the publick hall, the apartments and conveniencies for ſeveral maſters and ſcholars, and the publick offices for the domeſticks: The maſters and ſcholars were alſo ſettled in it; and it had its regular viſitations from the viſitors and governors thereof.

The ſeat of the government removed.

The town houſe named The Capitol.

Soon after this acceſſion to the government, he procured the aſſembly and courts of judicature to be removed from James Town, where there were good accomodations for people, to Middle-Plantation where there were none. There he flattered himſelf with the fond imagination of being the founder of a new city. He marked out the ſtreets in many places ſo as that they might repreſent the figure of a W, in memory of his late Majeſty King William, after whoſe name the town was called Williamſburgh. There he procured a ſtately fabrick to be erected, which he placed oppoſite to the college, and graced it with the magnificent name of The Capitol.

In the ſecond year of this gentleman's government there happened an adventure very fortunate for him, which gave him much credit, and that was the taking of a pyrate within the capes of that country.

It fell out that ſeveral merchant-ſhips were got ready and fallen down to Lynhaven Bay, near the mouth of James River, in order for ſailing. A pyrate being informed of this, and hearing that there was no man of war there except a ſixth rate, ventured within the capes, and took ſeveral of the merchant-ſhips. But a ſmall veſſel happened to come down the bay, and ſeeing an engagement between the pyrate and a merchant-man, made a ſhift to get into the mouth of James River where the Shoreham, a fifth-rate man of war, was newly arrived. The ſixth-rate, commanded by Captain John Aldred, was then on the careen in Elizabeth River, in order for her return to England.

The Governor happened to be at that time at Kiquotan ſealing up his letters, and Captain Paſſenger, commander of the Shoreham, was a-ſhore to pay his reſpects to him. In the mean while news was brought that a pyrate was within the capes; upon which the Captain was in haſte to go aboard his ſhip, but the Governor ſtayed him a little, promiſing to go along with him. The Captain ſoon after aſked his excuſe, and went off, leaving him another boat if he pleaſed to follow. It was about one o'clock in the afternoon when the news was brought, but it was night before his Excellency went on board, ſtaying all that while a-ſhore upon ſome weighty occaſions. At laſt he followed, and by break of day the man of war was fairly out between the capes and the pyrate, where, after ten hours ſharp engagement, the pyrate was obliged to ſtrike and ſurrender upon the terms of being left to the King's mercy.

Now it happened that three men of this pyrate's gang were not on board their own ſhip at the time of the ſurrender, and ſo were not included in the articles of capitulation, but were tried in that country. In ſumming up the evidence againſt them (the Governor being preſent) the Attorney-General extolled his Excellency's mighty courage and conduct, as if the honour of taking the pyrate had been due to him. Upon this Captain Passenger took the freedom to interrupt Mr. Attorney in open court, and ſaid he was commander of the Shoreham, that the pyrates were his priſoners, and that no body had pretended to command in that engagement but himſelf. He farther deſired, that the Governor, who was then preſent, would do him the juſtice to declare whether he had given the leaſt word of command all that day, or directed any one thing during the whole fight. This his Excellency acknowledged was true, and fairly yielded the honour of that exploit to the Captain.

This Governor likewiſe gained ſome reputation by another inſtance of his management, whereby he let the world know the violent paſſion he had to publiſh his own fame.

To get honour in New-York, he had zealouſly recommended to the court of England the neceſſity that Virginia ſhould contribute a certain quota of men, or elſe a ſum of money towards the building and maintaining a fort at New York. The reaſon he gave for this was, becauſe New-York was their barrier, and as ſuch it was but juſtice they ſhould help to defend it. This was by order of his late Majeſty King William propoſed to the aſſembly; but upon the moſt ſolid reaſons they humbly remonſtrated, That neither the forts then in being, nor any other that might be built in the province of New-York, could in the leaſt avail to the defence and ſecurity of Virginia; for that either the French or the northern Indians might invade that colony and not come within an hundred miles of any ſuch fort. The truth of theſe objections are obvious to any one that ever looked on the maps of that part of the world: But the ſecret of the whole buſineſs in plain terms was this: Thoſe forts were neceſſary for New-York, to enable that province to engroſs the trade of the neighbouring Indians, which Virginia had ſometimes ſhared in when the Indians rambled to the ſouthward.

Now the glory of Colonel Nicholson got in that affair was this: After he had repreſented Virginia as republican and rebellious for not complying with his propoſal, he ſaid publickly, that New-York ſhould not want the nine hundred pounds tho' he paid it out of his own pocket, and ſoon after took a journey to that province.

A gaſconade of Governor Nicholſon's.

When he arrived there he blamed Virginia very much; but pretending earneſt deſires to ſerve New-York, gave his own bills of exchange for nine hundred pounds to the aforeſaid uſe, but prudently took a defeaſance from the gentleman to whom they were given; ſpecifying, That till her Majeſty ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed to remit him the money out of the quit-rents of Virginia, thoſe bills ſhould never be made uſe of. This was an admirable piece of ſham generoſity, and worthy of the great pains he took to proclaim it. I my ſelf have frequently heard him boaſt that he gave this money out of his own pocket, and only depended on the Queen's bounty to repay him; tho' the money is not paid by him to this day.

Neither was he contented to ſpread abroad this untruth there, but he alſo foiſted it into a memorial of Colonel **QUARRY**'s to the council of trade, in which are theſe words: As ſoon as Governor **NICHOLSON** found the aſſembly of Virginia would not ſee their own intereſt, nor comply with her Majeſty's orders, he went immediately to New-York, and out of his great zeal to the Queen's ſervice and the ſecurity of her province, he gave his own bills for nine hundred pounds to anſwer the quota of Virginia, wholly depending on her Majeſty's favour to reimburſe him out of the revenues of that province.

Certainly his Excellency and Colonel **QUARRY**, by whoſe joint wiſdom and ſincerity this memorial was compoſed, muſt believe that the council of trade have very imperfect intelligence how matters paſs in that part of the world, or elſe they would not preſume to impoſe ſuch a banter upon them.

He miſrepreſents the Virginians and the reſt of the plantations at court.

But this is nothing if compared to ſome other paſſages of that unjuſt repreſentation, wherein they took upon them to deſcribe the people of Virginia to be both numerous and rich, of republican notions and principles, ſuch as ought to be corrected and lowered in time; and that then or never was the time to maintain the Queen's prerogative, and put a ſtop to thoſe wrong pernicious notions which were improving daily, not only in Virginia but in all her Majeſty's other governments. A frown now from her Majeſty will do more than an army hereafter, &c.

With theſe inhuman falſe imputations did thoſe gentlemen afterwards introduce the neceſſity of a ſtanding-army.

Governor Nott.

Thus did Governor **NICHOLSON** continue to rule till Auguſt 1705, when **EDWARD NOTT**, Eſq; arrived Governor and gave eaſe to the country by a mild rule. His commiſſion was to be Governor-General, but part of his ſalary was paid my Lord Orkney as chief. Governor **NOTT** had the general commiſſion given him becauſe it was ſuggeſted that that method, viz. the ſupreme title would give the greater awe, and the better put the country to rights.

Governor **NOTT** called an aſſembly the fall after his arrival, who paſt the general reviſal of the laws which had been too long in hand: But that part of it which related to the church and clergy Mr. Commiſſary could not be pleaſed in; wherefore that bill was dropt, and ſo it lies at this day.

This aſſembly alſo paſſed a new law for ports and towns, grounding it only upon encouragements, according to her Majeſty's letter to that purpoſe; but it ſeems this alſo could not pleaſe the Virginia Merchants in England, for they complained againſt it to the crown, and ſo it was alſo ſuſpended.

Slaves made a real eſtate.

This aſſembly alſo paſſed the law making ſlaves a real eſtate; which made a great alteration in the nature of their eſtates, and becomes a very good ſecurity for orphans, whoſe parents happen to die inteſtate.

This aſſembly alſo voted a houſe to be built for the Governor's reſidence, and laid duties to raiſe the money for it; but his Excellency lived not to ſee much effected therein, being taken off by death in Auguſt 1706. In the firſt year of his government the college was burnt down to the ground.

Earl of Orkney Governor.

After this Governor's death, there being no other nominated by her Majeſty to ſucceed him, the government fell into the hands of **EDMUND JENINGS**, Eſq; the Preſident, and the council, who held no aſſembly during his time, neither did any thing of note happen here, only we heard that Brigadier **ROBERT HUNTER** received commiſſion to be Lieutenant-Governor under **GEORGE**, Earl of Orkney the Chief, and ſet out for Virginia, but was taken priſoner into France.

Spotſwood Deputy-Governor.

During Brigadier **HUNTER**'s confinement in France, a new commiſſion iſſued to Colonel **ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD** to be Lieutenant-Governor, who arrived in Virginia anno 1710, and improved the colony beyond imagination. His conduct, according to Colonel **BEVERLEY**, produced wonders. And it was the happineſs of Virginia that this gentleman's adminiſtration was of a longer duration than uſual, whereby he had an opportunity of putting in practice the prudent ſchemes he had laid; in which he was ſupported and encouraged by the Earl of Orkney, who died Governor of Virginia in the year 1737.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the civil government of Virginia, both Indian and Engliſh.

CHAP. VIII.

The boundaries of the counties corrected by Beverley.

BEFORE I proceed to deſcribe their civil government, give me leave to obſerve, that the boundaries of the ſeveral counties in Virginia have been much altered ſince they were firſt laid out, and ſome others added to them, as Colonel **BEVERLEY** informs us. The deſcription therefore already given of them, which was taken from Mr. **OLDMIXON**'s hiſtory of this country, muſt of neceſſity be corrected by the Colonel's Preſent State of Virginia; who relates, that in the new modelling of the ſubdiviſions of this province they contrived it ſo that each county might be ſituated on ſome ſingle river for the benefit of trade and ſhipping.

That in the northern neck of land, which lies between the rivers Patowmack and Rappahannock, which is the property of the Lord **COLEPEPPER**'s family, are contained ſix counties. 1. Lancaſter, in which are two pariſhes, namely Chriſt-Church and St. Mary White-Chapel. 2. Northumberland, two pariſhes, viz. Fairfield-Boutracy and Wiccocomoco. 3. Weſtmoreland, two pariſhes, viz. Copely and Waſhington. 4. Stafford, two pariſhes, viz. St. Paul and Overworton. 5. Richmond, one pariſh, viz. North-Farnham, and part of another, viz. Sittenburn. 6. King George County, one pariſh, named Hanover, the other part of Sittenburn.

In the neck between Rappahannock and York Rivers are contained ſix other counties, viz. 1. Glouceſter, in which are four pariſhes, viz. Peſſo, Abingdon, Ware, and Kingſton. 2. Middleſex, only one pariſh, viz. Chriſt-Church. 3. King and Queen, two pariſhes, viz. Stratton-Major and St. Stephen's. 4. King William, two pariſhes, viz. St. John's and St. Margaret's. 5. Eſſex, three pariſhes, viz. South-Farnham, St. Anne, and St. Mary's. 6. Spotſylvania, one pariſh, viz. St. George.

In the neck between York and James Rivers there are ſeven counties and part of an eighth; the ſeven entire counties are, 1. Elizabeth City, in which is only one pariſh, named alſo Elizabeth City Pariſh. 2. The county of Warwick, in which are two pariſhes, viz. Denby, and Mulberry-Iſland. 3. York, in which are two pariſhes, viz. Charles and York-Hampton, and part of a third called Bruton. 4. James-City, in which are three pariſhes, and part of two others, viz. James City, part of Wilmington, Merchants Hundred, and the other half of Bruton. 5. New Kent, two pariſhes, viz. Bliſland and St. Peter's. 6. Charles City, two pariſhes, viz. Weſtover and part of Wilmington. 7. Hanover, one pariſh, viz. St. Paul's; and 8. Part of Henrico county on the north ſide of James River, by which river the pariſhes are alſo divided, there being two pariſhes in the whole county, viz Henrico and St. James's, and part of a third called Briſtol.

On the ſouth ſide of James River are ſeven counties, and the other part of Henrico; the ſeven counties beginning at the bay, as I have done in all the reſt, are, 1. Princeſs Anne, in which is but one pariſh, namely, Lynhaven. 2. Norfolk, alſo one pariſh, called Elizabeth River. 3. Nanſamund, in which are three pariſhes, viz. Lower Pariſh, Upper-Pariſh, and Chickaluck. 4. Iſle of Wight, in which are two pariſhes, viz. Warwick Squeeke Bay and New Port. 5. Surrey, two pariſhes, viz. Lyon's-Creek and Southwark. 6. Prince George, in which is one pariſh, viz. Martin-Brandon, and the other part of Briſtol Pariſh in Henrico. 7. Brunſwick, a new county, conſtituted towards the ſouthern paſs of the mountains, on purpoſe that by extraordinary encouragements the ſettlements may ſend up that way firſt, as is given alſo to Spotſylvania County for the northern paſs. It is made one pariſh by the name of St. Andrew.

On the eaſtern ſhore, that is, on the eaſt ſide of the great Bay of Cheſepeak, the place where Sir WILLIAM BERKLEY retired to in the rebellion, without withdrawing from his government (as Mr. OLDMIXON declares he did) are two countries. 1. Northampton, having one pariſh, named Hungers. 2. Accomack, having one pariſh, named alſo Accomack.

In all, there are at preſent twenty-nine counties and fifty-four pariſhes.

Other miſtakes of Mr. Oldmixon corrected by Colonel Beverley.

The Colonel alſo in his preſent ſtate of Virginia, points out ſome other miſtakes Mr. OLDMIXON has made in the geography of Virginia; obſerving that Prince George County, which lies on the ſouth ſide of James River, Mr. OLDMIXON places on the north; and that he places ſome part of James City County on the ſouth ſide of James River; whereas not an inch of it has been placed on that ſide of the river theſe threeſcore years.

That the ſame gentleman makes Elizabeth and Warwick Counties lie upon York River, whereas both of them lie upon James River, and neither of them comes near York River: That he placed King William County on both ſides of Pamunky River, whereas it lies all on the north ſide of Pamunky River; and tho' he placed King and Queen County upon the ſouth of New Kent, at the head of Chickahomony River, that county lies north of New Kent, and there are two large rivers and two entire counties between the head of Chickahomony River and King and Queen county: And whereas he ſays that York and Rapahanock Rivers iſſue out of low marſhes, it is very certain thoſe rivers have their ſources in the higheſt ridge of mountains, as he (Colonel BEVERLEY) avers upon his own view of them.

Some of theſe miſtakes of Mr. OLDMIXON's I was ſo unfortunate to follow in deſcribing the Virginian Counties; but ſince I have added Colonel BEVERLEY's corrections I hope I ſhall be forgiven. I ſhould not have followed this gentleman of all men in his eſſays on religion or politicks, or in his hiſtory of the STUARTS; but as there was nothing of party in deſcribing the ſituation or ſubdiviſions of an American province, I thought I might have given ſome credit to him, eſpecially when he aſſures us, p. 278 of his hiſtory, that he was well acquainted with the modern ſurveys of that country. If I was cautious how I took his word before, I ſhall be much more ſo after he has led me into theſe errors, which I committed before I could get the laſt edition of Colonel BEVERLEY's preſent ſtate, or I had laid Mr. OLMIXON's hiſtory of Virginia entirely aſide; for what he has valuable relating to that country I perceive he was obliged to the Colonel for.

Government of the Virginians.

I proceed now to enquire into the Virginian government; and firſt that of the Indians, which according to Colonel BEVERLEY, is monarchical, but the crown deſcends to the next brother, and not to the ſon of the preceding monarch: And if there are no ſons, to the ſiſters ſucceſſively and their reſpective iſſue, according to their ſeniority. The Prince is reſtrained by no laws, but acts arbitrarily; and the uſual puniſhment for capital offences is the knocking out the offenders brains with clubs. But tho' the civil power is lodged in the King, there is another Weroance, or great man, who is their General, and has the conduct of all military affairs: And neither the one nor the other of theſe tranſacts any thing of conſequence without conſulting their Prieſts and Prophets (or Conjurers) as our people call the latter: But the ſame perſon, I perceive is ſometimes Prieſt, Prophet and Phyſician; and ſome parts of Florida the Prieſt is their General alſo.

Huſkanawing a neceſſary qualification for an officer in the ſtate or army.

But to qualify any man for a poſt, either in the ſtate or army, he is obliged to undergo very ſevere diſcipline, which is called Huſkanawing. The ſons of ſome of the beſt families at ſixteen or eighteen years of age are carryed by their Prieſts into ſome ſolitary wood, and there ſhut up for ſeveral months in a kind of cage of a conick form; not ſuffered to converſe with any man but their Tutors, or to eat any thing more than will juſt keep them alive; but they are obliged to drink a certain intoxicating liquor, which makes them rave like madmen, and forget every thing that ever happened, if we may believe them. But whatever effect the liquor may have, or how great ſoever the change may be that is wrought in their Pupils, the end of all this is, as the Indians themſelves relate, to extinguiſh all childiſh impreſſions, and that partiality to perſons and things which is ſo natural to all men; and to eradicate ſuch prepoſſeſſions and unreaſonable prejudices as they may have imbibed, alledging, that until this is done they are by no means fit for miniſters or magiſtrates. Theſe gentlemen, thus diſciplined are called Cockrouſes, and of them the King's council is always compoſed, and no others are ever advanced to any poſt in the government civil or military.

Properties.

As to their goods or perſonal eſtate, every man claims a right to what he poſſeſſes as well as to the fruits of his labour and his cloathing: His plantation and the buildings he erects on it are eſteemed his property alſo ſo long as he remains in that part of the country, but no longer; for the whole territory belonging to one King or Tribe is really no more than one great common, no man claiming a diſtinct property in any part any longer than while he actually uſes it. When he removes, another is at liberty to ſettle on the ſame ſpot of ground: But every Prince or Tribe has their reſpective territories bounded by ſome wood, river, or other natural fence, and will not ſuffer their neighbours to encroach upon them; tho' I can't perceive they made any other uſe of their lands before the arrival of the Engliſh than to hunt and take the wild beaſts, game and fowl they found upon them; unleſs it were that every man had a little garden or ſpot of ground wherein he planted juſt corn and roots enough for the uſe of his own family. They had no ſort of tame cattle to graze in their field until the Engliſh arrived.

The Government of the Engliſh in Virginia.

As to the Government of the Engliſh in Virginia, this is formed upon the ſame model as that of England, and has a very near reſemblance to it. The legiſlative authority is lodged in the Governor, the Council, and the houſe of Repreſentatives: And the Governor has a negative as the King has here, but their acts muſt be ratified afterwards by his Majeſty in England: However, they are of force in Virginia immediately upon receiving the Governor's aſſent, until his Majeſty's pleaſure is known.

The Governor.

The Governor is appointed by his Majeſty during pleaſure, and is obliged to act according to his inſtructions. He calls aſſemblies by the advice of the council, but prorogues and diſſolves them by his own authority: He preſides in all councils of ſtate, where he alſo has a negative.

He appoints Commiſſioners or Juſtices to adminiſter juſtice in the County-courts by the conſent of the concil: He grants commiſſions to all the officers of the militia, and is himſelf veſted with the title and office of Lieutenant-General, having the ſole command of that body.

He teſts all proclamations, diſpoſes of all unpatented lands agreeably to his inſtructions and the laws of the country; and the ſeal of the colony for this and all other matters of ſtate is in his keeping.

He is alſo conſtituted Vice-Admiral by a commiſſion from the Admiralty of England: The iſſues of the publick revenue muſt bear his teſt; and his ſalary is two thouſand Pound per annum, beſides perquiſites, computed to amount to near one thouſand pound more.

On the death of the Governor, the adminiſtration devolves on the Preſident and Council. The members of the council are appointed by letters or inſtructions from his Majeſty, which only directs them to be ſworn of that body: Their uſual number is twelve, and if there happens to be under nine reſident in the country, the Governor is impowered to ſwear ſuch gentlemen as he thinks fit to make up that number.

All bills which come from the aſſembly muſt have their aſſent; but I do not find any bills brought in by the council and ſent down to the lower houſe, as is practiſed in the Engliſh houſe of Lords frequently. There is an annual ſum of three hundred and fifty pound diſtributed among the members of the council, in proportion to the trouble they are at in attending general courts and aſſemblies.

General aſſembly.

The free-holders of every country elect two Burgeſſes to preſent them in the general aſſembly.

James city elects one, and the college one, ſo that there are in all ſixty Burgeſſes. They are ſummoned by writs iſſued from the Secretary's office under the ſeal of the colony, and teſted by the Governor, being directed to the reſpective Sheriffs, and bearing date forty days before their return: The writs and notice of the intended election being publiſhed in every church and chapel of each county two Sundays ſucceſſively; and controverted elections are determined by the houſe as in England.

A Speaker is alſo choſen, and freedom of ſpeech and other privileges allowed the aſſembly on the Speaker's application to the Governor, as in the Britiſh parliament to the King: And a ſpeech is made, acquainting them with the occaſion of their meeting; which is uſually once a year, or oftner if the Governor ſees fit.

Having treated of their aſſembly or high court of parliament, I come naturally to enquire into the conſtitution of their other courts; which are chiefly two, viz. the General-court and their reſpective County-courts.

General-court.

The General-court conſiſts of the Governor and Council, or any five of them, who are the judges of it and take cognizance of all cauſes, whether civil, criminal or eccleſiaſtical; from whence there is no appeal, unleſs the matter in diſpute exceed the value of three hundred pounds ſterling; and then there lies an appeal to the King and Council, and is there determined by a committee of the Privy Council, called the Lords of appeals. But in criminal caſes there is no appeal from this court, only the Governor is empowered to pardon all crimes ſave treaſon and murder; and even in theſe inſtances may reprieve the criminal from time to time until the King's pleaſure is known.

The General-court is held annually on the 15th of April and the 15th of October, each term or ſeſſion continuing eighteen days, excluſive of Sundays; and theſe were formerly the only times of goal-delivery; but at this day the Governor appoints Commiſſioners for the trial of criminal cauſes.

Trials.

In the General-court civil cauſes are not tried by a jury of the county where the parties live, but by gentlemen ſummoned from all parts to attend the General-court; but in criminal caſes the Sheriff is ordered to ſummon ſix of the neareſt neighbours to the priſoner, who may be ſuppoſed to be beſt acquainted with his life and converſation; to which ſix, are added ſix more of the gentlemen ſummoned to attend the court; and the priſoner is allowed his challenge, as in England.

Civil cauſes are uſually brought to a trial and determined in the third term or ſeſſion; ſo that a year and half puts an end to ſuits in the General-court, and three or four months in the County-court, the latter being held monthly: And where any one appeals from the County-court to the General-court, the appeals are tried and determined at the next General-court.

Every one is allowed to plead his own cauſe by himſelf or his friends, or by his attorney or council, at his option; and though the ſuitor may appeal from the county-court to the general-court, the general-court does not take cognizance of any cauſe originally, where the matter in diſpute is not of the value of ten pounds ſterling, or two thouſand pounds of tobacco.

Judges of the county-courts.

The Judges or Commiſſioners of the county-courts receive their commiſſions from the Governor, and are Juſtices of Peace in their reſpective counties, being eight or more in number. They are authorized to determine all civil cauſes in law or equity, and ſuch criminal cauſes as do not affect life or member; and in the caſe of hog-ſtealing they are empowered to condemn the offender to loſe his ears for the ſecond offence; their proceedings reſembling thoſe of the general-court, except that here every cauſe is tried by a jury of the ſame county where the parties live, or the facts are committed.

Orphans.

This monthly court hath alſo the care of orphans, and of their eſtates and effects, and put out apprentices, and provide for ſuch orphans as are in low circumſtances: And in September annually audit the accounts of orphans, and enquire into their education and maintenance, putting ſome to ſchool and others to trades, as they ſee proper: and where they find children neglected or hardly uſed, they remove them to other maſters; and when poor orphans have ſerved the time they were bound for, their maſters are obliged to furniſh them with a ſtock of cattle, tools, &c. to enable them to begin the world with to a certain value; the boys being bound till twenty-one, and the girls till eighteen years of age, when the maids, if they behave well, uſually get good huſbands, and live plentifully.

Publick officers.

Of the publick officers, there are three beſides the Governor, which have their commiſſions immediately from his Majeſty, viz. the Auditor of the revenue, the Receiver-general, and the Secretary of ſtate.

Auditor.

1ſt. The Auditor audits all the publick accounts, and tranſmits the ſtate of them to England; his ſalary being 6 per cent. of the publick money.

Receiver-general.

2dly. The Receiver-general ſells the publick tobacco, and iſſues the money or the produce of it by the King's order; his ſalary alſo being 6 per cent.

Secretary.

3dly. The Secretary, who keeps the publick records, viz. all judgments of the general-court, and deeds and other writings proved therein; iſſues all writs relating thereto; makes out and records all patents of lands, and takes the returns of all inqueſts of eſcheat. In his office alſo is kept a regiſter of all commiſſions of adminiſtration and probates of wills, of marriages, births, and burials; of all perſons who leave the country, and of all houſes of entertainment, &c. From this office iſſues the writs for electing Burgeſſes, and here are kept authentick copies of all proclamations. His revenue ariſes from fees for buſineſs done in his office, and amounts one year with another to ſeventy thouſand pounds of tobacco, out of which he pays twelve hundred and fifty to Clerks.

The Biſhop's Commiſſary.

Treaſurer of the province.

There are two other publick officers, viz. the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſary, who viſits the ſeveral churches of the province, and receives his authority from the Biſhop of London, Ordinary of all the plantations: And, 2. The Treaſurer of the province, who is appointed by the general aſſembly to receive ſuch ſums as are raiſed by their acts.

Judge of the Admiralty.

There is alſo a Judge of the admiralty; but he is appointed from time to time, as buſineſs happens, and is not a ſtanding officer.

Other officers.

The reſt of the publick officers are Eſcheators, Sheriffs of counties, Coroners, Collectors, Surveyors of lands, Clerks of courts, and others of leſs moment.

Revenues of Virginia.

The conſtant publick revenues are of five ſorts. 1ſt. A rent reſerved by the crown out of all lands granted by patent, which is called his Majeſty's quit-rent, being two ſhillings for every hundred acres ſo granted, and two pence an acre for all lands eſcheated to the crown (which is paid by all except the inhabitants of the Northern-Neck, who hold of my Lord Colepepper's family, the proprietors of that diſtrict) which quit-rents amount to about 1500 l. ſterling per annum, and are left in bank there againſt any ſudden emergency; except it be ſent for to England.

A duty of two ſhillings per hogſhead. Fifteen pence per ton. Six pence per paſſenger. Fines, waifs, and ſtrays, compoſitions.

2dly. A revenue granted by an act of aſſembly for the ſupport of the government ariſing firſt by two ſhillings per hogſhead for every hogſhead exported. 2dly, By a rate of fifteen pence per ton for every voyage a ſhip makes. 3dly, By a duty of ſix pence per head for every paſſenger brought into the country. 4thly. By fines and forfeitures impoſed by ſeveral acts of aſſembly; by waifs and ſtrays, compoſitions for eſcheated lands and goods, &c. which revenue amounts to three thouſand pounds per annum and upwards, and is diſpoſed of by the Governor and Council for defraying the expences of the government; which accounts may be inſpected by the general aſſembly.

A duty on foreign liquors. On ſlaves and ſervants.

3dly. Revenues ariſing by act of aſſembly reſerved to their own diſpoſal, viz. a duty on liquors importing from the neighbouring plantations, and upon all ſlaves and ſervants imported. The duty on liquors four pence per gallon for rum, brandy or wine; and one penny for beer, cyder, and other liquors. The duty on ſervants and ſlaves, twenty ſhillings for each ſervant not a native of England, and five pounds for each ſlave or negroe.

A duty for the college on ſkins and furrs.

4thly, The revenue granted to the college by a duty on ſkins and furrs exported; raiſing about an hundred pounds per annum.

One penny per lb. on tobacco for the college.

5thly. The revenue raiſed by Britiſh acts of parliament on the trade there, being a duty of one penny per lb. on all tobacco exported to the plantations and not carried directly to England; which was given by an act of W. & M. to the college, but does not raiſe two hundred pounds per annum.

Duties laid on tobacco in England.

But theſe are trifles compared to the duties laid upon tobacco imported into England by act of parliament, which do not amount to leſs than two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling one year with another; which is all applied to the ſupport of the crown and government of England, its mother country; which, no doubt, will have a ſuitable regard for a daughter that makes ſuch noble and grateful returns.

Poll-tax in Virginia on all titheable perſons.

The moſt uſual way of raiſing money in Virginia next to thoſe already mentioned (of laying duties upon trade and ſhipping) is by a poll-tax, aſſeſſing a certain rate or portion of tobacco on the head of every taxable or titheable perſon, as they call them.

Titheable perſons are all negroes male and female, above ſixteen years of age, and white men of that age; but white women and white children under ſixteen are not deemed titheable or ſubject to a poll-tax, either for the ſupport of the government, or towards any county or pariſh-rates.

And that it may be known what titheable perſons there are in each county, every maſter of a family is obliged, under a ſevere penalty, to bring a true liſt of every titheable perſon in his family to the Juſtices of the peace at their reſpective ſeſſions. Theſe poll-taxes and levies are of three kinds. 1ſt. Such as are enacted by the general aſſembly for the ſupport and defence of the government. 2dly. Such as are ordered to be raiſed by the Juſtices of peace of each county at their reſpective ſeſſions for building and repairing their court-houſes, priſons, &c. And, 3dly. Pariſh levies, which are aſſeſſed by the veſtries of the reſpective pariſhes, for the building and adorning churches and chapels, building parſonage-houſes, buying glebes, and raiſing a revenue for the Miniſter, Reader, Clerk, and Sexton.

Tenures of lands.

The next head proper to be treated of in this place is that of tenures. And it appears that their lands are holden by free and common ſoccage, according to the cuſtom of Eaſt-Greenwich, and are granted by letters patents under the ſeal of the colony teſted by the Governor. And theſe grants are obtained by petition: 1ſt, upon a ſurvey of lands that have never been granted to any one before: 2dly, on a lapſe: And 3dly, where lands are eſcheated to the crown.

How a right of land is obtained.

Lands are ſaid to be lapſed when any man who has obtained a patent or grant of them does not plant them within three years, as his patent requires. But if within three years after the date of his patent, or before another prefers a petition for them, he plant the lands, they cannot afterwards be forfeited unleſs by attainder, when they return to the crown, and the Governor and council grant them to whom they pleaſe, reſerving only a rent of two pounds of tobacco per acre to the crown for ſuch eſcheated lands.

Every man has a right to a grant of fifty acres of land in conſideration of his perſonal tranſportation to Virginia; and if he carries his family with him, he is entitled to the like number of acres for his wife and every one of his children: But where there is nothing of this nature ſtipulated with the perſon who tranſports himſelf, a right to fifty acres of land may be purchaſed for five ſhillings when he comes there.

It is the buſineſs of the Surveyor to lay out and mark the boundaries of every man's plantation who has obtained a right; a copy whereof, with the Surveyor's certificate, being brought to the Secretary (if there be no objection to it) a patent is made out of courſe, which gives the patentee an eſtate in fee-ſimple, ſubject to a quit-rent of twelve pence for every fifty acres, provided he plant three acres of every fifty within three years, and build a houſe, and keep a ſtock of black cattle, ſheep or goats thereon; which conditions if he does not perform, the land lapſes, and the Governor grants it to whom he ſees fit upon a petition preferred.

Naturalization.

Foreigners are naturalized, and have all the privileges of Engliſhmen allowed them in Virginia on taking the oaths to the government there.

Laws.

The laws of England are generally in force in Virginia; and not only the acts of parliament of Great-Britain, but even orders of council have the force of laws in moſt of the plantations.

Some of the laws enacted by their general aſſembly, and peculiar to Virginia, are theſe that follow.

Acts of aſſembly.

When a perſon is ſued for a debt he may diſcount whatever appears due to him from the plaintiff, and ſhall be obliged to pay no more than the ballance of the account.

Upon ſuſpicion of any perſon's intention to remove out of the country, in order to conceal or withdraw himſelf from his creditors, any Juſtice of peace, upon complaint, may iſſue out an attachment againſt ſo much of his eſtate as amounts to the value of the debt claimed by the creditor, he giving ſecurity to pay the defendant ſuch damages as ſhall be awarded in caſe he (the creditor) be caſt.

Attornies fees.

None ſhall practiſe as an attorney unleſs licenſed by the Governor; and no licenſed attorney ſhall demand or receive for bringing any cauſe to judgment in the general-court more than five hundred pounds of tobacco, and in the county-court one hundred and fifty; and if any attorney refuſe to plead for the ſaid fees he ſhall forfeit as much as his fees ſhould have been.

No man ſhall be debarred by this act from pleading and managing his own cauſe.

Baptiſm.

Every perſon refuſing to have his child baptized by a lawful Miniſter, forfeits two thouſand pounds of tobacco.

Slaves.

The baptizing ſlaves or their children ſhall not alter their condition as to bondage or freedom.

Burgeſſes.

No county ſhall ſend above two Burgeſſes to the general-aſſembly, provided that James City, being the capital, may elect one; and every county that will lay out an hundred acres of land, and people it with an hundred titheable perſons, ſhall have the like privilege.

A Burgeſs not appearing in the aſſembly on the day of the return forfeits three hundred pounds of tobacco. No Burgeſs is to be arreſted during a ſeſſion, or within ten days after a diſſolution or adjournment.

None but free-holders and houſe-keepers to have voices in elections.

Every county not ſending two Burgeſſes forfeits ten thouſand pounds of tobacco.

The allowance to every Burgeſs is one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco per diem, and for travelling charges, ten pounds of tobacco per diem for every horſe, or the charges of a water-paſſage.

Horſes.

No horſe or mare to be imported from any other plantation on pain of forfeiture.

Phyſicians fees.

Surgeons and Phyſicians are obliged to declare upon oath what drugs have been taken by the patient, and then the court will allow 50 per cent. above the value of the drugs, and as much for cure and attendance as the court ſees fit: And if any one neglects his patient he ſhall be fined at diſcretion.

Church.

For laws relating to the church, ſee the chapter of religion.

Circuits.

The Governor, and one or two of the council commiſſioned by him, ſhall go the circuit annually in Auguſt, and viſit the county-courts, hearing and determining the cauſes depending in them.

Manufactures. Encouragements were enacted, anno 1682, for the planting and manufacturing hemp and flax, and for thoſe that ſhould make hats and ſtockings; but they ſtill receive theſe and almoſt every other kind of manufacture from England.

Debts. A debt acknowledged before two Commiſſioners (quorum unus) to be of the nature of a judgment.

Conveyances. Conveyances of lands in Virginia made in England to be ſent over thither by the firſt ſhipping, and recorded there, or otherwiſe to be deemed fraudulent.

Corn. Every man, for each titheable perſon in his family, ſhall plant two acres of corn or pulſe on pain of five hundred pounds of tobacco for every acre neglected; provided that the ſowing one acre of Engliſh wheat ſhall excuſe the planting two acres of Indian corn or pulſe as aforeſaid.

General-court. The court held by the Governor and council, and called the general-court, to be held three times a year: The firſt on the 20th of March, and to continue eighteen days beſides Sundays; the ſecond on the 20th of September, and to continue twelve days; and the third on the 20th of November, and to ſit twelve days.

County-court. Four gentlemen at leaſt to be commiſſioned by the Governor to act as Juſtices of the peace in every county: And the courts of the ſaid Juſtices to be called County-courts; which ſhall not take cognizance of any cauſe under the value of two hundred pounds of tobacco, or twenty ſhillings ſterling; but matters under that value ſhall be determined by a ſingle Juſtice of peace.

By-laws. Two men ſhall be choſen in every pariſh, who being returned by the church-wardens ſhall ſit in the ſeveral county-courts, and have equal voices with the Juſtices for making of by-laws.

Hog-ſtealing. Any perſon who ſhall ſteal or unlawfully kill a hog that is not his own ſhall forfeit a thouſand pounds of tobacco to the owner, and as much to the informer; and he that brings home a hog without his ears ſhall be adjudged a hog-ſtealer, and the receiver ſhall be puniſhed as the thief.

The ſecond offence of hog-ſtealing to be puniſhed with loſs of ears, after two hours ſtanding in the pillory; and the third is made felony.

Fences. Every planter ſhall make a ſufficeint fence about his ground, at leaſt four foot and an half high.

Servants. Where a freeman is puniſhable by a fine, a ſervant ſhall receive corporal puniſhment, viz. for every five hundred pounds of tobacco twenty laſhes, unleſs his maſter will pay the penalty.

Fornication. A man or woman committing fornication ſhall pay each of them five hundred pounds of tobacco; and if either of them be a ſervant, the maſter to pay the five hundred pounds of tobacco, and the ſervant to ſerve half a year beyond his time; and if the maſter refuſe to pay it, the ſervant is to be whipped. If a baſtard be born of a woman ſervant, ſhe ſhall ſerve her maſter two years beyond her time, or pay him two thouſand pounds of tobacco, and the father ſhall give ſecurity to keep the child.

Conveyances. Conveyances of lands, cattle, or goods, ſhall be regiſtered in the general-court or county-court within ſix months after alienation, or be deemed fraudulent.

Hides, wool, and iron, are prohibited to be exported.

Indians. No Engliſhman ſhall purchaſe land of an Indian; and whoever ſhall deſraud or injure them ſhall make them ſatisfaction.

No perſon ſhall buy or receive any commodity of an Indian without the Governor's licenſe.

No perſon of what quality ſoever, ſhall preſume to impriſon an Indian King, without a ſpecial warrant from the Governor and two of the council: And no encroachments ſhall be made on the Indians lands.

No Indian ſhall come into the Engliſh bounds without a badge in their company to ſhew what King they belong to; and if any injury be done by them, his King or Chief ſhall be anſwerable for it.

When a tributary Indian King has notice of the march of any ſtrange Indians near the Engliſh colonies, he ſhall acquaint the next Officer of the militia with it; and if the friendly Indians deſire aſſiſtance, a party ſhall be immediately ſent to ſupport them by the Colonel of the militia.

No Indian ſervant ſhall be ſold for a ſlave; and no Indian ſhall be entertained by any one without the leave of the Governor.

No man ſhall ſell arms, powder or ſhot to the Indians, on pain of forfeiting ten thouſand pounds of tobacco,

Where an Engliſhman is murdered by Indians, the next Indian town ſhall be anſwerable for it with their lives and liberties.

The Weroance, or General of the Indians, ſhall not be choſen by them, but the Engliſh Governor ſhall appoint ſuch perſons as he can confide in to be commander in chief of the Indian towns; and in caſe any town diſobey ſuch commands, they ſhall be treated as rebels.

No Indian or Negroe, baptized and enfranchiſed, ſhall be capable of purchaſing a Chriſtian ſervant.

Hog-ſtealing. Proof by Indians ſhall be good to convict other Indians of hog-ſtealing; and the Indians who keep hogs ſhall put ſuch a mark on them as ſhall be appointed by the adjacent counties.

Marriage. No marriage ſhall be reputed valid which is not ſolemnized by a lawful Miniſter, according to the book of Common-prayer; and none ſhall marry without a licenſe from the Governor or his Deputy, or banes thrice publiſhed. The children of other marriages deemed illegitimate, and their parents to be puniſhed as for fornication. Servants who procure themſelves to be married without the conſent of their maſters, ſhall each of them ſerve their reſpective maſters a year beyond their time: And if a freeman marries a ſervant without the maſter's leave, he ſhall forfeit fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco to the maſter, or one year's ſervice.

Militia. Forty titheables obliged to ſet out one man and horſe in the militia.

Miniſters, ſee religion.

Slaves. Children begotten by an Engliſhman on a Negroe woman to be ſlaves, or free, according to the condition of the mother: And if a chriſtian commits fornication with a Negroe the offender ſhall pay double the fine impoſed on fornication.

Negroe women, though enfranchiſed, liable to pay taxes.

No Negroe may carry any weapon or club, or go off his maſter's ground without a certificate from his maſter or overſeer.

A Negroe or ſlave lifting up his hand againſt any chriſtian, to receive thirty laſhes.

If a Negroe or ſlave hide himſelf from his maſter's ſervice, and reſiſt thoſe that are authorized to apprehend him, it ſhall be lawful to kill him.

Notice to be given when any one leaves the country.

No maſter of a ſhip ſhall tranſport any perſon out of the country without a paſs from the Secretary, on pain of paying all his debts and a thouſand pounds of tobacco to the Secretary: And all perſons, before they can obtain paſſes, muſt ſet up their names at the monthly-court ten days before their departure, or have their names publiſhed two Sundays in every pariſh of the county, or give ſecurity for the payment of their debts.

Poſſeſſion.

Five years peaceable poſſeſſion ſhall be deemed a good bar to any claim of lands, except as to orphans, feme-coverts, and perſons out of the country, or non ſane.

Scolds.

Scolds are ordered to be ducked by an act of aſſembly.

Servants.

Servants, coming into the country without indenture, ſhall ſerve five years if upwards of ſixteen, and all under that age till they are twenty-four.

Servants abſenting themſelves from their maſters ſervice ſhall make ſatisfaction by ſerving after their times expired double the time of the ſervice ſo neglected, or longer if the court ſo determine.

If an Engliſh ſervant run away in company with Negroes, who cannot make ſatisfaction by an addition of time, the Engliſh, after their own time is expired, ſhall ſerve the maſters of the ſaid Negroes as long as the Negroes ſhould have done; if they had not been ſlaves.

Servants receiving immoderate correction, or not being provided with competent cloathing, diet, or lodging, may complain to a Commiſſioner of the county, who is impowered to redreſs the grievance.

A ſervant laying violent hands on his maſter, to ſerve a year beyond his time.

None may traffick with a ſervant without his maſter's leave under ſevere penalties.

Servants bringing goods with them, or having goods aſſigned to them in the country, ſhall have the property thereof and liberty to diſpoſe of them to their own uſe.

A woman ſervant got with child to ſerve two years after her time is expired.

No maſter ſhall make any bargain with his ſervant, but before a Juſtice of peace.

Religion.

Servants and ſacraments, ſee religion.

Sheriffs.

None but a Commiſſioner ſhall be Sheriff of a county; and ſuch Commiſſioners ſhall execute the office ſucceſſively.

Commiſſioners of every county ſhall be anſwerable for all publick levies and taxes laid on the county, and for the Sheriff's due performance of his office; and are impowered therefore to take ſecurity of him on his admiſſion.

Any one of the council of ſtate may ſit in any court in Virginia, and have a voice as the Juſtices have.

No perſon to have any poſt till he has been reſident three years.

No perſon not born in this country ſhall have an office here till he has been reſident three years, unleſs by the King's immediate commiſſion.

Convicts diſabled.

No perſon convicted of felony in England or elſewhere ſhall be capable of bearing any office civil or military.

Whoever ſhall build a veſſel, and fit her out for the ſea in this country, ſhall receive of the publick a premium of fifty pounds of tobacco per ton.

Ships.

Maſters of ſhips ſhall provide four months victuals for their paſſengers in ſetting out from England, and take care that poor ſervants do not want bedding during the voyage.

Guns.

For the better taking alarms on the approach of an enemy, the firing guns at merry meetings are prohibited.

Silk.

In the year 1662 the planters were enjoined to plant a certain number of mulberry-trees in order to ſet up a ſilk manufacture, and encouragements were given for the making of ſilk; but they have long ſince laid aſide all attempts of this nature.

Slaves.

If a ſlave reſiſt his maſter, or thoſe who correct him by his maſter's orders, and he, by the extremity of the correction, chance to die, the perſons correcting him ſhall be indemnified.

All ſervants imported by ſhipping, who are not Chriſtians, ſhall be ſlaves for life; and ſuch as come by land ſhall ſerve twelve years; and if boys and girls till they are thirty.

Taxes.

All miniſters officiating in any publick cure, and ſix of their reſpective families, ſhall be exempted from publick taxes.

Weights and meaſures.

None ſhall buy or ſell but by Engliſh weights and meaſures.

Widows and orphans.

The widow may make choice of any third part of the real eſtate, where her huſband dies inteſtate, and ſhall have a third of the perſonal eſtate, where there are not more than two children; but where there are more the perſonal eſtate ſhall be divided equally between the mother and the children.

CHAP. IX.

Of the religion both of the Indians and Engliſh; and of their marriages, women, children, ſlaves, and funeral rites.

CHAP. IX.
Religion of the Virginians.

THE firſt account we meet with of the religion of the Virginians is that given us by Mr. HARRIOT, an officer of Sir WALTER RALEGH's, whom he employed in the diſcovery of that country.

Harriot's account of their faith.

Of the creation.

Mr. HARRIOT relates, that the Indians believed there were many gods of various orders and degrees, though but one only ſupreme GOD, who had exiſted from all eternity, and by whom every thing in the univerſe was produced into a being: That he firſt made gods of a ſuperior order to be his miniſters and inſtruments in the ſucceeding creation and government of the world: That he afterwards created the ſun, moon, and ſtars, which are gods of an inferior claſs, who were to be miniſters and agents of thoſe of the higher order: That then the waters were created, out of which the gods formed all other creatures, viſible and inviſible; but laſt of all, a woman, who being impregnated by one of the gods, had children, from whom all the reſt of mankind proceeded; but how long it was ſince the creation they do not pretend to know.

Gods of human form.
Devotion.

They believed that all their gods were of human form, and therefore repreſented them as ſuch in the images they made, and placed in their temples; in ſome of which he had ſeen one, and in others two or three; and that the Indians worſhipped, prayed, ſung, and made offerings to them.

A ſtate of rewards and puniſhments.

They believe, that as ſoon as the ſoul is departed from the body (according to its behaviour in this world) it is either carried to heaven, the habitation of the gods, to enjoy perpetual happineſs, or elſe to a great pit or gulph; which as well as their paradiſe they take to be in the moſt weſtern part of the world, there to burn and be tormented for ever, which place of torment they call Popogoſſo; and for the confirmation of their opinion, they related, that a few years before the arrival of the Engliſh the grave of a certain wicked man, who had been buried the day before, being ſeen to move, he was taken up alive, and declared that his ſoul had been carried to the very entrance of Popogoſſo; but that he was ſaved by one of the gods, who ordered him to return and tell his friends what they ſhould do to avoid that place of torment: That another, who was buried the ſame year the Engliſh came thither, being taken in like manner out of his grave, declared that his ſoul, immediately after death, was conducted along a ſpacious road, planted on each ſide with beautiful groves and the moſt delicious fruits, ſuch as he had never ſeen before, or was able to deſcribe. This road led him to magnificent buildings, near which he met his father, who commanded him to return to his friends, and inſtruct them what they ſhould do to obtain the pleaſures of that place.

The opinion the Indians at firſt entertained of the Engliſh and their religion.

That this he learned from their Prieſts (with ſome of whom he was very intimate) and this he took to be the ſum of their religion: That upon his acquainting them with the principles of the Chriſtians, they gave that religion the preference to their own; nay, the Weroances and great men, when they were ſick, would deſire the Engliſh, whom they looked upon as a kind of inferior deities, to mediate with heaven, that their lives might be ſpared, or that after death they might enjoy eternal bliſs: Such was the opinion they at firſt entertained of the Engliſh; and had it not been for the unhappy conduct of ſome of our firſt adventurers, it had been then the eaſieſt matter in the world to have brought the Indians to have embraced our religion and ſubmitted to our government, without uſing any manner of force. Our ſhips and artillery, our fire-arms, our clocks and other pieces of mechaniſm were ſo amazing, ſo much beyond any thing they were acquainted with, that they looked upon them as more than human productions; eſteeming them either the works of gods, or of men exceedingly favoured and inſtructed by the gods.

Worſhip of the ſun.

Mr. **White**, who was Governor of one of the firſt colonies, ſent to Virginia by Sir **Walter Ralegh**, relates, that they worſhipped the ſun with great ſolemnity: That at break of day, before they eat or drank, men, women, and children upwards of ten years of age, went to the water and bathed until the ſun aroſe, and then offered tobacco to this planet; and that they did the like at ſun-ſet.

The next gentleman who gives us an account of the religion of the Virginians is Captain **Smith**, who was very inſtrumental in eſtabliſhing the firſt colony at James Town, and had the government of it a conſiderable time.

But as Colonel **Beverley** has included great part of Mr. **Smith**'s narrative in the relation he gives of the religious rites and ceremonies of the Virginians, I ſhall in the firſt place preſent the reader with what the Colonel has given us on this head.

Colonel Beverley's account of their religion.

I do not pretend (ſays Colonel **Beverley**) to have dived into all the myſteries of the Indian religion, nor have I had ſuch opportunities of learning them as Father **Hennepin** and Baron **La-Hontan** had by living much among the Indians in their towns; and becauſe my rule is to ſay nothing but what I know to be truth, I ſhall be very brief upon this head.

In the writings of theſe two gentlemen I cannot but obſerve direct contradictions, altho' they travelled the ſame country, and the accounts they pretend to give, are of the ſame Indians. One makes them have very refined notions of a Deity; and the other does not allow them ſo much as the name of a God: For which reaſon I think myſelf obliged ſincerely to deliver what I can warrant to be true upon my own knowledge, it being neither my intereſt nor any part of my vanity to impoſe upon the world.

I have been at ſeveral of the Indian Towns, and converſed with ſome of the moſt ſenſible of them in Virginia; but I could learn little from them, it being reckoned ſacrilege to divulge the principles of their religion; however, the following adventure diſcovered ſomething of it: As I was ranging the woods with ſome other friends, we fell upon their Quiccoſan (which is their houſe of religious worſhip) at a time when the whole town was gathered together in another place, to conſult about the bounds of the lands given them by the Engliſh.

They were not ſo ſhy when the firſt adventurers arrived.

Thus finding ourſelves maſters of ſo fair an opportunity (becauſe we knew the Indians were engaged) we reſolved to make uſe of it and to examine their Quiccoſan, the inſide of which they never ſuffer any Engliſhman to ſee; and having removed about fourteen logs from the door with which it was barricado'd, we went in, and at firſt found nothing but naked walls and a fire-place in the middle: This houſe was about eighteen foot wide and thirty foot long, built after the manner of their other cabbins, but larger, with a hole in the middle of the roof to vent the ſmoke, the door being at one end. Round about the houſe at ſome diſtance from it were ſet up poſts, with faces carved on them and painted. We did not obſerve any window or paſſage for the light, except the door and the vent of the chimney. At laſt we obſerved that at the farther end about ten foot of the room was cut off by a partition of very cloſe matts, and it was diſmal dark behind that partition. We were at firſt ſcrupulous to enter this obſcure place; but at laſt we ventured, and groping about we felt ſome poſts in the middle; then reaching our hands up theſe poſts we found large ſhelves, and upon theſe ſhelves three matts, each of which was rolled up and ſewed faſt: Theſe we handed down to the light, and to ſave time in unlacing the ſeams we made uſe of a knife, and ripped them without doing any damage to the matts. In one of theſe we found ſome vaſt bones, which we judged to be the bones of men; particularly we meaſured one thigh-bone, and found it two foot and nine inches long. In another matt we found ſome Indian Tomahawks finely graved and painted. Theſe reſembled the wooden faulchion uſed by Prize-fighters in England, except that they have no guard to ſave the fingers. They were made of a rough heavy wood, and among theſe Tomahawks was the largeſt that ever I ſaw. There was faſtened to it a wild turkey's beard, painted red, and two of the longeſt feathers of his wings hung dangling at it by a ſtring of about ſix inches long, tied to the head of a Tomahawk.

In the third matt there was ſomething which we took to be their idol, tho' of an underling ſort, and wanted putting together. The pieces were theſe, firſt, a board three foot and a half long, with one indenture at the upper end like a fork, to faſten the head upon; from thence half way down were half hoops nailed to the edges of the board, at about four inches diſtance, which were bowed out to repreſent the breaſt and belly: On the lower half was another board, of half the length of the other, faſtened to it by joints or pieces of wood, which being ſet on each ſide ſtood out about fourteen inches from the body, and half as high. We ſuppoſed the uſe of thoſe to be for the bowing out of the knees when the image was ſet up. There were pack'd up with theſe things red and blue pieces of cotton cloth, rolls made up for arms, thighs, and legs bent too at the knees. It would be difficult to ſee one of theſe images at this day, becauſe the Indians are extream ſhy of expoſing them. We put the cloaths upon the hoops for the body, and faſtened on the arms and legs, to have a view of the repreſentation; but the head and rich bracelets which it is uſually adorned with were not there, or at leaſt we did not find them. We had not leiſure to make a very narrow ſearch, for having ſpent about an hour in this enquiry, we feared the buſineſs of the Indians might be near over, and that if we ſtaid longer we might be caught offering an affront to their ſuperſtition; for this reaſon we wrapt up thoſe holy materials in their ſeveral matts again, and laid them on the ſhelf where we found them. This image, when dreſſed up, might look very venerable in that dark place where it is not poſſible to ſee it but by the glimmering light that is let in by lifting up a piece of the matting, which we obſerved to be conveniently hung for that purpoſe; for when the light of the door and chimney glance in ſeveral directions upon the image through that little paſſage, it muſt needs make a ſtrange repreſentation, which theſe poor people are taught to worſhip with a devout ignorance. There are other things that contribute towards carrying on this impoſture. Firſt, the chief Conjurer enters within the partition in the dark, and may, undiſcerned, move the image as he pleaſes. Secondly, A Prieſt of authority ſtands in the room with the people to keep them from being too inquiſitive, under the penalty of the Deity's diſpleaſure and his own cenſure.

How does our author know this?

Their idol bears a ſeveral name in every nation, as Okee, Quiccos, Kiwasa. They do not look upon it as one ſingle being, but reckon there are many of the ſame nature. They likewiſe believe that there are titular Deities in every town.

Captain Smith's account of their religion.

There are ſtill ſome things in Captain Smith's relation that Colonel Beverley hath not mentioned, as I remember, or at leaſt in the manner the Captain expreſſes himſelf, particularly, that the Virginians do not only worſhip the Devil, whom they call Okee, but converſe familiarly with him.

That they adore every thing they fear, as fire, water, thunder, great guns, fire-arms, and horſes; and ſome of them ſeeing an Engliſh boar, according to Smith, appeared ready to adore him.

He makes alſo the head-dreſs and ornaments of their Prieſts to be the ſame with thoſe Mr. Beverley aſſigns to their Conjurers, and ſays their devotions are generally ſung; that they aſſemble about a great fire ſinging and dancing, ſhouting, and making a moſt hideous noiſe with their rattles for ſome hours; after which they ſit down and ſpend the reſt of the day in feaſting, having made an offering of the firſt piece to the fire, as it is ſaid the better ſort do at every meal. Some relate, that they do not ſo much as take a pipe of tobacco but they offer the firſt fumes of it to the ſun, or to the fire, as incenſe.

They uſually dance with rattles in their hands.

Remarks on their ſeveral relations.

From theſe ſeveral accounts of the religion of the Virginians, it may be obſerved, that there are ſome things in which all travellers agree, tho' they differ in many, and there is ſcarce any one writer conſiſtent with himſelf throughout.

They all agree, that the Indians acknowledge one God, the creator of all things, who is infinitely happy in himſelf, but has little or no regard to the trifling concerns of men, having committed the government of the world to certain inferior Deities or Dæmons, to whom therefore they pay their devotions; and theſe our travellers have denominated Devils: But if the Indians pray to theſe Dæmons, and depend on them for health, victory, and fruitful ſeaſons, which they diſpenſe to mankind, in their opinion, as well as afflictions and calamities, why we may not call theſe imaginary Deities Gods as well as thoſe the Greeks and Romans paid their devotions to, I cannot conceive; tho' we admit both the one and the other to be falſe Gods, or rather no Gods.

Again; their Prieſts are frequently called Conjurers, and ſome make the Prieſt and the Conjurer diſtinct officers; but it is admitted that both of them perform the ſame religious rites ſometimes; both pretend to foretel future events, to command the elements, and do abundance of ſupernatural things, and both of them are Phyſicians: So that I am apt to think they are of the ſame tribe and order, and only receive different denominations according as they apply themſelves to this or that part of their office; tho' it ſeems probable from theſe relations, that before a Prieſt is admitted to be a Prophet or Pawawer, he is obliged to undergo a very ſevere diſcipline: And for ought I perceive, he is neither allowed to act as a Prieſt or Prophet until he is advanced in years. Thoſe writers ſeem to be under a miſtake who relate, that their Prieſts are elected out of the beſt families; for it is very evident the prieſthood is hereditary amongſt them. Thoſe young noblemen that undergo the diſcipline of Huſkanawing, it appears, are deſigned for Cockrouſes, or Miniſters of State, and Generals, and not for the prieſthood.

Nor is the Indian creed in all particulars conſiſtent with itſelf; for if they apprehend God to be unconcerned at their behaviour in this life, how comes it to paſs that they believe he conſigns the good to Paradiſe and the wicked to an eternity of torments? If he does this he muſt inſpect their actions and have a regard to their everlaſting welfare, tho' it ſhould be admitted he has committed the conduct of their affairs in this life to his Angels, or, in the language of the vulgar to Devils.

The ſtate of the Chriſtian religion in Virginia.

As to the ſtate of the Chriſtian religion in Virginia, Colonel Beverley has given us the following account of it.

There is in each pariſh a convenient church built either of timber, brick, or ſtone, and decently adorned with every thing neceſſary for the celebration of divine ſervice.

If a pariſh be of greater extent than ordinary, it hath generally a chapel of eaſe, and ſome of the pariſhes have two ſuch chapels, beſides the church, for the greater convenience of the pariſhioners. In theſe chapels the Miniſter preaches alternately, always leaving a reader to read prayers when he can't attend himſelf.

The people are generally of the Church of England, which is the religion eſtabliſhed by law in that country, from which there are very few diſſenters; yet liberty of conſcience is given to all other congregations pretending to chriſtianity, on condition they ſubmit to all pariſh duties. They have but one ſet conventicle amongſt them, namely, a meeting of quakers in Nanſamund County; others that have lately been being now extinct: And 'tis obſerved by letting them alone they decreaſe daily.

The maintenance for a Miniſter there is appointed by law at ſixteen thouſand pounds of tobacco per annum (be the pariſh great or ſmall) as alſo a dwelling-houſe and glebe, together with certain perquiſites for marriages and funeral-ſermons. That which makes the difference in the benefices of the clergy is the value of the tobacco, according to the diſtinct ſpecies of it, or according to the place of its growth. Beſides, in large and rich pariſhes, more marriages will probably happen, and more funeral-ſermons.

The fee, by law, for a funeral-ſermon is forty ſhillings, or four hundred pounds of tobacco; for a marriage by licenſe twenty ſhillings, or two hundred pounds of tobacco; and where the banes are proclaimed only five ſhillings, or fifty pounds of tobacco.

When theſe ſalaries were granted, the aſſembly valued tobacco at ten ſhillings per hundred, at which rate the ſixteen thouſand pounds comes to fourſcore pounds ſterling; but in all pariſhes where the ſweet-ſcented grows, ſince the law for appointing Agents to view the tobacco was made, it has generally been ſold for double that value, and never under.

In ſome pariſhes likewiſe there are, by donation, ſtocks of cattle and Negroes on the glebes, which are alſo allowed the Miniſter for his uſe and encouragement, he only being accountable for the ſurrender of the ſame value when he leaves the pariſh.

For the well governing of theſe and all other parochial affairs, a veſtry is appointed in each pariſh. Theſe veſtries conſiſt of twelve gentlemen of the pariſh, and were firſt choſen by the vote of the pariſhioners; but upon the death of any have been continued by the ſurvivor's electing another in his place. Theſe in the name of the pariſh make preſentation of Miniſters, and have the ſole power of all pariſh aſſeſſments. They are qualified for this employment by ſubſcribing to be conformable to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England. If there be a Miniſter incumbent, he always preſides in the veſtry.

For the eaſe of the veſtry in general, and for diſcharging the buſineſs of the pariſh, they chuſe two from among themſelves to be Church-wardens, which muſt be annually changed, that the burthen may lie equally upon all. The buſineſs of theſe Church-wardens is to ſee the orders and agreements of the veſtry performed to collect all the pariſh tobacco, and diſtribute it to the ſeveral claimers; to make up the accounts of the pariſh, and to preſent all profaneneſs and immorality to the County-courts, and there proſecute it.

By theſe the tobacco of the Miniſter is collected, and brought him in hogſheads convenient for ſhipping, ſo that he is at no farther trouble but to receive it in that condition. This was ordained by the law of the country for the eaſe of the Miniſters, that ſo they being delivered from the trouble of gathering in their dues, may have the more time to apply themſelves to the exerciſes of their holy function, and live in a decency ſuitable to their order. It may here be obſerved, that the labour of a dozen Negroes does but anſwer this ſalary, and ſeldom yields a greater crop of ſweet-ſcented tobacco, than is allowed to each of their Miniſters.

Probates of wills and adminiſtrations are, according to their law, petitioned for in the County-courts, and by them ſecurity taken and certified to the Governor, which, if he approves the commiſſion, is then ſigned by them without fee. Marriage-licenſes are iſſued by the Clerks of theſe courts, and ſigned by the Juſtice in commiſſion, or by any perſon deputed by the Governor, for which a fee of twenty ſhillings muſt be paid to the Governor. The power of induction upon preſentation of Miniſters is alſo in the Governor.

In the year 1642, when the ſectaries began to ſpread themſelves ſo much in England, the aſſembly made a law againſt them, to prevent their preaching and propagating their doctrines in that colony. They admitted none to preach in their churches but Miniſters ordained by ſome reverend Biſhop of the Church of England; and the Governor for the time being, as the moſt ſuitable publick perſon among them, was left ſole judge of the certificates of ſuch ordination, and ſo he has continued ever ſince.

The clergy's condition precarious here.

The only thing I have heard the clergy complain of there, is what they call precariouſneſs in their livings; that is, they have not inductions generally, and therefore are not intituled to a freehold; but are liable, without trial or crime alledged, to be put out by the veſtry: And tho' ſome have prevailed with their veſtries to preſent them for induction, the great number of their Miniſters have no induction, yet they are very rarely turned out without ſome great provocation; and then, if they have not been abominably ſcandalous, they immediately get other pariſhes: For there is no benefice whatſoever in that country that remains without a Miniſter if they can get one, and no qualified Miniſter ever yet returned from that country for want of preferment. They have frequently ſeveral vacant pariſhes.

The college endowed.

The college, as has been hinted, was founded by their late Majeſties King WILLIAM and Queen MARY in the year 1692, towards the founding of which they gave one thouſand nine hundred eighty-five pounds, fourteen ſhillings and ten pence. They gave more towards the endowment of it twenty thouſand acres of land, the revenue of one penny per pound on tobacco exported to the plantations from Virginia and Maryland, and the Surveyor-General's place of that colony then void, and appointed them a Burgeſs to repreſent them in the aſſemblies. The land hitherto has yielded little or no profit, the duty of one penny per pound brings in about two hundred pounds a year, and the Surveyor-General's place about fifty pounds a year; to which the aſſembly have added a duty on ſkins and furrs exported, worth about one hundred pounds a year.

By the ſame charter likewiſe their Majeſties granted a power to certain gentlemen, and the ſurvivors of them as Truſtees, to build and eſtabliſh the college by the name of William and Mary College; to conſiſt of a Preſident, and ſix Maſters or Profeſſors, and an hundred Scholars, more or leſs, graduates or non-graduates, enabling the ſaid Truſtees as a body-corporate to enjoy annuities ſpiritual and temporal of the value of two thouſand Pounds ſterling per ann. with a proviſo to convert it to the building and adorning the college, and then to make over the remainder to the Preſident and Maſters, and their ſucceſſors; who are now become a corporation; and by the ſaid patent enabled to purchaſe and hold to the value of two thouſand pounds a year, and no more.

The Viſitors of the college.

The perſons named in the charter for Truſtees are made Governors and Viſitors of the college, and to have a perpetual ſucceſſion by the name of Governors and Viſitors, with power to fill up their own vacancies happening by the death or removal of any of them. Their complete number may be eighteen, but not to exceed twenty, of which one is to be Rector, and annually choſen by themſelves on the firſt Monday after the 25th of March.

Theſe have the nomination of the Preſident and Maſters of the college, and all other Officers belonging to it; and the power of making ſtatutes and ordinances for the better rule and government thereof. The building is to conſiſt of a quadrangle, two ſides of which are not yet carried up. In this part are contained all conveniencies of cooking, brewing, baking, &c. and convenient rooms for the reception of the Preſident and Maſters, with many more Scholars than are as yet come to it; in this part are alſo the hall and ſchool-room.

The college burnt.

The college was intended to be an entire ſquare when finiſhed; two ſides of this was finiſhed at the latter end of Governor NICHOLSON's time; and the Maſters and Scholars, with the neceſſary houſekeepers and ſervants were ſettled in it, and ſo continued till the firſt year of Governor NOTT's time, in which it happened to be burnt (no-body knows how) down to the ground, and very little ſaved that was in it; the fire breaking out about ten o'clock at night in a publick time.

The Governor and all the gentlemen that were in town came up to the lamentable ſpectacle, many getting out of their beds; but the fire had got ſuch power before it was diſcovered, and was ſo fierce, that there was no hopes of putting a ſtop to it; and therefore no attempts made to that end.

Rebuilt.

In this condition it lay till the arrival of Colonel SPOTSWOOD, in whoſe time it was raiſed again to the ſame bigneſs as before, and ſettled.

Schools erected for the natives.

There had been a donation of large ſums of money by the honourable ROBERT BOYLE, Eſq; to this college, for the education of Indian children therein. In order to make uſe of this, they had formerly bought half a dozen captive Indian children ſlaves, and put them to the college; this method did not ſatisfy this Governor, as not anſwering the intent of the donor; ſo to work he goes among the tributary and other neighbouring Indians, and in a ſhort time brought them to ſend their children to be educated, and brought new nations, ſome of which lived four hundred miles off, taking their children for hoſtages and education equally, at the ſame time ſetting up a ſchool in the frontiers convenient to the Indians, that they might often ſee their children under the firſt management, where they learned to read, paying fifty Pounds per annum out of his own pocket to the School-maſter there; after which many were brought to the college, where they were taught until they grew big enough for their hunting and other exerciſes, at which time they were returned home, and ſmaller taken in their ſtead.

The condition of the poor in Virginia.

There are large tracts of land, houſes, and other things granted to free-ſchools for the education of children in many parts of the country; and ſome of theſe are ſo large that of themſelves they are a handſome maintenance to a maſter: But the additional allowance which gentlemen give with their ſons renders them a comfortable ſubſiſtence. Theſe ſchools have been founded by the legacies of well-inclined gentlemen, and the management of them hath commonly been left to the direction of the County-court, or to the veſtry of the reſpective pariſhes. In all other places where ſuch endowments have not been already made, the people join and build ſchools for their children, where they may learn upon very eaſy terms. As to the condition of the poor in this country, they live in ſo happy a climate, and have ſo fertile a ſoil, that no body is poor enough to beg or want food; tho' they have abundance of people that are lazy enough to deſerve it. I remember the time when five pounds were left by a charitable teſtator to the poor of the pariſh he lived in, and it lay nine years before the executors could find one poor enough to accept of this legacy; but at laſt it was given to an old woman. So that this may in truth be termed the beſt poor man's country in the world. But as they have no body that is poor to beggary, ſo they have few that are rich, their eſtates being regulated by the Merchants in England; who, it ſeems, know beſt what is profit enough for them in the ſale of their Tobacco and other trade.

When it happens that by accident or ſickneſs any perſon is diſabled from working, and ſo is forced to depend on the alms of the pariſh, he is then very well provided for, not at the common rate of ſome countries (I preſume he means England) that give but juſt ſufficient to preſerve the poor from periſhing; but the unhappy creature is received into ſome charitable planter's houſe, where he is at the publick charge boarded plentifully.

Many when they are crippled, or by long ſickneſs become poor, will ſometimes aſk to be free from levies and taxes; but very few others do ever aſk for the pariſh alms, or indeed ſo much as ſtand in need of them.

Of their women.

Mr. BEVERLEY, in ſpeaking of the Virginian women, ſays, that their dreſs is but little different from that of the men, except in the tying of their hair: But the ornaments of women of diſtinction are deep necklaces, pendants, and bracelets made of ſmall cylinders of conch-ſhell, which they call Peak: That they keep their ſkins clean and ſhining with Oil, whereas the men are uſually daubed all over with paint or greaſe.

That the women are remarkable for their ſmall round breaſts, which ſcarce ever hang down, even when they come to be old: And as they commonly go naked from the navel upwards, and from the middle of the thigh downward, they have the advantage of diſcovering their fine limbs and ſhape.

Marriages.

The Indians ſolemnize their marriages publickly, and eſteem their vows made at that time ſacred and inviolable, as Mr. BEVERLEY informs us; but he does not give us any account of the manner of ſolemnizing them. He adds, that either man or woman may obtain a divorce where they cannot agree: But ſo great is the ſcandal of a divorce,

Divorce.

vorce, that married people very ſeldom let their quarrels proceed to a ſeparation. However, when this does happen, they eſteem all the ties of matrimony diſſolved, and either party is at liberty to marry elſewhere; but while the contract continues diſloyalty is eſteemed the moſt unpardonable crime in either party.

Upon a divorce the children go with the one or the other, according to the affections of the parents for them; for children are not reckoned a burthen here, but rather a part of their treaſure; and if they happen to diſagree about dividing their children, they part them as equally as may be, allowing the man his choice.

And whereas it is reported that young Indian females may proſtitute themſelves for peak, beads, or almoſt any toy, he looks upon this to be a calumny; for if a ſingle woman have a child, it is ſuch a diſgrace that ſhe can never get her a huſband afterwards. But the Colonel ſeems to except ſome caſes, for page 159, he ſays, where an Indian of quality viſits a neighbour, after he has been entertained with feaſting and dancing, a brace of young beautiful virgins are choſen to wait upon him at night, who undreſs the happy man, and as ſoon as he is in bed gently lay themſelves down by him; and they eſteem it a breach of hoſpitality not to ſubmit to every thing he deſires. But he adds, that this kind ceremony is only uſed to men of great diſtinction: And the young women are ſo far from ſuffering in their reputations by this piece of civility, that they are envied by their companions, as having had the greateſt honour in the world done them when they were ſingled out for that purpoſe.

Children.

When a child is born, inſtead of keeping it warm, and ſwaddling it up in a great many cloaths, as European nurſes do, they plunge it over head and ears in cold water, and then bind it naked to a board with a hole for evacuation; but the board is lined with cotton, wool, furrs, or other ſoft covering to make the child's lodging the eaſier; for it remains thus faſtened to the board ſeveral months, being only taken off every day to be waſhed and cleaned. While the child is thus faſtened to the board, they either lay it flat on its back, or ſet the board leaning againſt ſomething, or elſe they hang it up by a ſtring on the bough of a tree, or againſt a wall: And when it is let looſe from the board they ſuffer it to crawl about on all fours, till it is able to go alone, except when the woman goes abroad; and then ſhe takes her child at her back, naked, if it be in ſummer, having one of the legs under her arm, and the oppoſite hand of the child in hers, over her ſhoulder, the child hanging about the neck with the other hand; but in the winter ſhe carries her child in her mantle or watchcoat, as the beggars do theirs in blankets, leaving only the head expoſed to the air.

Engliſh women.

As to the Engliſh women, Mr. Beverley obſerves, that the colony was at firſt put to hard ſhifts, very few going over with the adventurers, who ſeemed to have an averſion to the Indian women, either on account of their paganiſm or their complexions; and ſome, perhaps, were apprehenſive ſuch wives would conſpire with their relations and countrymen to deſtroy the colony. But ſo ſoon as the colony was ſettled, and the planters were in good circumſtances, a great many girls went over thither from England, in expectation of making their fortunes, carrying certificates with them of their chaſte behaviour on this ſide the water; for without ſuch certificates, the Colonel inſinuates, the cautious planters, though in never ſo much diſtreſs for wives, would not admit them to their beds. If they were but moderately qualified in other reſpects in thoſe days they might depend upon being well marryed. The Planters were ſo far from expecting money with a woman, that it was a common thing to buy a deſerving wife, who came over thither a ſervant, at the price of an hundred Pounds, if ſhe carryed good teſtimonials with her. But afterwards, when the fruitfulneſs of Virginia was better known, and the dangers incident to an infant ſettlement were over, people in good circumſtances went over thither with their families, either to improve their eſtates, or to avoid perſecution at home: And particularly in the time of the grand rebellion ſeveral good Cavalier families retired thither, as thoſe of the other ſide did upon the reſtoration of King Charles the ſecond: Yet Virginia had but few of the latter, having diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her loyalty in adhering to the royal family after all other people had ſubmitted to the uſurpation. The round-heads, for the moſt part therefore went to New-England.

Servants and ſlaves, the difference between them.

The diſtinction uſually made between ſervants and ſlaves is, that the firſt are but temporary ſervants and uſually Chriſtians; whereas the latter with their poſterity are perpetually ſlaves, unleſs they happen to be enfranchiſed.

The cuſtom, in relation to temporary ſervants, where they have no indentures that limit the time of their ſervice is, that if ſuch ſervants be under nineteen years of age, they muſt be brought into court to have their ages adjudged; and from the ages they are judged to be of they muſt ſerve until twenty-four, but if they be adjudged upwards of nineteen, they are then only to be ſervants for five years.

Male ſervants and ſlaves of both ſexes are employed together in tilling and manuring the ground, in ſowing and planting tobacco, corn, &c. Some diſtinction is made between them in their cloaths and food, but the work of both is no other than what the overſeers, the freemen, and the planters themſelves do.

Sufficient diſtinction is alſo made between the female ſervants and ſlaves; for a white woman is rarely or never put to work in the ground if ſhe be good for any thing elſe: And to diſcourage all planters from uſing any woman ſo, their law makes female ſervants working in the ground titheable, while it ſuffers all other white women to be abſolutely exempted; whereas on the other hand it is a common thing to work a woman ſlave out of doors; nor does the law make any diſtinction in her taxes, whether her work be abroad or at home.

Becauſe I have heard (adds the Colonel) how ſtrangely cruel and ſevere the ſervice of this country is repreſented in ſome parts of England, I cannot forbear affirming that the work of their ſervants and ſlaves is no other than what every common freeman does: Neither is any ſervant required to do more a day than his overſeer. And I can aſſure you, with great truth, that generally their ſlaves are not worked near ſo hard nor ſo many hours in a day as the huſbandmen and day-labourers in England. An overſeer is a man that hath ſerved his time, and acquired the ſkill and character of an experienced planter; and is therefore entruſted with the direction of the ſervants and ſlaves.

But

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But to complete this account of ſervants, I ſhall give you a ſhort relation of the care their laws take that they may be uſed as tenderly as poſſible.

By the laws of their country.

1. All ſervants whatſoever have their complaints heard without fee or reward; but if the maſter be found faulty the charge of the complaint is caſt upon him; otherwiſe the buſineſs is done ex officio.

2. Any Juſtice of peace may receive the complaint of a ſervant, and order every thing relating thereto until the next county-court; where it will be finally determined.

3. All maſters are under the correction and cenſure of the county-courts, to provide for their ſervants good and wholſome diet, cloathing, and lodging.

4. They are always to appear upon the firſt notice given of the complaint of their ſervants; otherwiſe to forfeit the ſervice of them until they do appear.

5. All ſervants complaints are to be received at any time in court without proceſs, and ſhall not be delayed for want of form; but the merits of the complaint muſt be immediately enquired into by the Juſtices; and if the maſter cauſe any delay therein, the court may remove ſuch ſervants if they ſee cauſe until the maſter will come to trial.

6. If a maſter ſhall at any time diſobey an order of court made upon any complaint of a ſervant, the court is impowered to remove ſuch ſervant forthwith to another maſter, who will be kinder; giving to the former maſter the produce only (after fees deducted) of what ſuch ſervant ſhall be ſold for by publick out-cry.

7. If a maſter ſhould be ſo cruel as to uſe his ſervant ill that is fallen ſick or lame in his ſervice, and thereby rendered unfit for labour, he muſt be removed by the Church-wardens out of the way of ſuch cruelty, and boarded in ſome good planter's houſe, until the time of his freedom, (the charge of which muſt be laid before the next county-court, which has power to levy the ſame from time to time upon the goods and chattels of the maſter;) after which the charge of ſuch boarding is to come upon the pariſh in general.

8. All hired ſervants are entitled to theſe privileges.

9. No maſter of a ſervant can make a new bargain for ſervice or other matter without the privity and conſent of the county-court, to prevent the maſter's over-reaching or terrifying ſuch ſervant into an unreaſonable compliance.

10. The property of all money and goods ſent over thither to ſervants, or carried in with them, is reſerved to themſelves, and remains entirely at their diſpoſal.

11. Each ſervant, at his freedom, receives of his maſter ten buſhels of corn (which is ſufficient almoſt for a year,) two new ſuits of cloaths, both linen and woolen, and a gun of twenty ſhillings value; and then becomes as free in all reſpects, and as much intituled to the liberties and privileges of the country as any other of the inhabitants or natives are, if ſuch ſervants are not aliens.

12. Each ſervant has then alſo a right to take up fifty acres of land where he can find any unpatented.

This is what the laws preſcribe in favour of ſervants; by which you may find that the cruelties and ſeverities imputed to that country are an unjuſt reflection; for no people more abhor the thoughts of ſuch uſage than the Virginians, nor take more precaution to prevent it now, whatever it was in former days.

As to convicted malefactors, who are tranſported to the plantations to ſerve a certain number of years, Mr. **BEVERLEY** obſerves, that the greedy planter is always ready to buy them; but he is of opinion they will in the end prove very deſtructive to that country, there having been a great many robberies and murders committed there of late years; which he looks upon as the effect of that law.

CHAP. X.

Of their fortifications, wars, and forces; and of their ſhipping, foreign trade, and coin; as alſo of their roads and way of travelling; and of their ſtones, earths, and minerals.

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Fortifications.

THE fortifications of the Indians conſiſt only of a wooden palliſadoe or ſtockade, about ten or twelve foot high, and when they would make themſelves very ſafe (ſays Colonel **BEVERLEY**) they have a triple palliſadoe, with which they ſometimes encompaſs their whole town; but for the moſt part only their King's houſes, and as many more as they judge ſufficient to harbour all their people upon the approach of an enemy: And within theſe fortreſſes they never fail to ſecure their idols and ſacred relicks, with the embalmed bodies of their deceaſed Princes. In chuſing the ground for their fort, they always take care to have water enough, and a ſpacious parade to draw up their troops; in which they make a fire every evening and dance round it, either in devotion or for their diverſion, or both; for I find travellers are not agreed about it.

Wars.

The ſame writer informs us, that when the Indians are about to enter upon a war or any other important enterprize, the King ſummons a convention of his great men to aſſiſt at a grand council, which, in their language, is called a Matchacomoco. At theſe aſſemblies it is the cuſtom, eſpecially when a war is expected, for the young men to paint themſelves irregularly with black, red, white, and other motly colours, making one half of their face red (for inſtance,) and the other half black or white, with great circles of a different hue round their eyes, with monſtrous muſtachoes, and a thouſand fantaſtical figures all over the reſt of their body; and to make themſelves appear yet more ugly and frightful, they ſtrew feathers, down, or the hair of beaſts upon the paint while it is ſtill moiſt and capable of making thoſe light ſubſtances ſtick faſt on. When they are thus formidably equipped, they ruſh into the Matchacomoco, and inſtantly begin ſome very groteſque dance, holding their arrows or tomahawks in their hands, and all the while ſinging the ancient glories of their nation, and eſpecially of their own families, threatning and making ſigns with their tomahawks what a dreadful havock they intend to make amongſt their enemies.

Notwithſtanding theſe terrible airs they give themſelves, they are very timorous when they come to action, and rarely perform any open or bold feats; but the execution they do is chiefly by ſurprize and ambuſcade.

As in the beginning of a war they have aſſemblies for conſultation, ſo Colonel **BEVERLEY** obſerves, upon any victory or other great ſucceſs, they have publick meetings again for proceſſions and triumphs; which are accompanied with all the marks of a wild and extravagant joy.

Treaties and embaſſies.

They uſe formal embaſſies for treating, and are very ceremonious in concluding of peace, burying a tomahawk, raiſing an heap of ſtones, or planting a tree on the place, in token that all enmity is buried with the tomahawk, that all the deſolations of war are at an end, and that friendſhip ſhall flouriſh among them like a tree.

The pipe or calamet of peace.

They have a peculiar way of receiving ſtrangers, and diſtinguiſhing whether they come as friends or enemies, tho' they do not underſtand each others language: And that is by a ſingular method of ſmoaking tobacco, in which theſe things are always obſerved.

1. They take a pipe much larger and bigger than the common tobacco-pipe, expreſly made for that purpoſe, with which all towns are plentifully provided; they call them the pipes of peace.

2. This pipe they always fill with tobacco before the face of the ſtrangers and light it.

3. The chief man of the Indians, to whom the ſtrangers come, takes two or three whiffs, and then hands it to the chief of the ſtrangers.

4. If the ſtranger refuſes to ſmoak it is a ſign of war.

5. If it be peace, the chief of the ſtrangers takes a whiff or two in the pipe, and preſents it to the next great man of the town they come to viſit. He, after taking two or three whiffs, gives it back to the next of the ſtrangers, and ſo on alternately until they have paſſed all the perſons of note on each ſide, and then the ceremony is ended.

After a little diſcourſe, they march together in a friendly manner into the town, and then proceed to explain the buſineſs upon which they come. This method is as general a rule among all the Indians of thoſe parts of America, as the flag of truce is among the Europeans. And tho' the faſhion of the pipe differ as well as the ornaments of it, according to the humour of the ſeveral nations, yet it is a general rule to make thoſe pipes remarkably bigger than thoſe for common uſe, and to adorn them with beautiful wings and feathers of Birds, as likewiſe with peak, beads, or other toys.

Such a pipe is a paſs and ſafe conduct among the allies of the nation which has given it: And in all embaſſies the Embaſſador carries that calamet or pipe, as the ſymbol of peace, which is always reſpected; for the ſavages are generally perſuaded that ſome great misfortune would befal them if they violated the publick faith of the calamet.

Fortifications of the Engliſh.

I come in the next place to treat of the forts and forces of the Engliſh in Virginia: And I find they formerly had forts at the heads of the rivers in the up-land country, to defend them againſt the incurſions of the Indians, and others at the mouths of the rivers, and at the entrance of the bay of Cheſepeak, for the ſecurity of their ſhipping againſt pyrates and enemies; but theſe have been ſuffered to decay, and they at this day depend altogether on the militia at land, and the men of war that are ſent thither from England, to defend them againſt any attacks from the ſeaward. Having nothing therefore to obſerve in regard to their fortifications, give me leave, before I enquire into their militia, to take notice of ſome elegant buildings they have erected of late years at Williamſburgh; which may now very well be deemed the capital of Virginia, as it is the ſeat of the Governor.

Some publick buildings lately erected.

There are, according to Mr. Beverley, three fine publick buildings lately erected, which, according to his opinion, are the moſt magnificent of any in Engliſh America, viz. 1. The college, which has been already deſcribed. 2. The capitol, or ſtate-houſe, where the general aſſembly ſits: And, 3. The Governor's houſe.

In the capitol the council and general-courts are held, and here are apartments for the great officers and others; and not far from it ſtands the publick priſon for criminals, having a large open yard contrived for the health of the priſoners; and at the end of it is another priſon for debtors. The Governor's houſe is not the largeſt of theſe buildings, but by far the moſt beautiful. This was enacted to be built by the general aſſembly in Governor Nott's time; but was finiſhed and elegantly adorned, in the manner we ſee it at preſent, by Governor Spotswood. In his time alſo was built a new brick church and magazine of arms; he alſo altered the plan of the town, which had been laid out in the whimſical form of a W and M, giving it quite another face.

All theſe buildings are of brick, covered with ſhingle, except the debtors priſon, which is flat-roofed: Their private buildings alſo were much improved in the time of Governor Spotswood, ſeveral gentlemen building themſelves large brick houſes, many rooms on a floor; for they do not affect to have them high as they have room enough to build upon, and are in this way of building leſs expoſed to the high winds which rage on this coaſt at ſome ſeaſons of the year: But though they have not many ſtories in their houſes they delight in ſpacious rooms, and of late have made them much loftier than formerly; their windows are large and ſaſhed with crown glaſs, and their apartments adorned with rich furniture; their dairies, kitchens, and other offices ſtand at a diſtance from the dwelling-houſe.

Their tobacco-houſes are built all of wood as open and airy as poſſible; which ſort of building is the moſt convenient for curing their tobacco. Theſe houſes are covered with clap-board, as the others are with ſhingle; that is, oblong ſquares of cypreſs or pine-wood; tho' they have ſlate enough in ſome parts of the country, and good clay for making tiles; they have very few ſlate or tiled houſes.

The Engliſh forces in Virginia.

The militia are the only forces in Virginia. They are happy (according to Colonel Beverley) in the enjoyment of an everlaſting peace; which their poverty and want of towns ſecure to them. They have the Indians round about in ſubjection, and have no ſort of apprehenſion from them: And for a foreign enemy it can never be worth their while to carry troops ſufficient to conquer the country; and the ſcattering method of their ſettlements will not anſwer the charge of an expedition to plunder them; ſo that they feel none but the diſtant effects of war, which, however, keep them ſo poor that they can boaſt of nothing but the ſecurity of their perſons and habitations.

The Governor is Lieutenant-General by his commiſſion, and in each county does appoint the Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major, who have under them Captains, and other commiſſioned ſubaltern officers.

Every freeman (by which denomination they call all but indented or bought ſervants) from ſixteen to ſixty years of age is liſted in the militia, which by a law is to be muſtered in a general muſter for each county once a year, and in ſingle troops

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troops and companies four times more at leaſt. Moſt people there are ſkilful in the uſe of fire-arms, being all their lives accuſtomed to ſhoot in the woods. This, together with a little exerciſing, would ſoon make the militia uſeful.

The exact number of the militia is not now known, there not being any account of the number taken of late years; but I gueſs them at this time (1722,) to be about 18,000 effective men in all.

And whereas by the practice of former times upon the militia law, ſeveral people were obliged to travel ſometimes thirty or forty miles to a private muſter of a troop or company, which was very burdenſome to ſome more than others to anſwer only the ſame duty; this Governor (**Spotswood**) juſt and regular in all his conduct, and ſufficiently experienced to put his deſigns in execution, ſo contrived it, that by dividing the counties into ſeveral cantons or military diſtricts, forming the troops and companies belonging to each canton, and by appointing the muſter-fields in the centre of each, none are now obliged to travel above ten miles to a private muſter, and yet the law is duly executed.

Inſtead of the ſoldiers they formerly kept conſtantly in forts, and of the others after them by the name of Rangers, to ſcour the frontiers clear of the Indian enemy, they have by law appointed the militia to march out upon ſuch occaſions under the command of the chief officer of the county, on receiving advice of any incurſion or invaſion: And if they upon ſuch expedition remain in arms three days and upwards, they are then entituled to the pay for the whole time; but if it prove a falſe alarm, and they have no occaſion to continue out ſo long, they can demand nothing.

The number of ſoldiers in each troop of light-horſe are from thirty to ſixty, as the convenience of the canton will admit, and in a company of foot about fifty or ſixty. A troop or company may be got together at a day's warning.

As to their forces by ſea, they are not ſuffered in any of our plantations to build men of war. But ſmall guard-ſhips are ſent from England from time to time, which juſt ſerve to defend them againſt pyrates, and hardly that; for ſhips have been carried away by pyrates within the capes of Virginia: Nor do the Virginians apply themſelves to build merchant-ſhips themſelves, though ſeveral are built by others in their country.

Foreign trade and ſhipping.

Their only foreign trade worth mentioning is that to England; and that indeed is very great and very profitable to England, but not ſo to themſelves; the merchants beating down the price of their tobacco to little or nothing.

They had alſo a trade to the Leeward-iſlands, whither they ſent lumber, corn, and fleſh; for which they took rum, ſugar, and moloſſes in return; but New-England, New-York, and Carolina have in a manner beaten them out of that branch of buſineſs.

All ſorts of naval ſtores are produced here; but theſe and a thouſand other advantages which this country naturally affords, ſays the Colonel, the inhabitants make no uſe of; they ſee their naval ſtores daily enrich the Engliſh, who ſend hither to build ſhips, while they, inſtead of promoting ſuch undertakings among themſelves, diſcourage them: They ſee alſo what advantages the neighbouring plantations make of their grain and proviſions, while they, who can produce them infinitely better, not only neglect the making a trade thereof, but even a neceſſary proviſion againſt an accidental ſcarcity, contenting themſelves with a ſupply of food from hand to mouth; ſo that if it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend them an unſeaſonable year, there would not be found in the country proviſion ſufficient to ſupport the people for three months extraordinary.

Manufactures.

By reaſon of the unfortunate method of the ſettlement and want of cohabitation, they cannot make a beneficial uſe of their flax, hemp, ſilk, ſilk-graſs and wool; which might otherwiſe ſupply their neceſſities, and leave the produce of tobacco to enrich them when a gainful market can be found for it.

Thus they depend altogether upon the liberality of nature without endeavouring to improve its gifts by art or induſtry; they ſpunge upon the bleſſings of a warm ſun and a fruitful ſoil, and almoſt grudge the pains of gathering in the bounties of the earth. I ſhould be aſhamed to publiſh this ſlothful indolence of my countrymen (ſays Colonel **Beverley**) but that I hope it will ſome time or other rouſe them out of their lethargy, and excite them to make the moſt of all thoſe happy advantages which nature has given them; and if it does this, I am ſure they will have the goodneſs to forgive me.

Coin.

Inſtead of ſilver and gold coin the Indians made uſe of ſhells before the Engliſh arrived; of which they had two ſorts (viz.) peak and roenoke, and theſe ſerved them for ornaments as well as money.

Peak and roenoke deſcribed.

Their peak is of two ſorts, or rather two colours, for both are made of one ſhell, though of different colours; one is a dark purple cylinder and the other white. They are both made in ſize and figure alike, and commonly reſemble the Engliſh bugles, but are not ſo tranſparent nor ſo brittle. They are wrought as ſmooth as glaſs, being one third of an inch long, and about a quarter diameter, ſtrung by a hole drilled through the centre. The dark colour is the deareſt, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of wampom-peak. The Engliſhmen that are called Indian traders value the wampom-peak at eighteen pence per yard, and the white-peak at nine pence. The Indians alſo make pipes of this two or three inches long, and thicker than ordinary, which are much more valuable. They alſo make runtees of the ſmall ſhells, and grind them as ſmooth as peak. Theſe are either large like an oval bead, and drilled the length of the oval, or elſe they are circular, and flat almoſt an inch over, and one third of an inch thick, and drilled edge-ways. Of this ſhell they alſo make round tablets of about four inches diameter, which they poliſh as ſmooth as the other, and ſometimes they etch or grave thereon circles, ſtars, a half-moon, or any other figure ſuitable to their fancy. Theſe they wear inſtead of medals before or behind their neck, and uſe the peak, runtees, and pipes for coronets, bracelets, belts, or long ſtrings hanging down before the breaſt; or elſe they lace their garments with them and adorn their tomahawks and every thing elſe they value with them.

The roenoke alſo is current among them as money, but of far leſs value than the former. This is made of the cockle-ſhell broken into ſmall bits with rough edges, drilled through in the ſame manner as beads, and this they uſe alſo as peak for ornament.

Engliſh money.

As to the money that paſſes among the Engliſh, Mr. **Beverley** informs us, it is either gold of the ſtamp of Arabia, or ſilver and gold of the ſtamp of France, Portugal, or the Spaniſh America. Spaniſh, French, and Portugueſe-coined ſilver is ſettled by law at three pence three farthings the penny-weight. Gold of the ſame coin, and of Arabia, at five ſhillings the penny-weight. Engliſh guineas at twenty-ſix ſhillings each; and the ſilver, two pence in every ſhilling advance. Engliſh old coin goes by weight as the other gold and ſilver.

Weights and meaſures.

Their weights and meaſures are enacted to be of the ſame ſtandard as in England by their general aſſembly.

Earths, ſtones, and minerals.

And here I ſhall take an opportunity of giving a further deſcription of their earths, ſtones, and minerals, from Mr. Beverley. This gentleman informs us, that there are found in this country a great variety of earths for phyſick, cleanſing, ſcouring, and making all ſorts of potter's ware; ſuch as antimony, talk, yellow and red oker, Fuller's-earth, pipe-clay, and other fat and fine clays, marle, &c.

Coal and ſlate.

They have beſides in theſe upper parts coal for firing, ſlate for covering, and ſtones for building and flat paving in vaſt quantities, as likewiſe pebble-ſtones; nevertheleſs it has been confidently affirmed, by many who have been in Virginia, that there is not a ſtone in all the country. If ſuch travellers (ſays Colonel Beverley) knew no better than they ſaid, my judgment of them is, that either they were people of extreme ſhort memories, or elſe of very narrow obſervation: For though generally the lower parts are flat, and ſo free from ſtones that people ſeldom ſhoe their horſes; yet in many places, and particularly near the falls of the rivers, are found vaſt quantities of ſtones fit for all kinds of uſes. However, as yet there is ſeldom any uſe made of them, becauſe commonly wood is to be had at much leſs trouble. And as for coals, it is not likely they ſhould ever be uſed there in any thing but forges and great towns, if ever they happen to have any; for in their country plantations the wood grows at every man's door ſo faſt that after it has been cut down it will in ſeven years time grow up again from ſeed to ſubſtantial firewood; and in eighteen or twenty years it will come to be very good board-timber.

Quick growth of wood.

Iron and other minerals.

For mineral earths it is believed they have great plenty and variety, that country being in a good latitude, and having great appearances of them. It has been proved too that they have both iron and lead, as appears by what was ſaid before concerning the iron work ſet up at Falling-creek in James-river, where the iron proved reaſonably good: But before they got into the body of the mine the people were cut off in that fatal maſſacre, and the project has never been ſet on foot ſince until of late; but it has not had its full trial.

The gold mine, of which there was once ſo much noiſe, may perhaps, be found hereafter to be ſome good metal when it comes to be fully examined. But be that as it will, the ſtones that are found near it in great plenty are valuable, their luſtre approaching nearer to that of the diamond than thoſe of Briſtol or Kerry. There is no other fault in them but their ſoftneſs, which the weather hardens when they have been ſome time expoſed to it, they being found under the ſurface of the earth. This place has now plantations on it.

Briſtol ſtones.

Pearl.

The Indians have ſome pearl amongſt them, and formerly had many more; but how they came by them is uncertain: Beverley is of opinion they found them in the oyſter-banks which abound in this country.

Their way of travelling.

The Indians perform all their journeys on foot, the fatigue of which they endure to admiration. They make no other proviſion for their journey but their gun or bow, to ſupply them with food many hundred miles together. If they carry any fleſh in their marches they barbacue it, or rather dry it by degrees at ſome diſtance over the clear coals of a wood-fire, juſt as the Charibees are ſaid to preſerve the bodies of their great men from corruption. Their ſauce to this dry meat (if they have any beſides a good ſtomach) is only a little bears oil, or oil of acorns, which laſt they force out by boiling the acorns in a ſtrong lye. Sometimes alſo in their travels each man takes a pint or quart of rockahomony, that is, the fineſt Indian corn parched and beaten to powder. When they find their ſtomach empty (and cannot ſtay for the tedious cookery of other things) they put about a ſpoonful of this into their mouths and drink a draught of water upon it, which ſtays their ſtomachs, and enables them to purſue their journey without delay. But their main dependance is upon the game they kill by the way, and the natural fruits of the earth. They take no care about lodging in theſe journeys, but content themſelves with the ſhade of a tree, or a little high graſs.

When they fear being diſcovered or followed by an enemy in their marches, they every morning, having firſt agreed where they ſhall rendezvous at night, diſperſe themſelves into the woods, and each takes a different way, that ſo the graſs or leaves being but ſingly preſſed may riſe again and not betray them: For the Indians are very artful in following a track, even where the impreſſions are not viſible to other people, eſpecially if they have any advantage from the looſeneſs of the earth, from the ſtiffneſs of the graſs, or the ſtirring of the leaves, which in the winter ſeaſon lie very thick upon the ground, and likewiſe afterwards if they do not happen to be burned.

When in their travels they meet with any waters which are not fordable, they make canoes of birch-bark, by ſlipping it whole off the tree in this manner: 1. They gaſh the bark quite round the tree at the length they would have the canoe of, then ſlit down the length from end to end; when that is done, they with their tomahawks eaſily open the bark, and ſtrip it whole off. Then they force it open with ſticks in the middle, ſlope the under ſide of the ends, and ſew them up, which helps to keep the belly open; or if the birch-trees happen to be ſmall, they ſew the bark of two together. The ſeams they daub with clay or mud, and then paſs over in theſe canoes by two or three or more at a time, according as they are in bigneſs. By reaſon of the lightneſs of theſe boats they can eaſily carry them over land if they foreſee they are like to meet with any more waters that may impede their march; or elſe they leave them at the water-ſide, making no farther account of them, except it be to repaſs the ſame waters in their return.

The Indians, when they travel ever ſo ſmall a way, being much embroiled in war one with another, uſe ſeveral marks painted upon their ſhoulders to diſtinguiſh themſelves by, and ſhew what nation they are of. The uſual mark is one, two, or three arrows. One nation paints theſe arrows upwards, another downwards, a third ſide-ways; and others again uſe other diſtinctions, from whence it came to paſs that the Virginia aſſembly took up the humour of making badges of ſilver, copper or braſs, of which they gave a ſufficient number to each nation in amity with the Engliſh, and then made a law that the Indians ſhould not travel among the Engliſh plantations without one of theſe badges in their company, to ſhew that they are friends.

Hoſpitality of the natives ſupplies the place of inns.

The Engliſh inhabitants are very courteous to travellers, who need no other recommendation but the being human creatures. A ſtranger has no more to do but to enquire upon the road where any gentleman or good houſe-keeper lives, and there he may depend upon his being received with hoſpitality. This good-nature is ſo general among their people, that the gentry, when they go abroad, order their principal ſervant to entertain all viſitors with every thing the plantation affords. And the poor planters, who have but one bed, will very often ſit up or lie upon a form or couch all night to make room for a weary traveller to repoſe himſelf after his journey.

If there happen to be a churl that either out of covetouſneſs or ill-nature won't comply with this general cuſtom, he has a mark of infamy ſet upon him, and is abhorred by all.

Roads.

As to the roads, there are no where better, the country being for the moſt part level, and ſcarce any rugged or deep ways; inſomuch that it is a common thing to ride forty or fifty miles in an afternoon, and ſometimes an hundred in a ſummer's day.

Land and water carriage.

As the Indians travel on foot, ſo the Engliſh generally ride on horſeback, or go by water from one part of the country to the other, their numerous rivers and creeks affording them water carriage to every plantation almoſt; which renders ſtage-coaches and waggons perfectly uſeleſs in moſt places: And I don't find they have any other way of carrying their merchandize or baggage by land than on the backs of porters or Pack-horſes.

THE PRESENT STATE OF MARYLAND.

CHAP. I.

Of the name, ſituation, and extent of Maryland; and of the face of the country, its mountains, foreſts, ſeas, bays, rivers and ſprings.

CHAP. I. Name. KING CHARLES I. was pleaſed to give this province the name of Maryland, in honour to his Queen HENRIETTA-MARIA, daughter of HENRY IV. of France, when he granted it by patent to GEORGE CALVERT, Lord Baltimore, anno 1631.

Situation. Maryland is ſituated between the 38th and 40th degrees of northern latitude, and between the 74th and 78th degrees of weſtern longitude, as is generally computed; but it muſt be confeſſed the weſtern boundaries are very uncertain, ſome extending them beyond the Apalathean Mountains. Our firſt adventurers particularly were of opinion that Virginia, under which name they comprehended all the Britiſh Plantations, extended weſtward as far as the Pacifick Ocean, tho' later diſcoveries have convinced us that the continent to the weſtward of our plantations is more than two thouſand miles broad; and ſhould we continue to enlarge our weſtern frontier for a thouſand years to come, without any oppoſition from the natives, the French, or Spaniards, I doubt we ſhould not be able to people or plant one half of it.

The north end of the bay of Cheſepeak divides Maryland into two parts, called the Eaſtern and Weſtern Shores. It is bounded at preſent by part of Penſylvania on the north, by another part of Penſylvania and the Atlantick Ocean on the eaſt; by Virginia Proper on the ſouth, by the Apalathean Mountains on the weſt. It is ſeparated from Virginia on the ſouth, by the river Patowmack on the weſtern ſhore, and the river Pocomoac on the eaſtern ſhore. Extent. The length from north to ſouth being about an hundred and forty miles, and the breadth from eaſt to weſt, if we extend it no farther than the country already planted, will not be ſo much, tho' its future limits poſſibly may extend much farther.

Face of the country. As to the face of the country, this, as well as Virginia, may be divided into: 1. The low lands next the ſea: 2. The hilly country towards the heads of the rivers: And 3. The Apalathean Mountains beyond, which are exceeding high, and run parallel to the Atlantick Ocean, viz. from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt.

The low lands heretofore conſiſted of ſwamps or woods, being one continued foreſt almoſt till the Engliſh cleared a good part of it, either to make room for their plantations, or for the building of ſhips and houſes, and the making Tobacco-caſks and Pipe-ſtaves for exportation; which has made ſuch havock among their woods, that ſome of them begin to apprehend the want of timber, eſpecially near their ports and rivers; for as to that which lies remote from the water, it is of little uſe to them, the price of the carriage exceeding the value of the wood.

Towards the heads of the rivers there are a mixture of hills and vallies as in Virginia, well planted with a variety of timber and fruit-trees; and where theſe are wanting there are large meadows or ſavannahs, where the graſs grows to a ſurpriſing length.

Springs and rivers.

This country, like Virginia, alſo is watered with innumerable ſprings, which form a great many fine rivers, of which the chief are,

Patowmack.

1. Patowmack, which riſing in the mountains on the north-weſt runs to the ſouth-eaſt, and ſeparates Maryland from Virginia on the ſouth-weſt, falling into the middle of the bay of Cheſepeak.

Pocomoac.

2. The river Pocomoac, which riſing near the ocean runs almoſt directly ſouth, and then turning to the weſt falls into the bay of Cheſepeak, near Watkins's Point; a line drawn from the mouth of the river directly eaſt to the Atlantick Ocean is the true boundary between Maryland and Virginia on the eaſtern ſhore.

Patuxent.

3. The river Patuxent, which riſing in Anne Arundel Country runs to the ſouth-eaſt, and falls into the bay of Cheſepeak, about twenty miles to the northward of the mouth of Patowmack River.

Severn.

4 Severn River, which riſes on the north-weſt part of Maryland, and running ſouth-eaſt falls into the upper-part of the ſaid bay.

Cheptonk.

5. Cheptonk, which riſing on the eaſtern ſhore runs to the ſouth-weſt and falls into the ſame bay.

Saſſafras.

6. Saſſafras River, which riſes in the north-eaſt of Maryland, and running almoſt due weſt falls into the north end of the ſaid bay.

Wicomo.

7. Wicomo River, which riſing on the eaſtern ſhore runs to the ſouth-weſt, and falls into the bay almoſt againſt the mouth of Patowmack River.

St. George.

The 8th and laſt river I ſhall mention is St. George's, on the weſt ſide of the bay, which running from north to ſouth falls into the mouth of the river Patowmack: Here the Engliſh firſt ſettled and built the town of St. Mary's. There are a great many more rivers capable of receiving large ſhips, which with the numerous bays and creeks that indent the land on every ſide, give the ſeamen an opportunity of bringing their veſſels up to the very planters doors to receive their freight, as in Virginia. As to that part of the coaſt of Maryland which lies upon the Atlantick Ocean, the ſame may be ſaid of it which Colonel BEVERLEY ſays of Virginia, that it is a bold even coaſt with regular ſoundings, and open all the year round; ſo that having the latitude, which can hardly be wanted where there is ſo much clear weather, any ſhip may go in by ſoundings alone by day or night, in ſummer or winter, and need fear no diſaſter if the Mariners underſtand any thing. Let the wind blow how it will, and chop about never ſo ſuddenly, they will find an opportunity by the evenneſs of the coaſt either of ſtanding off and clearing the ſhore, or of running into a ſafe harbour within the capes of Virginia; to which conveniencies there is the addition of good anchorage without the capes.

Sea-coaſt.

CHAP. II.

Of the air, ſeaſons, winds and tides.

Air and ſeaſons.

THE air of this country, I perceive, is exceſſive hot ſome part of the ſummer, and equally cold in winter when the north-weſt wind blows: But the natives, who would have us believe their country a perfect paradiſe, tell us they are happily ſituated between the heat and cold; that their heats are very ſeldom troubleſome, and then only by accident in a perfect calm, but that this does not happen above two or three days in a year, and then laſts but a few hours at a time; and even that inconvenience is made very tolerable by their cool ſhades, their open and airy rooms, arbours and gotto's; and in ſpring and fall the weather is as pleaſant as can be wiſhed.

That their winters are not of more than three or four months duration, and in theſe they ſeldom have one month of bad weather; all the reſt they have are happy in a clear air and a bright ſun, and are ſcarce ever troubled with fogs. It is acknowledged they have hard froſts ſometimes, but they laſt no longer than while the wind blows from the north and north-weſt points, which is ſeldom more than three or four days. At other times they have no froſt at all; and their froſts are attended with bright ſerene weather: And in the ſpring, ſummer and winter, theſe winds are only cool pleaſant breezes.

Their rains, except in the depth of winter, are very agreeable and refreſhing. In ſummer they laſt but a few hours, and then bright weather ſucceeds. However, it is acknowledged that the ſhowers which fall in ſummer are very heavy for the time the laſt, and that part of the country which lies on the bays of the ſea and the mouths of the rivers, which is much the beſt peopled, is certainly hot and moiſt, and conſequently unhealthful: Indeed higher up the country, whither their plantations are now extended, the air is much more healthful; eſpecially ſince their lands are cleared of wood. They have here however dreadful thunder in the heat of ſummer, but as it cools and refreſhes the air, they rather wiſh for it than fear it, they tell us; tho' it ſometimes does much miſchief.

CHAP. II.

Tides.

Their tides are very ſmall as well on the coaſt bordering on the ocean as in the bay of Cheſepeak, as was obſerved in treating of Virginia, to which I muſt refer the reader for further ſatisfaction on theſe heads; theſe counties being ſituated almoſt in the ſame latitude and on the ſame bay of Cheſepeak.

CHAP III.

Of the provinces and chief towns of Maryland; and of the buildings of the Indians.

CHAP. III.

Provinces.

WHEN the Engliſh planted this country they found a King or Chief called a Weroance, upon almoſt every river, as in Virginia; but the limits of their reſpective countries are not exactly known: Since the Indians transferred or yielded this province to the Engliſh, it has been divided into ten counties, ſix on the weſt ſide of the bay and four on the eaſt ſide of it: Thoſe on the weſt ſide taking them from ſouth to north are, 1. St. Mary's County. 2. Charles County. 3. Prince George County. 4. Calvert County. 5. Anne Arundel County; and, 6. Baltimore County.

The counties on the eaſt ſide of the bay, beginning alſo from the ſouth, are, 1. Somerſet County. 2. Dorcheſter County. 3. Talbot County. 4. Cecil County. As for the county of Kent, that or the greateſt part of it is now held to be in Penſylvania.

St. Mary's Town and County.

1. St. Mary's, the capitol of the county of the ſame name, and for ſome time of the whole province, is ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the river St. George, in 38 degrees odd minutes north latitude. This, as has been intimated, was the firſt town in Maryland, built by the Engliſh, who raiſed a fort for its defence; but I don't perceive in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate it had more than three or fourſcore houſes in it, and ſince the ſeat of the government has been removed to Annapolis, ſeems to be upon the decline; for the ſame humour prevails here as in Virginia of living on their reſpective plantations and not in towns. In this county alſo are the pariſhes of Hervington, St. Clement's, and St. John's; and here is a noble ſeat of the Lord Baltimore, the proprietor, called Mettapany, ſituate near the mouth of the river Patuxent.

Prince Charles County. Prince George County. Calvert County.

2 and 3. In Prince Charles County, which lies north of St. Mary's, are the pariſhes of Briſtol and Piſcataway; and in that of Prince George the pariſh of Maſterkout.

4. In Calvert County, which is divided from Charles County by the river Patuxent, are the pariſhes of Abington, Warrington, and Calverton.

Anne Arundel County. Annapolis, the capital of province.

5. In the County of Anne Arundel, which lies north of Charles County, the chief Town is Annapolis, now the capital of the province, and formerly called Severn; being ſituate on the river of that name, in 39 degrees odd minutes north latitude: Here the courts of juſtice and the general aſſemblies were ordered to be held in the year 1699, and this has ever ſince been the reſidence of the Governor; notwithſtanding which, 'tis ſaid there are not yet an hundred houſes built in the town.

CHAP. III.

Baltimore County.

6. In Baltimore County, which lies between Anne Arundel County and the province of Penſylvania, is the pariſh of Baltimore, ſituate on the north-weſt part of the Bay of Cheſepeak.

Somerſet Town and County.

1. In Somerſet County, which is the moſt ſoutherly county on the eaſt ſide of the bay, are the town and pariſh of Somerſet.

Dorcheſter County.

2. In Dorcheſter County, which lies north of Somerſet, are the town and pariſh of Dorcheſter, beſides a great many Indian towns.

Talbot County.

3. In Talbot County, which lies north of Dorcheſter, are the pariſhes of Oxford, St. Michael's, and Bolingbroke; and

Cecil County.

4. Cecil, the moſt northerly county on the eaſt ſide of the bay, is bounded both on the north and eaſt by the province of Penſylvania; but the limits hereof will be more particularly deſcribed when I come to treat of Penſylvania.

Buildings.

In this province are more Indian towns and better peopled than in Virginia, eſpecially on the eaſt ſide of the bay; there never having been any wars, and ſcarce any miſunderſtanding between the Engliſh and the natives. The houſes of the Indians, which they call Wigwams, or Wigwangs, are of two ſorts, the ſmaller reſembling a bee-hive, and the larger being of an oblong form, are roofed like a barn; and both built with green poles, and covered with bark, which they tie together with the fibres of roots, or the rind of trees. Their windows are only holes in the ſides of the houſe, which they cloſe with ſhutters of bark in bad weather, leaving only the windows open to the leeward. Their fire-hearth is in the middle of the houſe, and a little hole at the top of it to let out the ſmoke; but it not being confin'd as in a chimney, the ſmoke often ſpreads all over the houſe, and can only be borne by thoſe who have been bred up in ſuch places from their infancy. Their door is no more than a piece of matting hung upon a ſtring; and when they go far from home they barricade the door with great pieces of timber, to keep out wild beaſts. The houſe ſeldom has more than one room; unleſs it be a great man's palace, which has uſually ſome partitions in it made with poles and matts.

Furniture.

As to their furniture, the better ſort have matts or carpets to ſit on, and uſually ſit with their legs ſtretched out, and not croſs-legged, like the eaſtern nations: Their lodging is upon a couch of boards or reeds, fixed to the ſide of the houſe, and covered with matts or ſkins. In winter they will lie upon the ſkin of a bear or ſome other animal about the fire, covering themſelves with their watchcoats; but in warm weather they lie only on a matt, rolling up another matt for their pillow. When they are at war, or apprehenſive of the approach of an enemy, they ſurround their town with palliſadoes, or at leaſt the houſes of their Weroances or Chiefs; within which they all retire with their families and effects, as in Virginia, upon receiving any alarm.

CHAP. IV.

Of the perſons and habits of the Indians; their genius and temper, manufactures, food, exerciſes and diverſions; the diſeaſes they are ſubject to, and their remedies.

CHAP. IV. Perſons of the Maryland Indians.

THE ſtature of the Indians, as has been obſerved in treating of Virginia, is not different from that of the Engliſh. Their bodies are ſtrait, and well proportioned; their features tolerable; their complexion would be the ſame as that of the people in the ſame latitude in Europe, if they did not take a great deal of pains to make them darker by greaſing, and then expoſing themſelves to the ſun from their infancy: The features of their women are not very engaging, and following the ſame cuſtom of anointing themſelves, and lying in the ſun as the men do, their complexions are very dark, and ſome have obſerved they have an odd caſt with their eyes, which are generally black.

The hair of both ſexes is black; the men cut theirs ſhort in various forms, and either greaſe or paint it; and perſons of diſtinction leave a long lock behind. The men pull off the hair of their beards by the roots with tweezers made of ſhells, and neither men or women ſuffer any hair to grow on their bodies: The women wear the hair of their heads very long; ſometimes flowing down their backs, and at others tied up with a fillet, or coronet of ſhells and beads; and men of diſtinction, as well as the women, wear coronets of ſhells and beads of various colours: The women alſo have chains of the ſame about their necks, and bracelets on their arms.

Habits.

The common people go bare-headed, only ſticking ſome beautiful feathers on their crowns; and when they are at work, or employed in hunting, ſhooting, and other exerciſes, they wear only a piece of ſkin, wrapped about their loins, being naked from their waiſt upwards, and from the middle of the thigh downwards, but when they are dreſſed, eſpecially in cold weather, they have a mantle about their ſhoulders, made of the ſkin of a deer, or ſome other animal, which they ſometimes wear looſe, and at others tied cloſe about them; and they ſeldom go abroad without their bow, their quiver of arrows, and their tomahawk, or hatchet: They have a kind of ſhoes, made of a piece of deer-ſkin, which they lace, or faſten with a thong on the top of the foot. The dreſs of the women does not differ from that of the men, except it be in their ornaments, viz. their necklaces, bracelets, &c. and in the wearing of their hair.

Their Prieſts have a garment different from other men, reſembling a ſhort cloak, hung upon one ſhoulder, which being faſtened about the neck reaches down to the middle of the thigh; but this garment having been deſcribed in Virginia, I ſhall not trouble the reader with it again.

CHAP. IV. Genius and temper.

The Indians of Maryland are allowed to be men of quick and ſprightly parts, like their neighbours of Virginia; but want, like them, the advantage of letters and education. They are nimble, active, and indefatigable in their warlike expeditions, hunting, and journies. There are alſo men of courage amongſt them, but they are generally timorous, revengeful, and implacable; and when they gain a victory, or get advantage of an enemy, deſtroy man, woman, and child. Their little kingdoms and tribes are perpetually in a ſtate of war, which very much leſſens their numbers; and if one man kills another of the ſame clan, the quarrel is never forgotten or forgiven, but they endeavour to retaliate injury for injury, from generation to generation. I do not find their Princes interpoſe in theſe caſes, but leave every man to take his own revenge. Mr. Hugh Jones, in his account of the Indians of Maryland, ſays, though they are timorous and cowardly in fight, yet when they are taken priſoners, and condemned to death, they die like heroes, braving the moſt exquiſite torments, and ſinging even upon the rack.

Mechanick arts.

As to their manufactures and mechanick arts, if we conſider the badneſs of their tools, they might be eſteemed excellent workmen, eſpecially as they had no particular trades amongſt them; but every man was his own artificer, and did the work of a carpenter, taylor, ſhoe-maker, &c. for himſelf.

When the Engliſh arrived there, they had no ſort of iron tools or inſtruments; their axes were ſharp ſtones ſet in wood: With theſe they made their bows of the locuſt-tree, an exceſſive hard wood when it is dry, but they faſhioned them therefore while it was green and pliant: Their arrows they made of reeds or ſticks, that wanted but little faſhioning; and fledged their arrows with turkeys feathers, which they glued to the ſmall end of the ſhaft, and armed the head with a white tranſparent ſtone, a bone, or the ſpur of a wild turkey.

They procured fire, by rubbing a ſtick of hard wood upon a piece that was ſoft and dry: They felled trees of a prodigious ſize by making a little fire about the root, and keeping the flame from aſcending, until they burnt away ſo much of the baſis, that the leaſt blaſt of wind brought it down; and as it lay on the ground, they burnt it of what length they pleaſed: Then they raiſed it to a convenient height to work upon, and burnt it hollow, when they intended to make a boat of it, removing the fire from place to place, until they had made it as deep as they deſigned; after which they ſcraped it ſmooth, and the canoe, or boat, was finiſhed, being all of a piece: Theſe canoes are from ten to forty foot in length.

In order to clear the ground for a plantation, they uſed to chop the trees round with their ſtone-hatchets, or tomahawks, which killed them in two or three years, and the trees fell of themſelves; but they were glad to change their tomahawks for European axes, which make much quicker diſpatch.

Utenſils.

Their houſhold utenſils were earthen pots, in which they boiled their meat. Baſkets made of ſilk-graſs, with gourds or calabaſhes, ſerved them for diſhes and bowls; a ſhell was their ſpoon, and their knife an edged reed or flint. Their matts were made of ruſhes; their mantles of the ſkins of beaſts, which ſerved them alſo for bed-cloaths; and as they never trouble themſelves to ſhape their cloaths to their bodies, it did not require much ſkill or pains to finiſh them. The fibres of the bark of trees, as well as ſilk-graſs, ſerved them for thread and cordage; and their needle was a thorn, or the bone of a fiſh.

Their diet.

The Indians here have no ſet meals, but eat all day long when they have plenty of proviſions, eſpecially when they have ſuch food as they like: However, no men endure hunger with more patience in a time of ſcarcity; and this they make more tolerable, it is ſaid, by girding up their bellies, which makes them not ſo ſenſible of the want of food as they would otherwiſe be.

They eat fiſh, fleſh and fowl of almoſt all ſorts, and even ſome ſpecies of ſnakes and inſects, ſuch as grubs, the nymphe of waſps; ſome ſort of ſcarabæi, cicade, &c. They eat alſo peas, beans, and all manner of pulſe parched and boiled. Their bread is made of Indian corn, wild oats, or the ſeed of the ſun-flower; but they never eat bread with their meat. They had no ſalt, but uſed the aſhes of hiccory, ſtick-weed, or ſome other plants that afforded a ſalt-aſh, to ſeaſon their meat: And there is no food they ſeem fonder of than the green ears of Indian corn roaſted; for which reaſon they plant it at different times in the ſpring that the ſeaſon may laſt the longer.

Various ways of dreſſing their food.

They ſtew their meat moſt commonly: They alſo broil and toaſt it againſt the fire, and frequently put fiſh and fleſh into their hommony (which is Indian corn ſtewed over a gentle fire for ten or twelve hours, until it is as thick as furmety or buttered wheat.) They either broil their meat upon the coals, or on a hot hearth, and frequently dry it upon a wooden grate, which ſtands very high above the fire, which they call barbacuing it; and this dried fleſh they uſually take with them on a march, or in their hunting expeditions, and ſtew it as they want it. They flea and embowel their veniſon and other meat as the Europeans do, and pull and draw their fowls; but they dreſs their fiſh without gutting or ſcaling; however, they do not eat the guts, as the Europeans do thoſe of woodcocks and larks.

The ſtewed umbles of a deer is a great diſh with them, and the ſoup made thereof much admired. Their deſert conſiſts of dried peaches and other fruits. They eat no kind of ſallads or ſauce with their meats, but boil roots with it, and make it pretty ſavoury with pepper, &c. in the dreſſing. They eat alſo trubs, earth-nuts, wild onions, and a tuberous root called tuckaboe, which grows in boggy grounds and is about the bigneſs of a potatoe, which it reſembles in taſte.

Liquor.

As for liquor, I do not find they drank any thing but water, until the Engliſh taught them better (or rather worſe;) and it is remarkable that though they had a great variety of fine ſprings, they always choſe pond-water, or any other that had been expoſed to the air and ſun, to drink, rather than fountain or well-water. They are now very fond of every kind of ſtrong liquor the Engliſh have, and will be drunk with it as often as they can get it. They ſit drinking, and at their meals, on a mat on the ground, with their legs ſtretched out at length before them, and the cup or diſh between their legs; and for this reaſon ſeldom more than two eat together.

Exerciſes.

As to their exerciſes and diverſions, there are no people more conſtantly employed in hunting, fiſhing, and fowling than the Indians of this country, during the reſpective ſeaſons; but theſe may be looked upon rather as their buſineſs than diverſions, as they ſupply their families with food by theſe means the greateſt part of the year: Their domeſtick diverſions are ſinging, inſtrumental muſick, and dancing; which not differing from the muſick and dancing of the Virginian Indians already deſcribed, I ſhall not weary the reader with the repetition of what has been already ſaid upon that head. The diverſions of the Engliſh both here and in Virginia are chiefly hunting, fiſhing and fowling; ſome uſe ſtalking-horſes, whereby they cover themſelves from the ſight of the deer, until they come within reach of them; others cut down trees for the deer to browze upon, and lie in wait behind them: Others again ſet ſtakes in pits near their fences, where the deer have been uſed to leap over into a field of peas, which they love extremely. Theſe ſtakes they ſo place as to run into the body of the deer when he pitches, by which means they impale him; and for a temptation to the leap, take down the top-part of the fence.

Hunting.

They hunt their hares (which are very numerous) on foot with mungrils or ſwift dogs, which either catch them quickly, or force them to hole in a hollow tree, whither all their hares generally tend when they are cloſely purſued. As ſoon as they are thus holed and have crawled up into the body of the tree, they kindle a fire, and ſmother them with ſmoak, until they let go their hold, and fall to the bottom ſtifled, from whence they take them: If they have a mind to ſpare their lives, upon turning them looſe, they will be as fit as ever to hunt at another time, for the miſchief done them by the ſmoak immediately wears off again.

They have another ſort of hunting which is very diverting, and that they call vermine-hunting. It is performed on foot with ſmall dogs in the night, by the light of the moon or ſtars. Thus in ſummer-time they find abundance of raccoons, opoſſums, and foxes, in the corn-fields, and about their plantations; but at other times they muſt go into the woods for them. The method is to go out with three or four dogs, and as ſoon as they come to the place, they bid the dogs ſeek out, and all the company follow immediately. Wherever a dog barks you may depend upon finding the game, and this alarm draws both men and dogs that way. If this ſport be in the woods, the game by that time you come near it, is perhaps mounted on the top of an high tree, and then they detach a nimble fellow up after it, who muſt have a ſcuffle with the beaſt before he can throw it down to the dogs; and then the ſport increaſes to ſee the vermine encounter thoſe little curs. In this ſort of hunting they carry their great dogs out with them, becauſe wolves, bears, panthers, wild cats, and all other beaſts of prey are abroad in the night.

For wolves they make traps, and ſet guns baited in the woods, ſo that when he offers to ſeize the bait, he pulls the trigger, and the gun diſcharges upon him. They have many pretty devices beſides the gun to take wild turkeys.

Fiſhing.

The Indian invention of weirs in fiſhing is mightily improved by the Engliſh, beſides which they make uſe of ſeins, trolls, caſting-nets, ſetting-nets, hand-fiſhing, and angling; and in each find abundance of diverſion. Like thoſe of the Euxine ſea, they alſo fiſh with ſpilyards, which is a long line ſtaked out in the river, and hung with a great many hooks on ſhort ſtrings, faſtened to the main line about three or four foot aſunder, ſupported by ſtakes, or buoyed with gourds. They uſe likewiſe the Indian way of ſtriking by the light of a fire in the night.

Fowling.

Their fowling is anſwerable to their fiſhing, for plenty of game in its proper ſeaſon. Some plantations have a vaſt variety of it.

Beavers.

The admirable œconomy of the Beavers deſerves to be particularly remembered. They cohabit in one houſe; are incorporated in a regular form of government, ſomething like monarchy; and have over them a ſuperintendent, which the Indians call Pericu: He leads them out to their ſeveral employments, which conſiſts in felling of trees, biting off the branches, and cutting them into certain lengths ſuitable to the buſineſs they deſign them for; all which they perform with their teeth. When this is done, the Pericu orders ſeveral of his ſubjects to join together and take up one of thoſe logs; which they muſt carry to their houſe or damm, as occaſion requires. He walks in ſtate by them all the while, and ſees that every one bears his equal ſhare of the burden while he bites with his teeth and laſhes with his tail thoſe that lag behind, and do not lend all their ſtrength. Their way of carriage is upon their tail. They commonly build their houſes in ſwamps; and then to raiſe the water to a convenient height, they make a damm with logs, and a binding ſort of clay, ſo firm, that though the water runs continually over, it cannot waſh it away. Within theſe damms they will encloſe water enough to make a pool like a mill-pond; and if a mill happen to be built on the ſame ſtream below their damm, the miller in a dry ſeaſon, finds it worth his while to cut it to ſupply his mill with water; upon which diſaſter the beavers are ſo expert at their work, that in one or two nights time they will repair the breach and make it perfectly whole again. Sometimes they build their houſes in a broad marſh, where the tide ebbs and flows, and then they make no damm at all. The doors into their houſes are under water. I have been at the demoliſhing one of theſe houſes, that was found in a marſh, and was ſurpriſed to find it fortified with logs that were ſix foot long and ten inches through, and had been carried at leaſt one hundred and fifty yards: This houſe was three ſtories high, and contained five rooms, that is to ſay, two in the lower, two in the middle ſtory, and but one at the top. Theſe creatures have a great deal of policy, and know how to defeat all the ſubtilty and ſtratagems of the hunter, who ſeldom can meet with them, though they are in great numbers all over the country.

Wild horſes.

They have many horſes foaled in the woods of the up-lands that never were in hand, and are as ſhy as any ſavage creature: Theſe having no mark upon them belong to him that firſt takes them. However the captor commonly purchaſes theſe horſes very dear by ſpoiling better in their purſuit, in which caſe he has little to make himſelf amends, beſides the pleaſure of the chaſe: And very often this is all he has for it, for the wild horſes are ſo ſwift that it is difficult to catch them, and when they are taken, it is odds but their greaſe is melted, or elſe being old they are ſo ſullen that they cannot be tamed.

Diſeaſes and remedies of the Indians.

The diſeaſes of the Indians proceed from heats and colds, and are uſually removed by ſweating; but if the humour fixes, and occaſions a pain in any of their limbs, they endeavour to cure it by burning the part with a live coal; with which having made a ſore, they keep it running until the humour is drawn off.

They alſo ſcarify the part and ſuck the ſore, and ſometimes make uſe of reeds for cauteriſing, which they heat over the fire until they are ready to flame, and then apply them upon a piece of wet leather to the grieved part, which makes the heat more intenſe. As for the reſt of their remedies, I muſt refer the reader to Virginia, and conſider, in the next place, the diſeaſes the Engliſh are ſubject to in this part of the world.

Of the Engliſh.

Diſtempers come not here (ſays my author) by choaking up the ſpirits with a foggy and thick air, as in ſome northern climes, nor by a ſtifling heat, which exhales the vigour of thoſe that dwell in a more ſoutherly latitude, but by a wilful and fooliſh indulging themſelves in thoſe pleaſures which in a warm and fruitful country nature laviſhes upon mankind for their happineſs, and not for their deſtruction.

Thus I have ſeen perſons impatient of heat lie almoſt naked upon the cold graſs in the ſhades, and there often forgetting themſelves fall aſleep; nay, many are ſo imprudent as to do this in an evening, and perhaps lie ſo all night; when between the dew from heaven,

ven, and the damps from the earth, ſuch impreſſions are made upon the humours of their body as occaſion fatal diſtempers.

Thus alſo have I ſeen perſons put into a great heat by exceſſive action, and in the midſt of that heat ſtrip off their cloaths and expoſe their open pores to the air: Nay, I have known ſome mad enough in this hot condition to take huge draughts of cold water, or perhaps of milk and water; which they eſteem much more cold in operation than water alone.

And thus likewiſe have I ſeen ſeveral people (eſpecially new comers) ſo intemperate in devouring the pleaſant fruits, that they have fallen into dangerous fluxes and ſurfeits. Theſe and ſuch like diſorders are the chief occaſion of their diſeaſes.

The firſt ſickneſs that any new comer happens to have there, he unfairly calls a ſeaſoning, be it fever, ague, or any thing elſe that his own folly or exceſſes bring upon him.

Their intermitting-fevers, as well as their agues, are very troubleſome if a fit remedy be not applied; but of late the Doctors there have made uſe of the cortex peruvian with ſucceſs, and find that it ſeldom or never fails to remove the fits. The planters too have ſeveral roots natural to the country, which in this caſe they cry up as infallible; and I have found, by ſeveral examples, a total immerſion in cold ſpring water, juſt at the acceſſion of the fit, an infallible cure.

When theſe damps, colds, and diſorders affect the body more gently, and do not ſeize people violently at firſt, then for want of ſome timely application (the planters abhorring all phyſick, except in deſperate caſes,) theſe ſmall diſorders are ſuffered to go on until they grow into a cachexy, by which the body is over-run with obſtinate ſcorbutick humours: and this in a more fierce and virulent degree I take to be the yaws.

The gripes is a diſtemper of the Caribbee-Iſlands, and not of Virginia or Maryland, and ſeldom gets footing there, and then only upon great provocations, namely, by the intemperances before-mentioned, together with an unreaſonable uſe of filthy and unclean drinks. Perhaps too it may come by new unfine cyder, perry or peach-drink, which the people are impatient to drink before it is ready; or by the exceſſive uſe of lime-juice and foul ſugar in punch and flip; or elſe by the conſtant drinking of uncorrected beer made of ſome windy unwholſome things, as ſome people make uſe of in brewing.

CHAP. V.

CHAP. V.

Of their hiſtory, government, and religion.

Maryland firſt diſcovered. Its name.

VIRGINIA and Maryland were diſcovered anno 1606, by the ſame adventurers, and retained the ſame name until the eighth year of King CHARLES the firſt, anno 1632, when that Prince granted that part of Virginia which lay north of Patowmack river, and was not then planted, unto CECILIUS CALVERT, Lord Baltimore, of the kingdom of Ireland, and his heirs: And this part of the country was afterwards called Maryland, in honour of the then Queen conſort, HENRIETTA-MARIA, youngeſt daughter of the French King, HENRY IV.

Granted to Lord Baltimore.

Planted anno 1663.

The Lord Baltimore having obtained this grant, ſent over his brother, the honourable LEONARD CALVERT, Eſq; with ſeveral Roman Catholick gentlemen and other adventurers, to the number of two hundred, to take poſſeſſion of the country; who ſetting ſail from England on the twenty-ſecond of November, 1633, arrived at Point-Comfort, in the bay of Cheſepeak, on the twenty-fourth of February following; where being kindly received and ſupplied with proviſions by the Engliſh of Virginia, they continued the voyage northward to the river Patowmack, appointed to be the boundary between Virginia and Maryland, on the weſt ſide of the bay.

The adventurers ſailed up this river, and landing in ſeveral places on the northern ſhore, acquainted the natives they were come to ſettle among them and trade with them; but the natives ſeemed rather to deſire their abſence than their company. However, there were no acts of hoſtility committed on either ſide, and the Engliſh returning down the river patowmack again, made choice of a place near the mouth of a river (which falls into it, and by them called St. George's River) to plant the firſt colony. They advanced afterwards to an Indian town, called Yoamaco, then the capital of the country, and at a conference with the Weroance or ſovereign of the place, to whom they made conſiderable preſents, the Weroance conſented that the Engliſh ſhould dwell in one part of the town, reſerving the other for his own people till the harveſt was over; and then agreed to quit the whole entirely to the Engliſh, and retire further into the country, which they did accordingly; and the following March Mr. CALVERT and the planters were left in the quiet poſſeſſion of the whole town, to which they gave the name of St. Mary's; and it was agreed on both ſides, that if any wrong was done by either party, the nation offending ſhould make full ſatisfaction for the injury. The reaſon the Yoamaco Indians were ſo ready to enter into a treaty with the Engliſh, and yield them part of their country, was in hopes of obtaining their protection and aſſiſtance againſt the Saſquahannah Indians, their northern neighbours, with whom they were then at war, and indeed the Yoamaco Indians were upon the point of abandoning their country to avoid the fury of the Saſquahannah nation before the Engliſh arrived; from whence it appears, that the adventurers ſent over by the Lord Baltimore cannot be charged with any injuſtice in ſettling themſelves in this part,

St. Mary's the firſt town poſſeſſed by the Engliſh.

part of America, being invited to it by the original inhabitants.

Miſunderſtanding between the Engliſh and the Indians.

The Engliſh being thus ſettled at St. Mary's, applied themſelves with great diligence to cultivating the ground, and raiſed large quantities of Indian Corn, while the natives went every day into the woods to hunt for game, bringing home Veniſon and Turkies to the Engliſh colony in abundance, for which they received knives, tools and toys in return. And thus both nations lived in the greateſt friendſhip, doing good offices to each other, till ſome of the Engliſh in Virginia, envious of the happineſs of this thriving colony, ſuggeſted to the Indians that theſe ſtrangers were not really Engliſh, as they pretended, but Spaniards; and would infallibly enſlave them, as they had done many of their countrymen: And the Indians were ſo credulous as to believe it, and appeared jealous of Mr. Calvert, making preparations as if they intended to fall upon the ſtrangers; which the Engliſh perceiving, ſtood upon their guard, and erected a fort for their ſecurity, on which they planted ſeveral pieces of ordinance, at the firing whereof the Yoamaco's were ſo terrified that they abandoned their country without any other compulſion, and left the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of it; who receiving ſupplies and reinforcements continually from England, and having no other enemy to contend with than agues and fevers (which ſwept off ſome of them before they found out a proper regimen for the climate) they ſoon became a flouriſhing people, many Roman Catholick families of quality and fortune tranſporting themſelves hither to avoid the penal laws made againſt them in England; and Maryland has been a place of refuge for thoſe of that perſuaſion from that day to this.

The Indians abandon their country to the Engliſh.

During the grand rebellion in England, the Lord Baltimore's family were deprived of the government of this province, but were reſtored to their right by King Charles II. ſoon after his own reſtoration. Whereupon the Lord Baltimore ſent over his ſon, Charles Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, to be Governor of Maryland, who continued in that poſt upwards of twenty years (long after his father's death,) by whoſe prudence the colony became almoſt as conſiderable as Virginia for its Tobacco and other products of the ſoil: And all the Indian nations on that ſide put themſelves under their protection. The Indian Chiefs were appointed, or at leaſt approved and confirmed in their commands by the Lord Baltimore, the proprietor, whoſe ſucceſs is to be aſcribed in great meaſure to the endeavours he uſed to cultivate a good correſpondence with the Indian nations, and to give them as little offence as poſſible. I can't learn that this colony was ever in a ſtate of war with the natives, or ever received any injury from them, unleſs in the year 1677; when the Indians being at war with the Engliſh of Virginia, plundered the frontiers of Maryland, and half a dozen people loſt their lives: But this proceeded from a miſtake; peace was ſoon reſtored upon the Indians making ſatisfaction for the outrage.

The crown appoints a Governor.

At the revolution the Lord Baltimore was deprived of the power of appointing a Governor and other Officers, and the government of that province fell under the ſame regulation as other plantations which are immediately ſubject to the crown. The Baltimore family alſo were in danger of loſing their propriety on account of their religion, by the act which requires all Roman Catholick heirs to profeſs the proteſtant religion, on pain of being deprived of their eſtates: But that prudent family thought fit to profeſs the proteſtant religion rather than loſe their inheritance; and the preſent Lord Baltimore is now both proprietor and Governor of Maryland, being one of the nobleſt eſtates enjoyed by a ſubject of Britain; for he is ſtill entitled to a duty on every hogſhead of Tobacco exported, enjoys ſeveral fair manours, which may be ſtiled his demeſne lands, and has a rent paid him by every planter, beſides other perquiſites.

Aſſembly.

The Governor, however, as has been already obſerved, is now appointed by the crown, as are alſo the members of the council. The aſſembly is choſen by the freeholders of the reſpective counties, as in Virginia; and in the Governor, council and aſſembly, the legiſlative power is lodged. The Governor has a negative as the King has in England, and their acts muſt be confirmed by the King: However, they are in force till the King diſapproves of them.

Courts.

Their Provincial-courts are held once every quarter in the capital town of Annapolis, which determine common-law cauſes of conſequence in the firſt inſtance, and on writs of error other cauſes brought from the inferior County-courts; and there is a court of chancery, which gives relief in equity, as in England.

Among the Laws of Maryland, we meet with theſe that follow.

Laws of Maryland.

The parties bringing appeals or writs of error in the provincial court from the County-courts, are required to give ſecurity to pay the coſts and damages in caſe the cauſe goes againſt them.

No Perſon ſhall bring a writ of error or appeal from the County-court, where the debt or damage does not amount to ſix Pounds ſterling; nor from the Provincial-court to the Governor and council, where it does not exceed fifty Pounds; but the judgments of thoſe courts in ſuch caſes ſhall be final.

None ſhall appeal from the Governor and council to the King and council in England, unleſs the thing in diſpute be of the value of three hundred Pounds ſterling.

Burgeſſes.

Every Elector of Burgeſſes for the general-aſſembly ſhall have fifty acres of freehold land in the county, or a viſible eſtate of the value of forty Pounds ſterling. Four members ſhall be choſen to repreſent each county: Two citizens ſhall ſerve for the city of St. Mary's, and two for Annapolis, and every other town and borough privileged to ſend members to the general aſſembly.

No Perſon keeping a publick houſe is qualified to be a repreſentative.

Members ſhall be allowed one hundred and forty pounds of Tobacco per diem for their wages, beſides travelling charges.

The ſame allowance ſhall be made to every Commiſſioner or Judge of the provincial court during his attendance on that court, and eighty pounds of Tobacco per diem to the Judge of every County-court. But the latter part of this ſtatute for allowing ſalaries to the Judges of the Provincial and County-courts was afterwards repealed.

Blaſphemy.

Any perſon that ſhall blaſpheme, or curſe God, deny our Saviour to be the Son of God, deny the

the Trinity of the Godhead of any of the three Perſons, or the unity of the Godhead, or ſhall utter any reproachful words againſt any of the three Perſons, ſhall be bored through the Tongue, and fined twenty Pounds ſterling for the firſt offence, forty Pounds for the ſecond offence, and ſuffer death and confiſcation of goods for the third offence.

Fornication.
Adultery.

The penalty for fornication is twenty Shillings ſterling, or corporal puniſhment, not exceeding thirty-nine laſhes, at the diſcretion of the court. And the puniſhment for adultery forty Shillings, or corporal puniſhment as aforeſaid.

Perſons who harbour ſuch lewd people are liable to the ſame penalties.

Curſing and ſwearing.

The penalty of curſing and ſwearing is five Shillings ſterling; and if the offence be committed in a court of juſtice ten Shillings.

Schools.

Free-Schools were erected and endowed in ſeveral towns in Maryland for teaching latin and greek, by an act of aſſembly, anno 1696.

Engliſh ſtatute-book.

The Engliſh ſtatutes or acts of parliament, with DALTON's Juſtice of peace, were ordered to be provided by the Juſtices of peace of every county in Maryland, by an act of aſſembly, anno 1699.

Evidence.

Proof of bills, bonds, or other ſpecialties, book-debts or accounts, may be made before two Juſtices of peace of any county, or one of the Juſtices of the provincial court; and the balance due upon ſuch account, being certified under the hands and ſeals of ſuch Juſtices, ſhall be deemed ſufficient evidence in any court within the province.

Annapolis the capital.

The port of Annapolis in Anne Arundel County, was made the chief ſeat of juſtice within the province, for holding aſſemblies and provincial courts, by an act of aſſembly paſſed 11. W. III. anno 1699.

Conveyances.

It was enacted by their aſſembly 11 W. III. 1699, That no lands or tenements ſhould be alienated or transferred from one to another, but by deed, indented and enrolled in the Provincial-court, or County-court where ſuch lands, &c. lie.

Executions.

Neceſſary Corn for the defendant's maintenance, his gun, bedding, tools, and ſuch like, ſhall be protected from executions.

Limitations of actions.

No bonds or obligations under hand and ſeal ſhall be ſuable, unleſs renewed within five years.

Debts.

No perſon ſhall depart the province, unleſs he ſet up his name three months at the Secretary's office before his departure, or give ſecurity to the government to pay his debts.

Every maſter of a ſhip, or other perſon, tranſporting or conveying away any perſon out of the province without a certificate of his having complied with this law, is made liable to pay his debts: And if he convey away any ſervant, he ſhall be liable to ſatisfy the owner for his damages.

Theft.

The Juſtices of the ſeveral County-courts are made Judges of all thefts under the value of one thouſand pounds of Tobacco (robbery, burglary, and houſe-breaking excepted.)

Every perſon convicted of ſuch theft ſhall pay fourfold the value of the goods ſtoln, to the owner, and be put in the pillory, and whipped, as the court ſhall adjudge, not exceeding forty ſtripes. If the offender be not able to ſatisfy the owner otherwiſe, he ſhall receive the ſaid corporal puniſhment, and pay the ſaid penalty of four-fold retribution by ſervitude, the time thereof being determined by the court; and the receiver of ſuch ſtoln goods is made liable to the like penalties as the thief.

Wild cattle.

No Perſon ſhall range in the woods after wild neat cattle, or Horſes, without the Governor's licence, on pain of forfeiting five thouſand pounds of Tobacco for every ſuch wild animal killed or taken. Nor ſhall any perſon cut off the ear of a Hog, taken in the woods, on pain of being adjudged a Hog-ſtealer.

Fences.

All fences for incloſing corn-ground ſhall be five foot high at leaſt, and ſtrongly made; and if any cattle break into ſuch fence, the owner of the cattle ſhall forfeit five hundred pounds of Tobacco, or ſuch further damages as a Juſtice of peace ſhall award.

Convicts prohibited to be imported.

No maſter of a ſhip, or merchant, ſhall import a convicted felon into Maryland, on pain of forfeiting the value of two thouſand lb. of Tobacco.

Indians.

Whoever ſhall take, entice away, or ſell any friend Indian without licence, ſhall be fined and impriſoned at diſcretion.

In the year 1698, part of Dorcheſter County was aſſigned to the natives; to hold the ſame of the Lord Proprietor, under the rent of one Beaver ſkin.

By an act, 11 W. III. 1699, The carrying ſtrong liquors to the Indian Towns was prohibited.

By 12 W. III. anno 1700, Certain perſons were authoriſed by the government to determine all differences between the Engliſh and Indians.

Enacted 11 W. III. 1699, That the libraries in every pariſh ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the Miniſter; who ſhould preſerve them, and be accountable for the books.

Marriages.

Enacted 4 W. & M. 1692, That the perſons intending to marry ſhall apply themſelves to the Miniſter or Magiſtrate, and banns ſhall be publiſhed in the Church, County-court, or meeting-houſe next to which the parties dwell; and upon a certificate thereof the Miniſter or Magiſtrate may, three weeks after ſuch banns publiſhed, join the parties in marriage, according to the liturgy of the Church of England: And no perſon ſhall contract marriage without ſuch publication on pain of forfeiting one thouſand lb. of Tobacco, and the Miniſter or Magiſtrate joining them in marriage five thouſand lb. of Tobacco: And all marriages not made by ſome Miniſter or Magiſtrate, before five ſufficient witneſſes at leaſt, ſhall be void: The fees for marriage being reſtrained to one hundred lb. of Tobacco.

Militia.

The Colonels and other Officers of the militia in every county are impower'd to enliſt all perſons to ſerve in the horſe or foot from ſixteen to ſixty (except Negroes and ſlaves;) who are obliged to muſter in their reſpective counties from time to time, at ſuch places as the Governor ſhall appoint, and to bring their own arms and Horſes, and maintain themſelves during ſuch muſter. But if they are ſent on actual ſervice, their arms, &c. are to be provided them out of the publick magazines, and they are to be regularly paid by the reſpective counties they belong to: And Preſs-maſters are appointed in every county to preſs proviſions for the troops.

The priſoners and plunder to be equally divided among the ſoldiery; and Troopers loſing their Horſes to have others bought them at the publick charge.

Any Soldier being wounded to be provided for by the publick, as alſo the wives and children of ſuch as are killed in the ſervice.

Negroes.

The baptized Negroes ſhall not alter their condition as to ſervitude.

Conſtables.

Juſtices of peace in each county are impowered to appoint Conſtables in every pariſh.

Publick houſes.

Inns and publick houſes are to be licenſed by the Commiſſioners of each county; who may aſcertain the price they ſhall take for their liquor, beds, proviſions, and provender; and may ſuppreſs them if diſorderly.

The landlord obliged to credit every freeholder as far as the value of four hundred lb. of Tobacco.

Perjury.

The penalty of perjury twenty Pounds ſterling, and ſix months impriſonment; and in default of paying the penalty, the offender to be ſet in the pillory, and his ears nailed to it.

Enemies.

By 11 W. III. 1699, It was made felony to ſerve any foreign Prince or ſtate againſt any other Prince or ſtate in amity with Great-Britain.

Trials.

And that treaſons, felonies, pyracies, or robberies committed at ſea, ſhould be tried in the ſame manner as ſuch offences committed on ſhore; the Commiſſioners or Judges to proceed according to the Engliſh ſtatute of 28 H. VIII. c. 15.

Small debts.

No County-court ſhall take cognizance of any action where the debt or damage does not exceed the value of two hundred lb. of Tobacco, or ſixteen Shillings and eight Pence ſterling; but ſuch cauſes ſhall be determined by any one Juſtice of peace of the county where the debtor ſhall reſide without fee.

Chancery.

The Court of Chancery ſhall not hear any cauſe where the original debt or damage does not amount to the value of twelve hundred lb. of Tobacco, or five Pounds ſterling and upwards; but the judgments of the County-courts in ſuch caſes ſhall be final.

Acts of aſſembly.

All acts of aſſembly are required to be publiſhed by the Sheriffs in the reſpective counties.

Common-prayer.

By 12 W. III. 1700, the book of common-prayer was required to be read in all the churches of Maryland.

Clergy.

For the encouragement of the clergy a tax of forty lb. of Tobacco per head was enacted to be levyed and paid to the Miniſters of the reſpective pariſhes.

Marriage.

Enacted, that none ſhould marry within the degrees prohibited.

No Juſtice of peace or Magiſtrate ſhall marry people in any pariſh where there is a clergyman reſident.

Veſtries.

The veſtry-men of each pariſh are incorporated and impower'd to receive for pious uſes, and the benefit of each church and pariſh, all lands, tenements, goods and chattels granted or bequeathed to them. The Miniſter of the pariſh to preſide in the veſtry.

Pluralities.

No Miniſter ſhall hold more than two pariſhes, and ſhall have the licence of the Governor and the two veſtries for this.

Readers.

Where there is no Miniſter in any pariſh the veſtry may provide a Reader, allowing him a ſalary out of the forty Pounds per poll, not exceeding half the revenue of a Miniſter: And ſuch Readers are allowed to read divine ſervice out of the common-prayer-book, and read the homilies.

Servants and ſlaves.

No ſervant or ſlave ſhall travel more than ten miles from his maſter's houſe without a note from his maſter or his overſeer, on pain of being deemed a runaway; and ſuch ſervant abſenting himſelf ſhall ſerve ten days for every day he is abſent.

Paſſes.

Any perſon travelling out of his county without a paſs under the county-ſeal, and not being known or able to give a good account of himſelf, ſhall be deemed a runaway and carried before the next Magiſtrate; who ſhall commit him to ſafe cuſtody, and give notice to his maſter or miſtreſs, if it appear he have any; or elſe cauſe the name and deſcription of ſuch a runaway to be ſet up in the next County-courts, that it may be diſcovered to whom he belongs.

Servants.

Every ſervant, at the expiration of his time, ſhall have a new ſuit of cloaths, two hoes, an ax, a gun, and three barrels of Indian Corn given him by his maſter.

No perſon ſhall barter goods, or traffick with any ſervant or ſlave without the maſter's leave.

If any ſervant ſhall be denied ſufficient meat, drink, lodging, or cloathing, or ſhall be overworked or debarred of his natural reſt, the County-court may fine ſuch maſter; and for the third offence ſet the wronged perſon at liberty.

Baſtards.

If any white woman ſuffer herſelf to be got with child by a Negroe, ſhe ſhall become a ſervant for ſeven years; and if ſhe be then a ſervant, ſhe ſhall ſerve ſeven years beyond her time. If the Negroe who got the child be free, he ſhall ſerve ſeven years; and their iſſue ſhall be ſervants until they arrive at thirty one years of age.

And if a white man get a Negroe woman with child he ſhall undergo the ſame puniſhment as a white woman got with child by a Negroe.

If a white woman ſervant have a baſtard, and cannot prove who is the father, ſhe ſhall ſatisfy the damage to her maſter by further ſervitude; and if ſhe do produce the father he ſhall ſatisfy the damage, if free; and if a ſervant half the damage: And if the father be a ſingle perſon and promiſed the maid marriage before he lay with her, he ſhall be at liberty to perform his promiſe, or make ſatisfaction otherwiſe.

Sundays.

No perſon ſhall work or uſe any ſports on Sundays, or ſuffer his ſervants to work, &c. on that day (works of neceſſity excepted) on pain of forfeiting two thouſand lb. of Tobacco for every offence.

No publick houſe ſhall ſell ſtrong liquor on Sundays, or ſuffer tipling, gaming, or other paſtime, on pain of forfeiting one hundred lb. of Tobacco.

A Duty on ſervants.

For Iriſh ſervants or Negroes imported, a duty of twenty Shillings ſterling per head was given by an act of 11 W. III. 1699, and a duty of three Pence per gallon on rum and wine imported.

Liſts of taxable perſons.

Every Conſtable ſhall annually on the 20th of June require of every maſter and miſtreſs a liſt of all taxable perſons in their reſpective families, and ſend one copy thereof to the Sheriff and another to the County-court.

All male children born and reſident in this province, (being above ſixteen years of age) all male ſervants of ſixteen imported, all ſlaves male and female, imported of ſixteen years of age, and all freemen (except clergymen and poor people that receive alms) ſhall be deemed taxable.

Weights and meaſures.

Weights and meaſures are enacted to be the ſame as in England.

Diſtribution of inteſtates eſtates.

Upon a man's dying inteſtate, one third of his perſonal eſtate goes to his widow, and the other two to his children; and if he has no children, to the neareſt relations of the inteſtate.

Orphans.

And the Juſtices of the reſpective counties are empowered to take care of all orphans, with their eſtates and effects until of age, every male orphan being deemed of age at one and twenty, and every female at ſixteen, or day of marriage, which ſhall firſt happen; and it was provided that no orphan ſhould be put into the hands of a perſon of a different religion from that of his parents.

The Juſtices of the County-courts ſhall annually enquire by a jury, how orphans are maintained and educated; and if they are apprentices, how they are uſed and inſtructed; and if they find any abuſe or neglect, to redreſs the ſame.

N. B. The Governors of Maryland have endeavoured from time to time to make their laws reſemble thoſe of England as near as poſſible; and they have alſo unhappily introduced moſt of the niceties in pleading and dilatory proceedings of our courts of law and equity; which their neighbours of Virginia have wiſely provided againſt, and retrenched all exorbitant fees; ſo that juſtice is adminiſtered in that province with much more ſpeed and leſs charge than it is in this.

Mr. Jones, who reſided a conſiderable time in Maryland, treating of their religion and government, expreſſes himſelf in the following manner:

Jones's obſervations.

We are governed (ſays that gentleman) by the ſame laws as in England, only ſome acts of aſſembly we have relating to ſome particular caſes, not under the verge of the Engliſh laws, or where the laws of England do not aptly provide for ſome circumſtances, under which our way of living hath put us. The Church of England (God be praiſed) is pretty firmly eſtabliſhed amongſt us. Churches are built, and there is an annual ſtipend allowed for every Miniſter by a perpetual law, which is more or leſs, according to the number of taxables in each pariſh; every Chriſtian male ſixteen years old, and Negroes male and female above that age, pay forty lb. of Tobacco to the Miniſter, which is levied by the Sheriff among other publick levies; which makes the revenues of the Miniſters, one with another, about twenty thouſand lb. of Tobacco, or one hundred Pounds ſterling per annum. It hath been the unhappineſs of this country, that they had no proteſtant Miniſters hardly among them, till Governor Nicholſon's time, but now and then an itinerant preacher, of very looſe morals, and ſcandalous behaviour; ſo that what with ſuch mens ill examples, the Romiſh Prieſts cunning, and the Quakers bigotry, religion was in a manner turned out of doors: But (God be praiſed) things now ſtand better, and our churches are crowded as full as they can hold, and the people are pretty ſenſible of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and the Quakers madneſs; ſo that their parties both joined together are very inconſiderable to what ours is. Indeed the Quakers ſtruggle hard to maintain their footing, and their teachers (eſpecially the female ſex, who are the moſt zealous) are very free of their taunts and contumelies againſt us; but it is to little purpoſe, unleſs to make their own way more ridiculous.

We have not yet found the way of aſſociating ourſelves in towns and corporations. There are indeed ſeveral places allotted for towns, but hitherto they are only titular ones, except Annapolis, where the Governor reſides. Governor Nicholſon did his endeavour to make a town of that, and there are in it above forty dwelling houſes, ſeven or eight whereof afford good lodging and accommodation for ſtrangers. There is alſo a State-houſe, a church, and a free-ſchool built with brick, which make a great ſhow among a parcel of wooden houſes; but their buildings are much improved ſince Mr. Jones wrote.

As for our predeceſſors, the Indian inhabitants, I cannot give you any further account of them than this, viz. That whereas at the firſt ſeating of Maryland there were ſeveral nations of Indians in the country governed by ſeveral petty Kings, I do not think that there are now five hundred fighting men of them in the province, and thoſe are more on the eaſtern ſhore than on the weſt. Here they have two or three little towns, and ſome of them come over to the weſt in winter time to hunt for Deer; being generally employed by the Engliſh. Theſe Indians take delight in nothing elſe, and it is rare that any of them will embrace our way of living and worſhip. The cauſe of their diminiſhing proceeded not from any wars with the Engliſh, for we have had none with them, but from their own perpetual diſcords and wars among themſelves: And their drinking and other vices which the Engliſh taught them probably may have deſtroyed many more.

I ſhall conclude the ſtate of Maryland with a late account Mr. Jones has given us of the college erected at Williamſtadt in Virginia, which was built for the education of the youth of Maryland as well as thoſe of Virginia.

A further account of the college for the education of the Engliſh and Indians.

The royal foundation of William and Mary college, erected with a proſpect of doing the greateſt good to the colonies of Virginia and Maryland, and ſeconded with the ample benefactions of the honourable Mr. Boyle, and the contributions of the country, had many difficulties to ſtruggle with in its infancy: And two ſides of the quadrangle were no ſooner finiſhed but it was laid in aſhes by a terrible fire, that could not be extinguiſhed until the whole fabrick was conſumed. And tho' it was afterwards rebuilt and much improved, it has not anſwered the expectations that were conceived of it; for it was ſtill (when Mr. Jones wrote, being about twelve years ſince) without a ſcholarſhip, without a ſtatute, and without a chapel, and very few books in the library.

The Indians upon Mr. Boyle's foundation have indeed a handſome apartment for themſelves and their maſter, built near the college; which uſeful contrivance ought to be carried on to the utmoſt advantage in the real education and converſion of the Infidels; for hitherto but little good has been done therein, though abundance of money has been laid out, and a great many endeavours have been uſed, and much pains taken for that purpoſe.

The young Indians procured from the tributary or foreign nations with much difficulty, were formerly boarded and lodged in the town, where abundance of them uſed to die, either through ſickneſs, change of proviſion and way of life; or, as ſome will have it, often for want of proper neceſſaries, and due care taken of them: Thoſe of them that have eſcaped well, and been taught to read and write, have, for the moſt part, returned to their homes, ſome with, and ſome without baptiſm; where they followed their own ſavage cuſtoms and heatheniſh rites.

A few of them have lived as ſervants among the Engliſh, or loitered and idled away their time in lazineſs and miſchief.

But it is great pity that more care is not taken about them after they are diſmiſſed from ſchool.

They have admirable capacities when their humours and tempers are perfectly underſtood; and if well taught, they might advance themſelves, and do great good in the ſervice of religion; whereas now they are rather taught to become worſe than better, by falling into the worſt practices of vile nominal Chriſtians, which they add to their own Indian manners and abſurd cuſtoms.

It is unneceſſary to dwell longer on the ſtate of Maryland, having ſo largely deſcribed that of Virginia, where the climate and ſoil are the ſame; the government, manners, religion and cuſtoms of the Indians the ſame; and the European Inhabitants differing but little from thoſe of Virginia in their laws and cuſtoms; as the reader will obſerve on comparing the aboveſaid abſtracts that have been given of the laws of the reſpective countries. I proceed therefore now to the deſcription of New-England.

THE PRESENT STATE OF NEW-ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

Of the name, ſituation, extent and face of the country. Of its ſeas, bays, capes, lakes, ſprings and rivers; and of the tides, winds, air and ſeaſons.

CHAP. I.

UNDER the general title of New-England are comprehended the ſeveral colonies or governments of 1. The Maſſachuſets. 2. New Hampſhire. 3. Connecticut. and, 4. Rhode Iſland, and Providence Plantation.

Name.
Situation.
Extent.

This country received the name of New-England from prince CHARLES, afterwards King CHARLES I. and is ſituated between 41 and 45 degrees of north latitude; and between 67 and 73 degrees of weſtern longitude; being bounded by Canada on the north-weſt, by Nova Scotia on the north-eaſt, by the Atlantick Ocean on the eaſt and ſouth, and by the province of New-York on the weſt; and as it ſtretches along the ſaid ocean from the ſouth-weſt to the north-weſt, is upwards of three hundred miles in length, and from one hundred to two hundred miles in breadth.

Face of the country.

This like other uncultivated countries was one great foreſt, covered with excellent timber when the Engliſh firſt viſited theſe ſhores: The land next the Sea being generally low, and intermixed with a great many ſwamps or moraſſes, on which there grew under-wood and buſhes; but farther up in the country the land riſes into hills, and on the north-eaſt is rocky and mountainous.

Sea.
Bays.

The Atlantick Ocean waſhes the ſhores on the eaſt and ſouth, and there are ſeveral good bays and harbours on the coaſt, particularly thoſe formed by Plymouth, Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantation on the ſouth; Monument Bay to the eaſtward of theſe in Barnſtaple-County; Weſt-Harbour, formed by the bending of the coaſt at Cape Cod; the harbour of Boſton, which will be particularly deſcribed in treating of that capital; Caſco Bay farther northward, with ſeveral others of leſs note, which will be found in the map of the Britiſh Plantations; ſeveral of theſe are capable of receiving the largeſt fleets.

Capes.

The moſt remarkable capes going from ſouth to north are, 1. that of Cape Cod. 2. Marble Head. 3. Cape Anne. 4. Cape Netick. 5. Cape Porpus. 6. Cape Elizabeth; and 7. Cape Small-point.

Springs.
Rivers.
Connecticut.
Thames.
Patuxet.
Merimack.
Piſcataway.
Saco.
Caſco.
Saghedock.
Kenebeck.
Penobſcot.
Tides.
Winds.

The country is generally well watered with ſprings and rivulets, and there are ſome lakes, but not of that magnitude as thoſe which lie north and weſt of this country. The principal rivers are, 1. that of Connecticut, which riſing north of New-England runs almoſt directly ſouth, and having divided the province of Connecticut in two parts, falls into the ſea between the towns of Saybroke and Lime, almoſt over-againſt the eaſt-end of Long Iſland; this river is navigable with large veſſels a great way. 2. The Thames, which riſing in ſome lake north of the Maſſachuſets, runs alſo directly ſouth, falling into the ſea below New London, and to the eaſtward of the river Connecticut. 3. The river Patuxet, which riſing in the north-weſt of the Maſſachuſets country, runs to the ſouth-eaſt thro' Providence Plantation, falling into a bay of the ſea near the town of Swanſey. 4. The great river Merimack, which riſing north of New-England alſo runs to the ſouthward, forming a lake on the weſt of New Hampſhire, from whence continuing its courſe ſouth to 43 degrees of latitude, then turns about to the eaſt, falling into the ſea between Saliſbury and Newbury in the county of Eſſex. 5. The river Piſcataway, which runs from weſt to eaſt, and falls into the ſea near the town of Portſmouth in Hampſhire; the mouth of which is more like an arm of the ſea than a river, and is capable of receiving the largeſt ſhips. 6. The river Saco, which riſing north of New-England takes its courſe to the ſouth, falling into the ſea between Cape Porpus and Cape Elizabeth in the province of Maine. 7. The river Caſco, which runs parallel to the river Saco, and falls into Caſco Bay. To the eaſtward of theſe are the rivers Saghedock, Kenebeck, Penobſcot, and many more conſiderable ſtreams, which riſing far to the north run almoſt due ſouth, falling into the ocean to the eaſtward of Caſco Bay; but this part of the country being but ſlenderly inhabited and little reſorted to, I meet with no further deſcription of them. The tides on theſe ſhores ebb and flow regularly, riſing uſually nine or ten foot in the bays and mouths of rivers. Their winds are variable as with us, and very boiſterous in the winter ſeaſon: The north and north-weſt winds are exceeding cold, blowing over a long tract of frozen countries, Seaſons.

tries. Their winters are much ſeverer, and ſome months longer than ours, tho' they lie nine or ten degrees nearer the ſun than we do; however, their heaven is uſually brighter, and the weather more ſettled than in England both in winter and ſummer; and the ſummer, though ſhorter than in England, is a great deal hotter whilſt it laſts; however, the climate is eſteemed as healthful and agreeable to Engliſh conſtitutions as any of our plantations on the continent.

CHAP. II.

Of the provinces and ſub-diviſions of this country, generally known by the name of New-England; and of its chief towns, and publick and private buildings.

CHAP. II.

Indian kingdoms.

WHEN the Engliſh arrived here, they found this country inhabited by upwards of twenty different nations or tribes, commanded by their reſpective Chiefs, the territories of ſeveral of them not exceeding five and twenty or thirty miles in circumference. Of theſe the moſt powerful were,

The Maſſachuſets.

1. The Maſſachuſets, whoſe country comprehended the counties of Suffolk and Middleſex, and ſtill a part of the Maſſachuſets colony.

Neumkeaks.

2. The Neumkeaks, who inhabited that part of the Maſſachuſet Country which now goes by the name of the county of Eſſex.

Narraganſets.

3. The Narraganſets, whoſe habitations were in the county of New London, eaſt of the river Connecticut.

Pocaſſets.

4. The Pocaſſets; this people dwelt to the ſouthward of the Maſſachuſets in the county now called New Plymouth.

Pequots.

5. The Pequots, who inhabited another part of Connecticut.

Wompanoags.

6. The Wompanoags, who inhabited the country now called New Briſtol.

Moratiggons.

7. The Moratiggons, ſeated to the weſtward of the Wompanoags.

Patuxets.

8. The Patuxets, ſeated upon the river which ſtill bears that name.

Maquas.

9. The Maquas, who lived to the weſtward of Connecticut River.

Manimoys.

10. The Manimoys, who inhabited Barnſtaple County.

Nicanticks.

11. The Nicanticks, Mattachieſts and Namaſkets, ſituated ſouth-weſt of Merimack River: And,

Marchicans and Sequems.

12. The Marchicans and Sequems, who were ſeated in New Hampſhire.

Engliſh colonies firſt erected.

The firſt four colonies eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh in this country were, 1. The Maſſachuſets. 2. New Plymouth. 3. Connecticut; and, 4. New Haven: Afterwards three more were added, viz. 5. The province of Maine. 6. New Hampſhire; and, 7. Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantation.

The preſent diviſions of the country.

Theſe ſeven colonies have ſince been reduced to four, 1. The provinces of the Maſſachuſets, New Plymouth and Maine, are now included in one charter and ſubject to the ſame government. 2. New Hampſhire is at this day a ſeparate government. 3. Connecticut and New Haven are now included in one charter; and, 4. Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantation have a diſtinct charter, and are a colony independent of any of the former; the occaſion of which alterations will appear in the chapter aſſigned to treat of the hiſtory of this country.

I proceed in the next place to deſcribe the ſituation and boundaries of the preſent larger ſubdiviſions, and to enumerate the counties and chief towns comprehended in each of theſe diviſions.

Maſſachuſet Colony.

1. The Maſſachuſet colony, which at this day includes the following grand ſubdiviſions; viz. 1. That of Maſſachuſet Proper. 2. New-Plymouth. and, 3. That of Maine.

Counties. Suffolk. Middleſex. Eſſex. Chief towns.

1. Maſſachuſet Proper is bounded by New-Hampſhire towards the north, by the Maſſachuſet Bay on the eaſt, by Plymouth and Connecticut on the ſouth, and by the province of New-York on the weſt, containing the counties of Suffolk, Middleſex, and Eſſex, all of them ſituated on the Maſſachuſet Bay, of which Suffolk is the moſt ſoutherly, comprehending the towns of, 1 Boſton the capital of the province. 2. Braintree. 3. Dedham. 4. Dorcheſter. 5. Hingham. 6. Hull. 7. Medfield. 8. Mendon. 9. Milton. 10. Roxborough. 11. Weymouth. 12. Woodſtock. 13 Wrentham. 14. Brooklin; and 15. Needham.

Boſton.

Boſton, the capital of New-England, according to Mr. NEALE, is ſituated in 42 degrees 24 minutes north latitude, and 71 degrees of weſtern longitude, making London the firſt meridian. It ſtands in a peninſula about four miles in circumference, at the bottom of a fine bay of the ſea, at the entrance whereof are ſeveral rocks, which appear above water, and above a dozen ſmall iſlands, ſome of which are inhabited. There is but one ſafe chanel to approach the harbour, and that ſo narrow that three ſhips can ſcarce ſail through a-breaſt; but within the harbour there is room enough for five hundred ſail to lie at anchor. The entrance is defended by the caſtle of Fort William, on which are one hundred guns mounted, twenty of which lie on a platform level with the water; ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible for an enemy to paſs the caſtle: And to prevent ſurprize, they have a guard placed on one of the rocks, about two leagues diſtant, on which alſo there ſtands a light-houſe, from whence they make ſignals to the caſtle when any ſhips come in ſight. There is alſo a battery of great guns at each end of the town, which command the harbour, to the fire whereof an enemy would be expoſed if he ſhould be ſo fortunate to paſs the caſtle.

At the bottom of the bay there is a pier near two thouſand feet in length, with warehouſes for the Merchants on the north ſide of it; and ſhips of the greateſt burden may come up cloſe to the pier and unload without the help of boats.

The ſame writer adds, that the town of Boſton lies in the form of a creſcent about the harbour, the country beyond riſing gradually, and affording a moſt delightful proſpect from the ſea: That there are ſeveral ſtreets not much inferior to the beſt in London, the chief of which runs from the pier up to their town-houſe or guild-hall; a handſome building, where are walks for the Merchants, as on the exchange; and here alſo are the council-chamber, the houſe of repreſentatives, and their courts of juſtice; the exchange being ſurrounded with bookſellers ſhops, who have trade enough to employ five printing preſſes here. There are ten churches of all denominations, of which ſix are Independents, the moſt prevailing party in New-England: And the number of ſouls in the towns may be about fourteen or fifteen thouſand. The epiſcopal church is handſomely built and adorned, and the congregation ſaid to be about a thouſand in number: Their church-plate and ſome pieces of painting were given them by King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, and their organ by THOMAS BRATTEL, Eſq; there is alſo in this Church a magnificent ſeat for the Governor, who comes hither, I preſume, when he happens to be of the Church of England.

Mr. NEAL obſerves further, that Boſton is the moſt flouriſhing town of trade in Engliſh-America; and that three or four hundred ſail of ſhips, brigantines, and other veſſels, are annually loaded here with lumber, beef, pork, fiſh, and other proviſions for Europe or the American Iſlands: That their Merchants and tradeſmen are a polite people, many of them having travelled into Europe, or converſed with foreigners of ſeveral nations at home: That their houſes are as elegantly furniſhed, and their tables as well ſerved as thoſe of the Merchants and tradeſmen in London; all manner of proviſions being as plentiful as in any town in Old-England.

Mr. DUMMER's deſcription of Boſton agrees with Mr. NEAL's as to the fortifications, but is ſomething more particular; for he ſays there is a battery of great guns at each end of the town, and about a league from it there is a beautiful ſtrong caſtle, by far the fineſt piece of military architecture in Britiſh-America: That it is a quarry ſurrounded by a covered way, and joined with two lines of communication to the main battery, as alſo a line of communication from the main gate to a redoubt, to prevent an enemy's landing; and the battery is ſituated ſo near the chanel as to hinder ſhips coming up to the town, which muſt all ſail within piſtol-ſhot of it: That in time of peace there is but one company on duty in the caſtle, but in time of war there are five hundred able-bodied men, exempted from all other military duty, to attend the ſervice of the caſtle at an hour's warning, when the ſignal is given from the light houſe of the approach of an enemy: That the caſtle thereupon makes a ſignal to the town, and if five ſhips or more appear in time of war, the neighbouring country is alarmed by firing a beacon.

Middleſex.

Chief Towns.

The county of Middleſex lies contiguous to that of Suffolk on the north, and contains the following towns. 1. Cambridge. 2. Billerica. 3. Charles-town. 4. Chelmsford. 5. Concord. 6. Lexington. 7. Grotton. 8. Lancaſter. 9. Marlborough. 10. Malden. 11. Framingham. 12. Medford. 13. Newton. 14. Oxford. 15. Reading. 16. Sherburn. 17. Stow. 18. Sudbury. 19. Eaſt-Waterton. 20. Weſton. 21. Woburn; and, 22. Worceſter.

Cambridge.

The chief town whereof is Cambridge, commonly called Newton, ſituated on the northern branch of Charles River, about ſeven miles from Boſton, in which are ſeveral well-built ſtreets; but it is moſt conſiderable for its univerſity, conſiſting of three colleges, viz. Harvard-College, Stoughton-Hall, and —— Hall. There was alſo a college built for the education of Indians, but this is now converted into a printing-houſe, the education of the Indians in the learned languages being found impracticable; there never were above four or five educated there, and but one that ever took a degree. They have alſo a library here, but very defective in modern books; which my author is of opinion is the reaſon that the ſtile of the New-England divines is no better: They alſo ſtill want endowments for the reading publick lectures in the college by profeſſors of the ſeveral ſciences. The univerſity is governed by a Preſident, five Fellows, and the Treaſurer, who have each of them a competent revenue ſettled on them; and there may be an hundred and fifty ſtudents reſident in all the colleges: Their viſitors or overſeers are the Governor, and Deputy-Governor with the magiſtrates of the province, and the Miniſters (for the time being) of ſix adjacent towns.

Eſſex

Chief towns.

Salem.

Eſſex is the moſt northerly county of Maſſachuſet Proper, and contains the towns of, 1. Salem. 2. Ameſbury. 3. Saliſbury. 4. Haverhill. 5. Newbury. 6. Boxford. 7. Rowley. 8. Ipſwich. 9. Topsfield. 10. Bradford. 11. Glouceſter. 12. Mancheſter. 13. Beverly. 14. Marble-head. 15. Lyn. 16. Wenham; and, 17. Andover; of which Salem is the chief, or county-town, being ſituate in a plain between two rivers mouths, and has two harbours, the one called the Summer and the other Winter Harbour. They boaſt mightily of their church, which they aſſure us is one of the fineſt in New-England: They value themſelves alſo on their antiquity; for here it was, they relate, that the Maſſachuſet adventurers fixed their firſt colony. A little to the northward of Salem lies the promontory called Cape Anne, eſteemed a good ſtation for fiſhing; and a little further northward lies Newbury, pleaſantly ſituated at the mouth of Merimack River, where they take abundance of Sturgeon, and pickle them after the ſame manner as they do in the Baltick. On the oppoſite ſide of Merimack River lies the town of Saliſbury; and between theſe towns there is a conſtant ferry half a mile over.

Newbury.

Saliſbury.

The province of Maine.

The ſecond grand diviſion of the Maſſachuſet government is the province of Maine, which is bounded on the north-eaſt by Nova-Scotia; by the bay of Maſſachuſet on the ſouth-eaſt, and by the province of New-Hampſhire on the ſouth-weſt and north-weſt, in which are the two counties of York and Cornwal; though according to ſome, the whole province of Maine is but one county: The chief towns are, 1. Falmouth. 2. Saco, or Scarborough. 3. Wells. 4. Hedeck, or Newcaſtle. 5. Edger Town. 6. York. 7. Ketterg. 8. Berwick; and, 9. Biddeford. Several fortifications were erected on the north-eaſt part of this province in the late wars, to defend the country againſt the French and Indians of Nova-Scotia; particularly at Saco, Kennebeck, Saghadock and Pemaquid; the laſt of which was taken by the French and demoliſhed: And ſince Nova-Scotia has been yielded to Great Britain by France, it is to be preſumed the reſt are of no great uſe, our frontiers on that ſide being extended much farther by that ceſſion.

Chief towns.

Fortifications.

Plymouth diviſion.

Counties.

The third and laſt grand diviſion of the Maſſachuſet government is that of Plymouth, which lies ſouth of Maſſachuſet Proper, and contains the three counties of Plymouth, Barnſtaple, and Briſtol.

Plymouth County.

Chief towns.

Of theſe three counties, that of Plymouth lies moſt northerly; in which are the towns of, 1. New-Plymouth. 2. Bridgewater. 3. Duxbury. 4. Marſhfield. 5. Scituate. 6. Middleburgh. 7. Pembroke; and 8. Plympton. And of theſe, New-Plymouth the chief, is ſituated on the ſouth-ſide of a large bay, called Plymouth Bay, and is the oldeſt town in New-England.

Barnſtable County.

The county of Barnſtaple lies contiguous to Plymouth on the ſouth-eaſt, in which is the celebrated promontory of Cape Cod, forming a large commodious

Chief towns.

Nantucket iſland.

commodious bay, capable of containing a thouſand ſail of ſhips. In this county the chief towns are, 1. Barnſtable, ſituate at the bottom of the firſt bay. 2. Eaſtham. 3. Mammoy. 4. Truro. 5. Rocheſter. 6. Sandwich. 7. Yarmouth. 8. Harwich; and, 9. Nantucket, ſituate in an iſland of the ſame name, that lies ſouth-eaſt of the main land, near which is one of the moſt conſiderable fiſheries in New-England; and the town flouriſhes in proportion, there being three or four ſcore ſail of ſhips and veſſels belonging to that port, as I am informed.

Briſtol County. Chief towns.

The county of Briſtol lies ſouth-weſt of Plymouth, and contains the towns of, 1. Briſtol. 2. Swanſey. 3. Rohoboth. 4. Norton. 5. Dartmouth. 6. Taunton. 7. Dighton. 8. Little Compton. 9. Artleborough. 10. Freetoun; of which, Briſtol the chief is ſituated on a commodious harbour, at the entrance whereof lies Rhode-Iſland.

The province of New-Hampſhire.

Chief towns.

The province of New-Hampſhire, now a diſtinct government, is bounded by * Nova-Scotia on the north-eaſt; by the province of Maine on the ſouth-weſt; by the Maſſachuſet Colony on the ſouth-eaſt; and by Canada on the north-weſt; the chief towns whereof are Dover, Portſmouth, Exeter, and Hampton, all which lie near the mouth of the river Piſcataway; and indeed I meet with ſcarce any towns in the in-land country, which ſtill remains a great foreſt, covered with excellent timber, large portions whereof are ſet apart and appropriated by act of parliament to the furniſhing maſts, &c. for the royal-navy of England; but the ſoil does not ſeem proper either for Corn or Graſs.

The province bordering upon Canada, or New-France, ſuffered much by the ravages of the French and Indians in the two laſt wars; which occaſioned the building ſeveral forts and redoubts on the frontiers for their ſecurity.

Connecticut Colony.

Counties.

The third colony or government, eſteemed alſo a part of New-England, is that of Connecticut, which comprehends New-Haven, and is bounded by the Maſſachuſet Colony on the north; by another part of the Maſſachuſet and Rhode-Iſland on the eaſt; by an arm of the ſea, which divides Connecticut from Long-Iſland on the ſouth; and by New-York on the weſt, being about one hundred miles in length, and eighty in breadth, and contains the following counties, viz. 1. New-London. 2. Hertford. 3. New-Haven County; and 4. Fairfield County.

New London County. Chief towns.

New-London County is ſituated on both ſides of the river Connecticut, and contains the following towns, viz. 1. New-London, ſituate on the weſt bank of the Thames not far from its mouth. 2. Saybrook, the oldeſt town in the county, ſituate at the mouth of the river Connecticut, on the weſt-ſide, as 3. Lyme is on the eaſt-ſide. 4. Stoniton. 5. Preſton. 6. Dantſick. 7. Norwich. 8. Lebanon; and 9. Killingworth.

Hertford County.

Chief towns.

Hertford County, contiguous to that of London County on the north, lies alſo on both ſides the river Connecticut, containing the following towns, viz. 1. Hertford. 2. Farmington. 3. Glaſſenbury. 4. Hadham. 5. Middletown. 6. Simſburg. 7. Waterbury. 8. Weathersfield. 9. Windſor. 10. Farm; and 11. Windham; of which Hertford is the chief or County-town, and capital of the whole province, having a little univerſity or college in it, as I am informed, where young gentlemen receive academical education.

New-Haven County. Chief towns. New-Haven latitude 41 and an half.

New-Haven County is bounded by that of Hertford on the north; by London County on the eaſt; the ſea on the ſouth; and Fairfield County on the weſt; in which are the towns of 1. New-Haven, the chief, ſaid to be a very flouriſhing place, and to have a college in it called Yale-College, where young gentlemen have univerſity education. To which is added a library well furniſhed with books, procured chiefly by the application and intereſt of Jeremy Dummer, Eſq. once Agent for this colony. 2. Brainford. 3. Derby. 4. Guildford. 5. Milford; and, 6. Wallingford.

Fairfield County.

Chief towns.

Fairfield County alſo lies upon the ſea, between the county of New-Haven on the eaſt, and the province of New-York on the weſt; in which are the chief towns of, 1. Fairfield. 2. Danbury. 3. Greenwich. 4. Norwalk. 5. Rye. 6. Stamford. 7. Stratford; and, 8. Woodbury.

Rhode-Iſland Colony.

Providence.

4. The laſt colony comprehended in New-England is that of Rhode-Iſland and Providence Plantation eſtabliſhed by another charter. Rhode-Iſland called by the natives Aquetnet, lies in the Narraganſet Bay, between Plymouth Colony and Providence Plantation, being about fifteen miles in length, and ſix in breadth; to which belong ſeveral ſmaller iſlands: And Providence Plantation, which is included in the ſame charter, being a diſtrict about twenty miles ſquare, on the neighbouring continent, and ſeparated from Connecticut on the weſt by an imaginary line drawn from north to ſouth, and from the Maſſachuſets by another line drawn from eaſt to weſt.

Chief towns. Newport, &c.

The chief towns are, 1. Newport, ſituated on the ſouth-weſt part of Rhode-Iſland, in 41 degrees odd minutes north latitude, having a very ſecure and commodious harbour, defended by a regular fort at the entrance, on which are planted three hundred pieces of large cannon. It appears to have a briſk trade, for there are no leſs than ſixty ſhips and veſſels belonging to this town.

There are two other large port towns ſituated on the continent, near the mouth of the river Patuxet in Providence Plantation, one of them called Providence, and the other Warwick; but of theſe I meet with no particular deſcription.

Block Iſle, Elizabeth Iſle. Martha's Vineyard.

Several other iſlands lie near the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of New-England, of which Block-Iſland belongs to Connecticut Colony; and Elizabeth-Iſland, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket already mentioned belong to the Maſſachuſet government; and are very conſiderable on account of the fiſhery carried on in thoſe ſeas.

Buildings, publick and private.

As to the buildings of the Indians of New-England, they are not different from thoſe of Virginia and Maryland already deſcribed; and the Engliſh follow the models of their mother country, as near as they can, except in their churches; which come nearer the form of the London meeting-houſes than of our churches. The few churches indeed that have been erected by the members of the Church of England, reſemble thoſe in Old England, and are generally built of wood, but ſome few of brick. The only publick buildings they have beſides, are the town-houſe and guild-hall in every province and county-town, where the reſpective general aſſemblies and courts of juſtice are held; and ſome colleges and ſchools that have been erected in their great towns for the education of youth, which, I preſume, have nothing extraordinary in

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* N. B. I call all that country Nova-Scotia, which lies north-eaſt of New-England.

CHAP. II.

the fabrick, by the ſilence of their hiſtorians in the deſcription of them.

CHAP. III.

Of the perſons and habits of the New-England Indians; their genius and temper, arts, manufactures, food, exerciſes and diverſions.

CHAP. III.

Perſons of the Indians.

THE New-England Indians are of a good ſtature, and might have good complexions, if they did not affect an olive-colour, and take a great deal of pains with certain oils and juices to make their skins darker than they naturally are. Their features are well enough, except their noſes, which their parents preſs flat in their infancy, if they are not born ſo: Their hair is black, and uſually cut ſhort before, but ſuffered to grow long behind, ſometimes braided and dreſſed up fantaſtically with feathers. The hair of their beards and bodies they pull up by the roots as ſoon as they appear, and ſome of them, 'tis ſaid, never have any beards: They frequently paint their faces and ſhoulders with a deep red, and on other parts of their bodies make a variety of frightful figures, endeavouring to render themſelves as terrible as poſſible.

Habits.

They generally go naked in the ſummer, covering their loins only with a piece of skin; but in the winter, the days of ceremony, they have a mantle or ſhort cloak, made of the skin of a deer, or of ſome other animal: And of the like materials they make breeches, ſtockings, and ſhoes, all of a piece frequently. In hard weather they alſo put on their ſnow-ſhoes, which are very long and broad, and tied on their feet with thongs of green leather.

Ornaments.

The women paint as well as the men; and their mantles are much of the ſame form. Their ornaments are earings of copper, necklaces, and bracelets, made of beads and ſhells, or other glittering toys.

Arts and ſciences.

The natives are generally reckoned to have quick parts, though they had made but little improvement in arts and ſciences when the Engliſh came amongſt them. Their buildings and cloathing are very mean, nor was there any thing that could be called a manufacture in the country, much leſs were they skilled in the liberal arts, having no notion of letters, and ſeem but little diſpoſed to literature at this day; for the Engliſh here, and in the reſt of our colonies, tell us, they deſpair of making ſcholars of them, though no means have been left unattempted to give them a learned education.

Genius and temper.

Courage or a contempt of death is what they moſt admire in others, and affect to be thought poſſeſſed of themſelves. And there appears to have been ſome brave men amongſt them; but they are generally timorous, revengeful, and thieviſh. They ſeldom have the courage to face an enemy in the open field; moſt of the great actions they boaſt of being done in the dark, or by ſurpriſe; and a wood-fight, where they can ſkulk behind the trees and buſhes, is their maſter-piece. As they are very nimble and excellent markſmen, they have ſometimes been too hard for the Europeans in ſuch encounters.

In war, in hunting, fiſhing, and other rural ſports, they are acknowledged to be indefatigable. They will make prodigious long and ſwift marches, lie in the woods night after night, endure cold and heat, hunger and thirſt to admiration; and yet, when they are not engaged in ſuch expeditions, they are obſerved to be the moſt idle, ſlothful wretches upon the face of the earth; putting their women upon all manner of drudgery both without doors and within: For the women plant their corn, ruits, and fruits, and afterwards reap and gather them. They alſo prepare and dreſs their food, lug about their children, and do all manner of houſhold buſineſs, and even carry the proviſion and baggage upon every march and removal, the men carrying nothing but their arms: And 'tis obſerved they ſeldom go out a hunting or fiſhing, till neceſſity forces them, and then they uſually ſet out fifty or an hundred in a company, dividing the country amongſt them, ſo as the game may not eſcape, which ever way it takes, and continue their ſport ſeveral weeks: Sometimes they beat the woods and thickets, at others they take their canoes or boats, and go down their rivers; and are ſo dextrous at ſhooting and ſtriking their game in the water, as well as land, that they ſeldom fail of doing execution.

Food.

Their food, and the manner of dreſſing it, differs ſo little from that of the Indians already deſcribed, that it is unneceſſary to enlarge on thoſe articles any more than on their domeſtick diverſions and exerciſes; which conſiſt chiefly in ſinging, dancing, and hollowing; in diſtorting their limbs, and the moſt extravagant geſtures they can invent.

Exerciſes.

Lovers of ſtrong liquors.

The Europeans have taught them another miſchievous recreation, viz. The drinking ſtrong liquors, of which they are ſo fond, that they would ſell their lands, and every thing they had, to procure them ſome; till the government, in compaſſion to the natives, prohibited their drinking ſtrong liquors, and forbid the Engliſh to purchaſe their lands, without the leave of their ſuperiors: However, theſe regulations are little obſerved; and thoſe Indians, that live among the Engliſh, are ſtill a wretched, ſottiſh, and beggarly people, that will apply themſelves to no manner of buſineſs; dreading labour more than poverty itſelf.

Sloothful and poor.

CHAP. IV.

Of their animals and vegetables.

CHAP. V.

Quadrupedes.

THEIR Quadrupedes are almoſt the ſame here as in Virginia, viz. Deer, Elks, Raccoons, Bears, Wolves, Foxes, Hares, Rabbets, Squirrels, Beavers, Martins, Opoſſoms, and little Cur-Dogs. They have now alſo all manner of European cattle, viz. Horſes, Oxen, Sheep, and Hogs; none of which they ever ſaw, till the Engliſh carried them over: And though the Horſes are not ſo large as thoſe we have here, yet they are very ſerviceable both for the ſaddle and draught, and make the beſt troopers horſes in America. But the moſt celebrated animal, which is almoſt peculiar to New-England, is the Mooſe-Deer; of which Mr. DUDLEY, now of the council in New-England, and a member of the Royal Society, has given us the following account.

1721.

The Mooſe Deer.

The Mooſe is thought peculiar to North-America, and is one of the nobleſt creatures of the forreſt: The Aborigines have given him the name of Mooſe, Mooſuck in the plural.

There are two ſorts; the common light and grey Mooſe, by the Indians called Wampooſe; theſe are more like the ordinary Deer, ſpring like them, and herd ſometimes to thirty in a company: And then there are the large and black Mooſe, of which I ſhall now give you the following account.

He is the head of the Deer-kind, has many things in common with other Deer, in many things differs; but in all very ſuperior. The Mooſe is made much like a Deer, parts the hoof, chews the cud, has no gall, his ears large and erect. The hair of the black Mooſe is a dark grey; upon the ridge of his back the hair is ten and twelve inches long, of which the Indians make good belts. He has a very ſhort bob tail. Mr. Neal, in his late hiſtory of this country, ſpeaking of the Mooſe, ſays, they have a long tail; but that gentleman was impoſed on as to other things, beſides the Mooſe.

Our hunters have found a Buck or Stag-Mooſe of fourteen ſpans in height from the Withers, reckoning nine inches to a ſpan; a quarter of his veniſon weighed more than two hundred pounds. A few years ſince, a gentleman ſurpriſed one of theſe black Mooſe in his grounds, within two miles of Boſton; it proved a Doe or Hind of the fourth year. After ſhe was dead, they meaſured her upon the ground from the noſe to the tail between ten and eleven feet. She wanted an inch of ſeven foot in height.

The horns of the Mooſe, when full grown, are about four and five feet from the head to the tip; and have ſhoots and branches to each horn, and generally ſpread about ſix feet. When the horns come out of the head, they are round, like the horns of an Ox. About a foot from the head they begin to grow a palm broad, and further up ſtill wider; of which the Indians make good ladles that will hold a pint. When a Mooſe goes through a thicket, or under the boughs of trees, he lays his horns back on his neck, not only that he may make his way the eaſier, but to cover his body from the browſe or ſcratch of the Wood. Theſe mighty horns are ſhed every year. The Doe-Mooſe has none of theſe horns.

A Mooſe does not ſpring or riſe in going, as an ordinary Deer, but ſhoves along ſide-ways, throwing out the feet much like a Horſe in a racking pace. One of theſe large black Mooſe, in his common walk, has been ſeen to ſtep over a gate or fence five feet high. After you unharbour a Mooſe, he will run a courſe of twenty or thirty miles before he turns about or come to a bay. When they are chaſed, they generally take to the water, the common Deer for a ſhort ſpace are ſwifter than a Mooſe; but then a Mooſe ſoon outwinds a Deer.

The meat of a Mooſe is excellent food; and tho' it be not ſo delicate as the common veniſon, yet it is more ſubſtantial, and will bear ſalting. The noſe is looked upon as a great dainty. I have eat ſeveral of them myſelf; they are perfect marrow. The Indians have told me, that they can travel as far after a meal of Mooſe, as after any other fleſh in the foreſt.

The black Mooſe is not very gregarious, being rarely found above four or five together; the young ones keep with the dam a full year.

A Mooſe calves every year, and generally brings two. The Mooſe bring forth their young ones ſtanding, and the young fall from the dam upon their feet. The time of their bringing forth is generally in the month of April.

The Mooſe being very tall, and having ſhort necks, do not graze on the ground as the common Deer, neat cattle, &c. do; and if at any time they eat Graſs, it is the top of that which grows very high, or on ſteep riſing ground. In the ſummer they feed upon plants, herbs, and young ſhrubs, that grow upon the land; but moſtly, and with greateſt delight, on water-plants, eſpecially a ſort of wild Colts-foot and Lilly that abound in our ponds, and by the ſides of the rivers, and for which the Mooſe will wade far and deep; and by the noiſe they make in the water our hunters often diſcover them. In the winter they live upon Browze, or the tops of buſhes and young trees; and being very tall and ſtrong they will bend down a tree as big as a man's leg; and where the Browze fails them, they will eat off the bark of ſome ſort of trees as high as they can reach. They generally feed in the night, and lie ſtill in the day.

The ſkin of the Mooſe, when well dreſſed, makes excellent buff; the Indians make their ſnow-ſhoes of them. Their way of dreſſing it, which is reckoned very good, is thus: After they have haired and grained the hide, they make a lather of the Mooſe's brains in warm water, and after they have ſoaked the hide for ſome time, they ſtretch and ſupple it.

Fowls, inſects, &c.

Their fowls, birds, ſnakes, and inſects, are much the ſame here as in Virginia, whither therefore I refer the reader: And they have the ſame fiſh in their ſeas and rivers; only I muſt obſerve, that the Cod-fiſhery and Whale-fiſhery of New-England are far ſuperior to any fiſheries on the coaſt of North-America, and yield a vaſt profit to this country. I am informed alſo, that the year before laſt, the New-England men ſent twenty ſail of ſhips to fiſh for Whales in Greenland and Davis's Streights, where they met with great ſucceſs, but were not ſo fortunate the laſt year. And here it may be acceptable to the reader to introduce Mr. Dudley's deſcription of their Whales, and the whale-fiſhery on the coaſt of New-England.

Ambergreeſe.

This gentleman obſerves, that the moſt learned part of mankind were at a loſs about many things even in medical uſe, and particularly in what is called Ambergreeſe, until the whale fiſhermen of Nantucket in New-England, ſome three or four years ago, made the diſcovery.

The Sperma Ceti Whale.

Cutting up a Sperma Ceti Bull Whale, they found accidentally in him about twenty pound weight, more or leſs, of that drug: After which they and ſome other fiſhermen became very curious in ſearching all ſuch Whales as they killed; and it has ſince been found in leſſer quantities in ſeveral male Whales of that kind and in no other; and ſcarcely in one of an hundred of them. They add further, that it is contained in a cyſt or bag, without any in-let or out-let to it, and that they have ſometimes found the bag empty and yet entire.

The bag is no where to be found but near the genital part of the fiſh. The ambergreeſe is, when firſt taken out, moiſt and of an exceeding ſtrong and offenſive ſmell.

The following account reſpects only ſuch Whales as are found on the coaſt of New-England, and of theſe there are divers ſorts.

The Whalebone Whale.

The right or Whalebone Whale is a large fiſh meaſuring ſixty or ſeventy feet in length, and very bulky, having no ſcales, but a ſoft fine ſmooth skin; no fins but only one on each ſide, from five to eight foot long, which they are not obſerved to uſe but only in turning themſelves, unleſs while young and carried by the dam on the flukes of their tails, when with thoſe fins they claſp about her ſmall, and ſo hold themſelves on. This fiſh, when firſt brought forth, is about twenty foot long, and of little worth, but then the dam is very fat. At a year old, when they are called ſhort-heads, they are very fat, and yield to fifty barrels of oil; but by that time the dam is very poor and termed a dry ſkin, and will not yield more than thirty barrels of oil, tho' of large bulk. At two years old they are called Stunts, being ſtunted after weaning, and will then yield generally from twenty-four to twenty-eight barrels. After this they are termed Scull-fiſh, their age not being known, but only gueſſed at by the length of their bones in their mouths. The Whalebone ſo called grows in the upper jaw on each ſide, and is ſometimes ſix or ſeven feet in length. A good large Whale has yielded a thouſand weight in bone. 'Tis thought by ſome that the hairy part of the Whalebone, and which is next to the tongue, ſerves in the nature of a ſtrainer of their food.

The eye of a Whale is about the bigneſs of an Ox's eye, and ſituated in the after-part of the head on each ſide, and where the Whale is broadeſt; for his head tapers away forward from his eyes, and his body tapers away backwards: His eyes are more than half way his depth, or neareſt his under-part. Juſt under his eyes are his two fins abovementioned; he carries his tail horizontally, and with that he ſculls himſelf along.

The intrails of this Whale are made and ſituated much like thoſe of an Ox, and their ſcalps are ſometimes found covered with thouſands of Sea Lice. One of theſe Whales has yielded one hundred and thirty barrels of oil, and near twenty out of the tongue. The Whalebone Whale is the moſt valuable, except the Sperma Ceti Whale.

The Scrag Whale.

The Scrag Whale is near a kin to the fin-back; but inſtead of a fin upon his back, the ridge of the after-part of his back is ſcragged, with half a dozen knobs: He is neareſt the right Whale in figure and for quantity of oil: His bone is white, but will not ſplit.

The Fin-back.

The Fin-back Whale is diſtinguiſhed from the right Whale by having a great fin on his back from two foot and a half to four foot long, which gives him the name. He has alſo two ſide fins, as the Whalebone Whale, but much longer; meaſuring ſix or ſeven feet. This fiſh is ſomewhat longer than the other, but not ſo bulky, much ſwifter, and very furious when ſtruck, and very difficultly held; their oil is not near ſo much as that of the right Whale, and the bone of little profit, being ſhort and knobby. The belly of this Whale is white.

The Bunch Whale.

The Bunch, or Hump-back Whale, is diſtinguiſhed from the right Whale by having a bunch ſtanding in the place where the fin does in the fin-back. This bunch is as big as a man's head, and a foot high, ſhaped like a plug pointing backwards. The bone of this Whale is not worth much, tho' ſomewhat better than the fin-back's. His fins are ſometimes eighteen foot long, and very white; his oil as much as that of the fin-back. Both the fin-backs and hump-backs are ſhaped in reeves longitudinal, from head to tail, on their bellies and their ſides, as far as their fins, which are about half way up their ſides.

The Sperma Ceti Whale further deſcribed.

The Sperma Ceti Whale is much of the ſame dimenſion with the other, but is of a greyiſh colour, whereas the others are black. He has a bunch on his back like the hump-back, but then he is diſtinguiſhed by not having any Whalebone in the mouth; inſtead of which there are rows of fine ivory teeth in each jaw, about five or ſix inches long. One of theſe teeth I have ſent the ſociety; the man who gave it me, ſays the Whale was forty-nine foot long, and his head made twelve barrels of Sperma Ceti oil. They are a more gentle fiſh than the other Whales, and ſeldom fight with their tails, but when ſtruck uſually turn upon their backs and fight with their mouths. The oil which is made of the body of this fiſh is much clearer and ſweeter than that of the other Whales.

The Sperma Ceti oil ſo called lies in a great trunk, about four or five foot deep, and ten or twelve foot long, near the whole depth, breadth, and length of the head, in the place of the brains, and ſeems to be the ſame, and diſpoſed in ſeveral membranous cells, and covered not with a bone but a thick griſly ſubſtance below the ſkin, thro' which they dig a hole and lade out the clear oil. Not but that the head and other glandulous parts of this fiſh will make the Sperma Ceti oil; yet the beſt, and that which is prepared by nature, is in the trunk aforeſaid: And an ingenious man, who has himſelf killed many of theſe Whales, aſſures me, that only the trunk will afford from ten to twenty barrels. Beſides the Sperma Ceti oil, this fiſh will yield from twenty to fifty barrels of common oil.

How they engender.

They generate much like our neat cattle, and therefore they are termed Bull, Cow, and Calf: They bring forth but one at a time, and but every other year. When the Cow takes Bull, ſhe throws herſelf upon her back, ſinking her tail, and ſo the Bull ſlides up, and when he is ſlid up ſhe claſps him with her fins. A Whale's pizzel is ſix foot long, and at the root is ſeven or eight inches diameter, and tapers away till it comes to about an inch diameter; his ſtones would fill half a barrel, but his genitals are not open or viſible, like thoſe of the true Bull. The Calf, or young Whale, has been found perfectly formed in the Cow when not above ſeventeen inches long, and white; and yet when brought forth is uſually twenty foot, but of a black colour. It is ſuppoſed they go with their young about nine or ten months, and are very fat in that time, eſpecially when they bring forth. When the female ſuckles her young ſhe turns herſelf almoſt upon her back upon the rim of the water. She has two teats of ſix or eight inches long, and ten or twelve inches round. The milk is white, like that of a Cow; and upon opening a young ſucking Whale the milk was found curdled in his bag, juſt like that of a Calf.

Their care of their young.

Their care of their young is very remarkable, they not only carrying them on their tails and ſuckling them, but often riſing with them for the benefit of the air; and however they are chaſed and wounded, yet as long as they have ſenſe, and perceive life in their young, they will never leave them, nor will they then ſtrike with their tail; and if in their running the young one loſes his hold and drops off, the dam turns about, and paſſing underneath takes it on again; and therefore care is taken by thoſe who kill theſe fiſh, only to faſten the Calf but not to kill her, till they have firſt ſecured the Cow; for as ſoon as ever the Calf is dead the Cow perceives it, and grows ſo violent that there is no managing her.

The Whales are very gregarious, being ſometimes found an hundred in a ſcull, and are great travellers: In the fall of the year the Whalebone Whales go weſtward, and in the ſpring they are headed eaſtward: And here it muſt be noted, that the ſeveral kinds of Whales do not mix with one another, but keep by themſelves.

Their way of breathing is by two ſpout-holes in the top of the head: The Sperma Ceti Whale has but one, and that on the left ſide of the head. Once in a quarter of an hour, when not diſturbed, they are obſerved to riſe and blow, ſpouting out water and wind, and to draw in freſh air; but when purſued they will ſometimes keep under half an hour or more: Tho' it is obſerved, when any Cow has her Calf on her tail, ſhe riſes much oftner for the young one to breathe, without breathing herſelf. Out of their breathing-holes they ſpout great quantities of blood when they have received their death's wound.

For the firſt year they all ſuck the dam: After they are weaned the right Whales (as is generally ſuppoſed) live upon ouzy matter, which they ſuck up from the bottom of the ſea. The triers that open them when dead, acquaint me, that they never obſerved any graſs, fiſh, or any other ſort of food in the right or Whalebone Whale, but only a greyiſh ſoft clay, which the people call Bole Armoniac; and yet an experienced whaleman tells me, that he has ſeen this Whale in ſtill weather ſkimming on the ſurface of the water, to take in a ſort of reddiſh ſpawn or brett, as ſome call it, that at ſometimes will lie upon the top of the water for a mile together. Here alſo it may be obſerved, that tho' the body of this Whale is ſo very bulky, and ſo exceeding fat, yet when cut open is ſeldom found to have much more draught than that of an Ox; and they dung much as neat cattle. Their ſwallow is not much bigger than an Ox's, but the Fin-back Whale has a larger ſwallow, for he lives upon the ſmaller fiſh, as Mackarel, Herrings, &c. great ſculls of which they run through, and with a ſhort turn cauſe an eddy or whirlpool, by the force of which the ſmall fiſh are brought into a cluſter, ſo that this fiſh with open mouth will take in ſome hundreds of them at a time. The Sperma Ceti Whale, beſides other fiſh, feeds much upon a ſmall fiſh that has a bill, our fiſhermen call them Squid-fiſh: The ſmall pieces of theſe ſquid-bills are plainly to be diſcerned in the ambergreeſe, and may be picked out of it; they appear glazy, and like little pieces of broken ſhells.

The way of taking Whales in New-England.

Mr. HARRIS, in his Bibliotheca Navigantium, &c. has given us a very particular account of the method of taking Whales at Greenland; and tho' our way in New-England differs very much from that, yet I ſhall wave it as not ſo ſtrictly appertaining to philoſophy; only I would take notice of the boats our whale-men uſe in going from the ſhore after the Whale: They are made of Cedar Clapboards, and ſo very light that two men can conveniently carry them, and yet they are twenty foot long, and carry ſix men, viz. the harpooner in the fore-part of the boat, four oar-men and the ſteerſman. Theſe boats run very ſwift, and by reaſon of their lightneſs can be brought on and off, and ſo kept out of danger. The Whale is ſometimes kill'd with a ſingle ſtroke, and yet at other times ſhe will hold the whale-men in play near half a day together with their launces, and will ſometimes get away after they have been launced and ſpouted blood, with irons in them, and drags faſtened to them, which are thick boards about fourteen inches ſquare. Our people formerly uſed to kill the Whale near the ſhore, but now they go off to ſea in ſloops and whale-boats, in the months of May, June, and July, between Cape Cod and Bermudas; where they lie by in the night, and ſail to and again in the day, and ſeldom miſs of them, bringing home the blubber in their ſloops. The true ſeaſon for taking the right or Whalebone Whale is from the beginning of February to the end of May; of the Sperma Ceti Whale from the beginning of June to the end of Auguſt: And it has been obſerved by our fiſhermen, that when a Sperma Ceti Whale is ſtruck, he uſually if not always throws the excrements out of the anus.

The ſtrength of the Whale is in his tail.

The wonderful and even prodigious ſtrength of this creature lies principally in their tail, that being both their offenſive and defenſive weapon. Many inſtances of this kind I have had from credible perſons, who were eye-witneſſes. I will mention but a few. A boat has been cut down from top to bottom with the tail of a Whale, as if cut with a ſaw, the clap-boards ſcarce ſplintered, tho' the gunnel upon the top is of a tough wood. Another has had the ſtem or ſtern-poſt, of about three inches through, and of the tougheſt wood that can be found, into which the ends of the Cedar Clap-boards are nailed, cut off ſmooth above the cuddee, without ſo much as ſhattering the boat, or drawing the nails of the Clapboards. An oar has been cut off with a ſtroke upwards, and yet not ſo much as lifted up out of the thole-pin. One perſon had an oar cut off while in his hand, and yet never felt any jarring.

A few years ſince, one of the Fin-back Whales came into a harbour near Cape Cod, and towed away a ſloop of near forty ton out of the harbour into the ſea. This accident happened thus: It was thought the Whale was rubbing herſelf upon the fluke of the anchor, and going near the bottom got the fluke into her niſket, or the orifice of the uterus; and finding herſelf caught, tore away with ſuch violence that ſhe towed the ſhip out of the harbour as faſt as if ſhe had been under ſail with a good gale of wind, to the aſtoniſhment of the people on ſhore; for there was no body on board. When the Whale came into deep water ſhe went under, and had like to have carried the ſloop with her, but the cable gave way and ſo the boats that were out after her recovered it. This Whale was found dead ſome days after on that ſhore with the anchor ſticking in her belly.

After a Whale is dead it has been obſerved that the ſame way the head lies, ſo the head will lie, if not forcibly turned; and let the wind blow which way it will, that way they will ſcull a head tho' right in the eye of the wind, and they are much eaſier towed to the ſhore, if they die that way with their head than any other.

The Killers which prey upon Whales.

The enemies of the Whale, or the fiſh that prey upon the Whales, and often kill the young ones (for they will not venture upon a young one, unleſs much wounded) our whale-men have given the name of Killers. The Killers are from twenty to thirty foot long, and have teeth in both jaws that lock one within another: They have a fin near the middle of their backs four or five foot long: They go in company by dozens and ſet upon a young Whale, and will bait him like ſo many Bull-Dogs; ſome will lay hold of his tail to keep him from threſhing, while others lay hold of his head, and bite and threſh him until the poor creature being thus heated lolls out his tongue, and then ſome of the Killers catch hold of his lips, and if poſſible of his tongue; and after they have killed him they chiefly feed upon the tongue and head; but when he begins to putrify they leave him. This Killer is without doubt the Orca that Dr. Francius deſcribes in his treatiſe of animals. His words are theſe: Quando Orca inſequitur Balænam, ipſa Balæna horribilem edit mugitum, non aliter quàm cum Taurus mordetur à Cane. Theſe Killers are of ſuch invincible ſtrength, that when ſeveral boats together have been towing a dead Whale, one of them has come and faſtened his teeth in her and carried her away down to the bottom in an inſtant: And ſometimes they have bit out a piece of blubber of about two foot ſquare, which is of that toughneſs that an iron with little beards being ſtruck into it will hold it until it draws the boat under water. The Killers are ſometimes taken and make good oyl, but have no whalebone. The carcaſes of Whales in the ſea ſerve for food for Gulls and other ſea fowl as well as Sharks, for they are not very nice.

Amber-greeſe, what.

Many and various have been the opinions (even of the learned world) as to the origin and nature of ambergreeſe. Some have reckoned it a bitumen, and to iſſue from the entrails of the earth; others, that it was produced from ſome inſect, as honey, ſilk, &c. The famous Mr. Boyle, as I find it in the ſecond volume of Lowthorp's abridgment of the philoſophical tranſactions, communicates an account of ambergreeſe from a Dutch Merchant, who firſt denies it to be the ſcum or excrement of a Whale; and then gives it as his opinion, that it is a fat gum that iſſues from the root of a tree, and that you may raiſe it in quantities by planting thoſe trees by the ſhore, and ſo the ſtream will caſt it up to great advantage. But it is now found out, that this occultum naturæ is an animal production, and bred in the body of the Sperma Ceti Whale, analogous to what is found in ſome animals of the land, as the Musk-Hog, or Taiacu, the Musk-Deer, the Bezoar Sheep, and ſome amphibious animals, as the Muſquaſh, &c. who have their valuable ſcent in a particular cyſtis or bag. I am apt to think that which firſt gave occaſion to the notice of ambergreeſe being the production of the Whale, was becauſe it was found in conſiderable quantities on the ſhores of the Summer Iſlands, and among the Bahama's, where the dead Whales are frequently wrecked, and broke up with the ſea, and the ambergreeſe found floating on the ſhore; but here again the ingenious, until very lately, were at a loſs, and divided in opinion; for tho' they agreed it to come from the Whale, yet ſome took it to be the true and proper ſemen, being found only in the Bull at the root of the penis near the teſticles; others again thought that it was the ordure or excrements of the Whale.

The beſt and moſt exact account of ambergreeſe, that I have been able to procure, I very lately received from one Mr. Atkins, now an inhabitant at Boſton in New-England, who uſed the whale-fiſhery for ten or twelve years together, and was one of the firſt that went out a fiſhing for the Sperma Ceti Whales, about the year 1670, and then began to diſcover the ambergreeſe; and being a ſober ingenious man, what he ſays may ſafely be depended on, tho' for ſubſtance I have had it from ſeveral of the whale-men.

His relation which was taken a few days ſince from his own mouth is as follows:

" The ambergreeſe is found only in the Sperma " Ceti Whales, and conſiſts of balls or globular " bodies of various ſizes from about three inches " to twelve inches diameter, and will weigh from " a lb. and an half to twenty-two lb. lying looſe " in a large oval bag or bladder, of three or four " foot long, and two or three foot deep, and " wide almoſt in the form of an Ox's bladder, " only the ends more acute or like a Blackſmith's " long bellows, with a ſnout running tapering in- " to and through the length of the penis, and " a duct or canal opening into the other end of " the bag, and coming from towards the kid- " nies; this bag lies juſt over the teſticles which " are above a foot long, and is placed length- " ways at the root of the penis, about four or " five foot below the navel, and three or four " foot above the anus. This bag or bladder is " almoſt of a deep orange-coloured liquor, not " quite ſo thick as oyl, and ſmelling as ſtrong or " rather ſtronger; of the ſame ſcent with the " balls of ambergreeſe which float and ſwim looſe " in it. The inſide of the bag is very deeply " tinged with the ſame colour as the liquor, which " may alſo be found in the canal of the penis. " The balls ſeem to be pretty hard while the " Whale is alive, inaſmuch as there are many " times found upon opening the bag large con- " cave ſhells of the ſame ſubſtance and conſiſtence, " that have ſcaled off from them; and the balls " themſelves ſeem to be compoſed of ſeveral diſ- " tinct coats incloſing one another, ſomething like " the coats of an Onion."

As to the number of balls, Mr. Atkins never found above four in a bag, and in the bag where he found one that weighed twenty one lb. which was the largeſt he ever ſaw, there was no other.

He further ſays, " That to one Sperma Ceti " Whale that has any of theſe balls, there are " two that have nothing but the deep orange- " coloured liquor aforeſaid in their bags." This remark confirms what another whale-man told me; " That the ambergreeſe was found only in " ſuch Sperma Ceti Whales as are old and well " grown." It is the general opinion of the whale-men that the ambergreeſe produced only by the male, or the Bull Sperma Ceti Whale. As to this particular, Mr. Atkins ſays, " He never " ſaw or certainly heard of a female Sperma Ceti " Whale taken in his life, the Cows of that ſpecies " of Whales being much more timorous than " the males, and almoſt impoſſible to be " come at, unleſs when happily found aſleep on " the water and detained by their Calves." This is certain, the boats can never come near them when they are awake, they are ſo very ſhy and fearful.

Mr. Atkins's method of getting the ambergreeſe out of the Whale was thus: After the fiſh is killed, he turns the belly upwards and fixes a tackle to the penis; then cuts a hole round the root of the penis, through the rim of the belly, until he comes to the intrails, and then ſearching for the duct or canal at the further end of the bag, cuts the duct off beyond it, upon which he draws forth the penis by the tackle, and the ambergreeſe bag entirely follows it, and comes clean and whole out of the belly.

The reverend Mr. Prince of Boſton, who took the preceding relation from Mr. Atkins, apprehends the bag aforeſaid to be the urinary bladder, and the ambergreeſe ball to be a certain concretion formed out of the greaſy odoriferous ſubſtance of the liquor aforeſaid contained within it. As for my own part, I dare not pretend to give any opinion upon the point, but content myſelf with relating matter of fact.

It may be added here, that the bone taken out of the New-England Whales is not near ſo good as that taken out of the Greenland Whales, being too brittle for the uſes whalebone is put to, otherwiſe we ſhould not be obliged to import ſo much of the Hollanders whalebone: But as the New-England men are now got into the way of fiſhing for Whales in Greenland, it is probable they will be able to furniſh their mother country with the beſt whalebone in a few years; and we ſhall not be obliged to part with ſo much treaſure to the Dutch for this kind of merchandize.

New England plants by Dudley.

The plants of England, as well thoſe of the fields and orchards as of the garden that have been brought over hither, ſuit mighty well with our ſoil, and grow here to great perfection.

Our Apples are without doubt as good as thoſe of England, and much fairer to look to, and ſo are the Pears; but we have not got of all the ſorts.

Our Peaches do rather excel thoſe of England, and then we have not the trouble or expence of walls for them; for our Peach Trees are all ſtandards, and I have had in my own garden ſeven or eight hundred fine Peaches of the Rare-ripes growing at a time on one tree.

Our people of late years have run ſo much upon orchards, that in a village near Boſton, conſiſting of about forty families, they made near three thouſand barrels of Cyder: This was in the year 1721. And in another town of two hundred families, in the ſame year, I am credibly informed they made near ten thouſand barrels. Some of our Apple-Trees will make ſix, ſome have made ſeven barrels of Cyder, but this is not common; and the Apples will yield from ſeven to nine buſhels for a barrel of Cyder. A good Apple-Tree with us will meaſure from ſix to ten foot in girt. I have ſeen a fine Pearmain at a foot from the ground meaſure ten foot and four inches round: This tree in one year has bore thirty-eight buſhels (by meaſure) of as fine Pearmains as ever I ſaw in England. A Kentiſh Pippin at three foot from the ground ſeven foot in girt: A Golden-Roſſetin ſix foot round. The largeſt Apple-Tree that I could find was ten foot and ſix inches round; but this was no graft.

An Orange Pear-Tree grows the largeſt and yields the faireſt fruit. I know one of them near forty foot high that meaſures ſix foot and ſix inches in girt a yard from the ground, and has born thirty buſhels at a time; and this year I meaſured an Orange-Pear, that grew in my own orchard, of eleven inches round the bulge. I have a Warden Pear-Tree that meaſures five foot ſix inches round. One of my neighbours has a Bergamot Pear-Tree, that was brought from England in a box about the year 1643, that now meaſures ſix foot about, and has bore twenty-two buſhels of fine Pears in one year. About twenty years ſince, the owner took a Cyon, and grafted it upon a common Hedge-Pair, but the fruit does not prove altogether ſo good, and the rind or ſkin is thicker than that of the original.

Our Peach-Trees are large and fruitful, and bear commonly in three years from the ſtone. I have one in my garden of twelve years growth that meaſures two foot and an inch in girt, a yard from the ground, which two years ago bore me near a buſhel of fine Peaches. Our common Cherries are not ſo good as the Kentiſh Cherries of England; and we have no Dukes, or Heart-Cherries, unleſs in two or three gardens.

Some years ſince, I meaſured a Platanus Occidentalis, or Button-wood-tree (as they are called here) of nine yards in girt, and it held its bigneſs a great way up. This tree, when it was cut down, I am informed, made twenty-two cord of wood. A gentleman tells me, that in the forreſt he met with a ſtrait aſh that grew like a pillar of a great height, and free from limbs, that meaſured fourteen foot eight inches round, near a yard from the ground; and the other day I met with a Saſſafras-Tree that meaſured five foot three inches in girt. I meddle not here with our noble Pines and Cedars, becauſe I deſign to treat of them in a chapter of the Ever-greens of this country. Among our trees of quick and eaſy growth, the Button-wood, before mentioned, and the Locuſt-Tree are the moſt remarkable; as to the latter, by the deſcription Mr. Moore, while in New-England, gave me of the Manna-Tree, our Locuſt-Tree may be called the American Manna. I have known a ſeed of it blown off from the tree into my garden that took root of itſelf, and in leſs than two years was got above ſix foot high, and as big about as a common walking-cane. The Platanus I have frequently propagated by cutting off ſticks of five or ſix foot long, and ſetting them a foot deep in the ground, in the ſpring of the year when the ſeaſon was wet; they thrive beſt in a moiſt ſoil.

An Onion ſet out for ſeed will riſe to four foot nine inches in height. A Parſnip will reach to eight foot: Red Orrice will mount nine foot, White Orrice eight. In the paſtures I meaſured Seed-Mullen nine foot two inches in height, and one of the common thiſtles above eight foot.

Among the remarkable inſtances of the power of vegetation, I ſhall begin with an account of a Pompion ſeed, which I have well atteſted from a worthy divine. The relation is as follows: That in the year 1699, a ſingle Pompion ſeed was accidentally dropp'd in a ſmall paſture where cattle had been foddered for ſome time. This ſingle ſeed took root of itſelf, and without any manner of care the vine run along over ſeveral fences, and ſpread over a large piece of ground far and wide, and continued its progreſs till the froſt came and killed it. This ſeed had no more than one ſtalk but a very large one, for it meaſured eight inches round. From this ſingle vine they gathered two hundred and ſixty Pompions, and one with another as big as a half-peck, enough in the whole to fill a large tumbrel; beſides a conſiderable number of ſmall and unripe Pompions that they made no account of. The philoſophical tranſactions give an account of a ſingle plant of Barley, that by ſteeping and watering with ſalt-petre diſſolved in water, produced two hundred and forty-nine ſtalks, and eighteen thouſand grains; but then there was art, and even force in that caſe, whereas in ours there was nothing but pure nature and accident.

Our Indian Corn is the moſt prolifick grain that we have, and commonly produces twelve hundred, and often two thouſand grains from one; but the faireſt computation is thus: Six quarts of this grain will plant an acre of ground, and it is not unuſual for an acre of good ground to produce fifty buſhels of Corn. Indian Corn is of ſeveral colours, as blue, white, red and yellow; and if they are planted ſeparately, ſo that no other ſort be near them, they will keep to their own colour: But if in the ſame field you plant the blue Corn in one row of hills (as we term them) and the white or yellow in the next row, they will mix and interchange their colours; that is, ſome of the ears of Corn in the blue Corn rows ſhall be white or yellow, and ſome again in the white or yellow rows ſhall be blue. Our hills of Indian Corn are generally about four foot aſunder, and ſo continued in a ſtrait line as far as the field will allow; and then a ſecond line or row of hills and ſo on; and yet this mixing and interchanging of colours has been obſerved when the diſtance between the row of hills has been ſeveral yards: And a worthy clergyman of an iſland in this province aſſures me, that the blue Corn has thus communicated or exchanged even at the diſtance of four or five rods; and particularly in one place where there was a broad ditch of water betwixt them. Some of our people, but eſpecially the Aborigines, have been of opinion that this commixtion and interchange was owing to the roots and ſmall fibres reaching to, and communicating with one another: But this muſt certainly be a miſtake, conſidering the great diſtance of the communication, eſpecially at ſome times, and croſs a canal of water; for the ſmall fibres of the roots of our Indian Corn cannot extend above four or five foot. I am therefore humbly of opinion, that the ſtamina, or principles of this wonderful copulation, or mixing of colours, are carried by the wind, and that the ſeaſon of it is when the Corn is in the earing, and while the milk is in the grain; for at that time the Corn is in a ſort of eſtuation, and emits a ſtrong ſcent. One thing which confirms the air's being the medium of this communication of colours in the Corn, is an obſervation of one of my neighbour's, that a cloſe high board fence between two fields of Corn, that were of a different colour, entirely prevented any mixture or alteration of colour from that they were planted with.

Forreſt-trees.

Forreſt-trees and others of the growth of New-England are Cedar, Oak, Aſh, Elm, Cypreſs, Pine, Firr, Aſpin, Beech, Walnut, Cheſnut, Hazel, Saſſafras, Sumack, and other woods uſed in dying, and tanning leather. Their Firr Trees are of an uncommon growth, and furniſh the royal navy of England with maſts and yards; they draw alſo from theſe and other trees Pitch, Tar, Roſin, Turpentine, Gums and Balms uſed in phyſick and ſurgery: And the ſoil is extremely proper for Hemp and Flax.

Fruits.

They had a variety of fruits of their own growth before the Engliſh arrived; particularly Grapes, Strawberries, Raſberries, Hurtleberries, Filberts, and many more mentioned among the plants of Virginia: As alſo roots and ſallad-herbs, ſeveral ſorts of Beans and Pulſe, but they had the greateſt plenty of Kidney-Beans of any of them. I proceed in the next place to ſpeak of their trade and manufactures, the beſt account whereof we meet with in the repreſentation of the board of trade to the Houſe of Commons, in the year 1732.

Trade and manufactures of the Britiſh Colonies.

Paper.

In this repreſentation they inform the houſe that an act paſſed in the general aſſembly of the Maſſachuſet Colony in the year 1728, entituled, An act for the encouragement of the making paper; but that manufacture, however, has hitherto made but a very ſmall progreſs, and can hardly be ſaid to interfere with the paper manufacture in Old-England; becauſe almoſt all the paper ſent to New-England from hence is foreign manufacture; but it certainly interferes with the profit made by the Britiſh Merchant upon foreign paper ſent to this province: However, no complaints have ever been made to us againſt this law.

Iron-works in Hampſhire.

By the return to our circular letter from the Governor of New-Hampſhire, we are informed, that an act paſſed many years ſince in that province for encouraging of Iron-works, by which the exportation of Iron Ore is prohibited; but, upon the moſt diligent enquiry, no ſuch act is to be found in our office, and we believe none ſuch was ever tranſmitted to this board: However, not knowing whether this act might not have paſſed ſince the late King's acceſſion, we have inſerted it in this liſt.

Duties on Negroes imported.

A law paſſed in the year 1728, in New-York, entitled, an act to repeal ſome parts, and to continue and enforce other parts of the act therein mentioned, and for granting ſeveral duties to his Majeſty for ſupporting his government in the colony of New-York, from the 1ſt of September, which will be in the year 1733; wherein (among other duties) one was laid of five ounces of plate, or forty Shillings in bills of credit, on every Negroe imported from Africa, and a duty of four Pounds on every Negroe imported from any other place.

Now paid by the purchaſer.

The plantations in all times paſt have laid duties upon the importation of Negroes, and as the Merchants have naturally increaſed their price in proportion to thoſe duties, ſo it is but lately that complaints have been made againſt theſe duties, unleſs they went to exceſs: But the board are of opinion, that it would be more for the convenience of the trade that theſe duties ſhould for the future be paid by the purchaſer, than by the importer; and his Majeſty has (upon our repreſentation) been pleaſed to ſend an inſtruction to that effect to all the Governors in America.

By the charter of Penſylvania it has already been obſerved, that the proprietor is obliged to offer the laws of the province to the crown, for approbation or diſallowance, within five years after they are paſſed; and if his Majeſty does not think fit to repeal them in ſix months from the time they are ſo offered, it is not in the power of the crown to repeal them afterwards; but ſince the year 1715 this article of the charter has been evaded, and the laws of this province have not been tranſmitted to this board (except occaſionally an act or two;) ſo that we are not enabled to lay a ſtate of the laws of this province before the houſe.

That upon a late petition to his Majeſty from the Merchants of London, in the behalf of themſelves and others, complaining that, as the law now ſtands in ſome of the colonies, his ſubjects reſiding in Great-Britain are left without any remedy for the recovery of their juſt debts, or have ſuch only as is very partial and precarious; as alſo that in ſeveral of the ſaid colonies and plantations greater and higher duties and impoſitions are laid on the ſhips and goods belonging to ſubjects in Great-Britain, than on the goods and ſhips of perſons inhabiting the ſaid colonies and plantations.

The plantations partial to themſelves.

The ſaid Merchants being deſired to acquaint the board whether they knew of any particular laws in the colonies, againſt which they had reaſon to object, they did deliver to us a liſt of laws wherein the ſaid colonies appear to have been very partial in their own favour; in ſome of them exempting their perſons from arreſts, in others giving a preference to the inhabitants before the Britiſh Merchants in the recovery of debts, and enacting duties where a leſs burthen is laid upon their own effects than upon thoſe of the Britiſh Merchants.

A ſtate of the Silk, Linen and Woollen manufactures in the plantations.

We beg leave to acquaint this houſe, that purſuant to an order of the committee of council, this board did, on the 5th of December, 1728, make a very particular enquiry into the ſtate of the plantations at that time, with reſpect to Silk, Linnen and Woollen Manufactures eſtabliſhed there; and having then diſcourſed with many perſons who had either been Governors of ſome of the colonies, or were by other means well acquainted with their circumſtances, it appeared to this board, and we did accordingly repreſent,

That in the colonies of New-England, New-York, Connecticut, Rhode-Iſland, Penſylvania, and in the county of Somerſet in Maryland, the people had fallen into the manufacture of Woollen and Linnen Cloth for the uſe of their own families; but we could not learn they had ever manufactured any for ſale in thoſe colonies, except in a ſmall Indian town in Penſylvania, where ſome Palatines had then lately ſettled.

The reaſons why theſe people had begun this manufacture were:

Produce of ſome of them.

1. That the product of thoſe colonies being chiefly ſtock and grain, the eſtates of the inhabitants depended wholly upon farming; and as this could not be carried on without a certain quantity of Sheep, their Wool would be entirely loſt, were not their ſervants employed at leiſure times of the year, but chiefly during the winter, in manufacturing it for the uſe of their families.

2. That Flax and Hemp being likewiſe eaſily raiſed, the inhabitants manufactured them into a coarſe ſort of Cloth-bags, traces and halters for their Horſes; which they found did more ſervice than thoſe they had from any part of Europe.

3. That theſe ſettlements, which were diſtant from water-carriage, and remotely ſituated in the woods, had no opportunities of a market for grain; and therefore as they did not raiſe more Corn than was ſufficient for their own uſe, they had the more time to manufacture both Wool and Flax for the ſervice of their families, and ſeemed to be under a great neceſſity of doing it.

The raiſing naval ſtores ought to be encouraged in the plantations.

Upon a farther enquiry into this matter, we do not find that thoſe people had the ſame temptation to go on with thoſe manufactures during the time that the bounty upon naval ſtores ſubſiſted, having then encouragement to employ their leiſure hours in another way, and more profitably both to themſelves and this kingdom; for the height of wages, and great price of labour in general in America, made it impracticable for the people there to manufacture their Linen Cloth at leſs than 20 per cent. more than the rate in England, or Woollen Cloth at leſs than 50 per cent. dearer than that which is exported from hence for ſale. We conceive it was to be wiſhed, that ſome expedient might be fallen upon to divert their thoughts from undertakings of this nature; ſo much the rather, becauſe thoſe manufactures, in proceſs of time, might be carried on in a greater degree, unleſs an early ſtop were put to their progreſs; and the moſt natural inducement that we could think of to engage the people in America to deſiſt from theſe purſuits, was to employ them in naval ſtores: Wherefore we take leave to renew our repeated propoſals, that a reaſonable encouragement ſhould be given for the making, raiſing and manufacturing naval ſtores of all kinds in the plantations; from whence we might be furniſhed in return for our own manufactures.

Trades now carried on there prejudicial to Old England.

But ſeveral alterations have happened ſince that time; and by ſuch lights as we have been able to acquire we find trades carried on, and manufactures ſet up there detrimental to the trade, nagivation and manufacture of Great-Britain.

The ſtate of the plantations varying almoſt every year more or leſs in their trade and manufactures, as well as in other particulars, we thought it neceſſary for his Majeſty's ſervice, and for the diſcharge of our truſt, from time to time to ſend certain general queries to the ſeveral Governors in America, that we might be the more exactly informed of the condition of the ſaid plantations; among which there were ſeveral that related to their trade and manufactures: To which we received the following returns.

New-Hampſhire.

Colonel SHUTE, Governor of New-Hampſhire, in his anſwer to the ſame queries in 1719, ſaid, that there were no ſettled manufactures in that province, and that their trade principally conſiſted in lumber and fiſh.

Maſſachuſet's Bay in New-England.

Woollen manufacture in New England.

Colonel SHUTE, at the ſame time Governor of the Maſſachuſet's Bay, informed us, that in ſome parts of this province the inhabitants worked up their Wool and Flax, and made an ordinary coarſe cloth for their own uſe; but did not export any: That the greateſt part both of the linen and woollen cloathing, that was then worn in this province, was imported from Great Britain, and ſometimes linen from Ireland; but, conſidering the exceſſive price of labour in New-England, the Merchants could afford what was imported cheaper than what was made in that country.

Hats an Leather.

That there were alſo a few Hatters ſet up in the maritime towns, and that the greateſt part of the Leather uſed in that country was manufactured amongſt themſelves.

Iron.

That there had been for many years ſome iron-works in that province, which had afforded the people Iron for ſome of their neceſſary occaſions; but that the Iron imported from Great Britain was eſteemed much the beſt, and wholly uſed by the ſhipping.

That the iron-works of that province were not able to ſupply the twentieth part of what was neceſſary for the uſe of the country.

New-York.

Produce of New-York.

General HUNTER, formerly Governor of New-York, in his anſwer to the queries in the year 1720, informed us, that they had no manufactures in that province that deſerved mentioning; and that the trade conſiſted chiefly in Furrs, Whalebone, Oil, Pitch, Tar, and proviſions.

New-Jerſey.

General **Hunter**, formerly Governor of this province, alſo informs us, in his anſwer to the ſame queries in the year 1720, that there were in that province no manufactures that deſerve mentioning; and that their trade was chiefly in proviſions exported to New-York and Penſylvania.

Penſylvania.

Colonel **Hart**, formerly Governor of Maryland, who lived many years in the neighbourhood of this government, in anſwer to the like queries in 1720, relating to this province, ſaid, that their chief trade lay in the exportation of proviſions and lumber; and that they had no manufactures eſtabliſhed, their cloathing and utenſils for their houſes being all imported from Great-Britain.

New-Hampſhire.

Linen made in New-Hampſhire.

Mr. **Belcher**, Governor of New-Hampſhire, in his letter, dated the 4th of December laſt, informs us, that the Woollen manufacture of that province was much leſs than formerly, the common lands on which the Sheep uſed to feed being now divided into particular properties, and the people almoſt wholly cloathed with Woollen from Great-Britain: That the manufacturing of Flax into Linnen (ſome coarſer, ſome finer) daily increaſed, by the great reſort of people from Ireland into this province, who are well ſkilled in that buſineſs.

And the chief trade of this province continued, as for many years paſt, in the exportation of naval ſtores, lumber and fiſh.

Maſſachuſet's Bay in New-England.

Naval ſtores, &c.

Mr. **Belcher**, the preſent Governor of this province, in anſwer to the ſame queries, which we ſent him in June laſt, informs us:

Canvas for ſails in the Maſſachuſet's.

That there is a reſolve of the aſſembly of that province ſubſiſting, for allowing a bounty of twenty Shillings to all perſons, and ten Shillings more to **John Powell**, the firſt undertaker, for every piece of Duck or Canvas by them made; but he does not give us any account of the quantity that has been made.

Brown-Hollands made there.

He farther ſays, that there are ſome other manufactures carried on there, as the making of brown Hollands for womens wear, which leſſens the importation of Callicoes and ſome other ſorts of Indian goods in that province.

Cotton and Linen.

That there are likewiſe ſome ſmall quantities of cloth made of Linen and Cotton, for ordinary ſhirting and ſheeting.

Paper.

That about three years ago a paper-mill was ſet up, which makes to the value of about 200 l. ſterling per ann.

Iron-works.

That there are ſeveral forges for making Bar-iron, and ſome furnaces for Caſt-iron (or hollow-ware) and one ſlitting-mill, the undertaker whereof carries on the manufacture of nails.

Woollen Cloth.

As to the woollen manufacture, Mr. **Belcher** ſays, the country people, who uſed formerly to make moſt of their cloathing out of their own Wool, do not now make a third part of what they wear, but are moſtly cloathed with Britiſh manufactures.

Copper-mines in the Maſſachuſet Colony.

We are likewiſe informed, by ſome letters of older date from Mr. **Belcher**, in anſwer to our annual queries, that there are ſome few Copper-mines in this province; but ſo far diſtant from water-carriage, and the ore ſo poor, that it is not worth the digging.

No duties there on Eaſt-India goods.

Colonel **Dunbar**, Surveyor-General of his Majeſty's woods, in his letter of September the 15th, 1730, takes notice, that the people of New-England have an advantage over thoſe of Great-Britain, in the draw-back for all India and other goods exported, which pay a duty in Great Britain, and no duty is paid upon importing them into the plantations. He has likewiſe ſent this board ſeveral ſamples of edge-tools made in New-England; and in his letter to our Secretary of the 4th of June 1731, he ſays they have ſix furnaces and nineteen forges for making Iron in New-England.

Edge-tools made there.
Six furnaces and fourteen forges in New-England.

Ships ſold the French and Spaniards for Rum, Wine, and Silk.

He alſo informs us, in his letter of the 19th of Auguſt, 1730, that in this province many ſhips are built for the French and Spaniards, in return for Rum, Moloſſes, Wines, and Silks, which they truck there by connivance.

These informations have been in a great meaſure confirmed by Mr. **Jeremiah Dummer**, deputy Surveyor of the woods, and alſo by Mr. **Thomas Coram**, a perſon of reputation, who reſided many years in New-England: To which they have added, that great quantities of Hats they made in New-England, of which the company of Hatters of London have likewiſe lately complained to us: And Mr. **Jeremiah Dummer** further ſays, that great quantities of Hats made in that province are exported to Spain, Portugal, and our Weſt-India Iſlands; and that they make all ſorts of iron-work for ſhipping; and that there are ſeveral ſtill-houſes and ſugar-bakers eſtabliſhed in New-England.

Hats exported.
Wrought Iron.
Diſtillers and Sugar Bakers.

New-York.

Mr. **Rip Van Dam**, Preſident of the council of this province, in his letter of the 29th of October laſt, informs us, that there are no manufactures eſtabliſhed there that can affect the manufactures of Great Britain.

Produce of the foreign Sugar Colonies imported into New York and New-Jerſey.

And as to the trade and navigation of the province, he acquaints us there is yearly imported into New-York a very large quantity of the Woollen Manufacture of this kingdom for their cloathing; which they ſhould be rendered incapable to pay for, and reduced to the neceſſity of making for themſelves, if they were prohibited from receiving from the foreign Sugar Colonies the money, Rum, Sugar, Moloſſes, Cocao, Indico, Cotton, Wool, &c. which they at preſent take in return for proviſions, Horſes and lumber; the produce of that province and New-Jerſey, of which he affirms the Britiſh Colonies do not take off above one half.

Hats made there

But the company of Hatters in London have ſince informed us that Hats are manufactured in great quantities in this province.

New-Jerſey.

Mr. **Morris**, who is at preſent Commander in chief to this province, has made no particular return for the ſame.

Penſylvania.

Major **Gordon**, Deputy-Governor of Penſylvania, in his anſwer received the 24th of the laſt month, informs us, that he does not know of any trade carried on in that province that can be injurious to this kingdom; and that they do not export any Woollen or Linen manufactures, all they make (which are of a coarſer ſort) being for the uſe of themſelves and families.

Brigantines and ſloops built in Penſylvania.

We are further informed, that in this province are built brigantines and ſmall ſloops, which they ſell to the Weſt-Indies.

Rhode-

Rhode-Iſland.

Iron-works in Rhode-Iſland.

The Governor of Rhode-Iſland, in his anſwer to queries dated the ninth of November laſt, informs us, that there are Iron-mines there, tho' not a fourth part of Iron enough to ſerve their own uſe; but he takes no notice of any ſort of manufacture ſet up there.

Connecticut.

Produce and handicrafts in Connecticut.

We have no return from the Governor of this province; but we find by ſome accounts that the produce of this colony is Timber-board, all ſorts of Engliſh grain, Hemp, Flax, Sheep, cattle, Swine, Horſes, Goats, and Tobacco, of which they export Horſes and lumber to the Weſt-Indies, and receive in return Sugar, Salt, Moloſſes, and Rum. We likewiſe find that their manufactures are very inconſiderable, the people there being generally employed in tillage; ſome few in tanning, ſhoe-making, and other handicrafts; others in building, Joyners, Taylors, and Smiths work, without which they could not ſubſiſt.

The Sugar Colonies, viz. Jamaica, Leeward-Iſlands, and Barbadoes.

No manufactures in the Sugar Iſlands, which interfere with thoſe of Britain. Their Produce.

By the laſt returns which we have had from thoſe iſlands to our circular queries, we do not find that they have any other manufactures eſtabliſhed beſides thoſe of Sugar, Moloſſes, Rum, and Indigo of their own produce; theſe, with Cotton, Aloes, Piemento, and ſome other productions of leſs note, are their whole dependance, which are commodities no ways interfering with the manufactures of this kingdom.

In the year 1724, Mr. WORSELEY, then Governor of Barbadoes, informed us, that of Cotton they made hammocks, a few ſtockings, and nets for Horſes.

From the foregoing ſtate it is obſervable, that there are more trades carried on, and manufactures ſet up in the provinces on the continent of America to the northward of Virginia prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great-Britain, particularly in New-England, than in any other of the Britiſh Colonies, which is not to be wondred at; for their ſoil, climate, and produce being pretty near the ſame with ours, they have no ſtaple commodities of their own growth to exchange for our manufactures, which puts them under great neceſſity, as well as under greater temptation of providing for themſelves at home. To which may be added, in the charter governments the little dependance they have upon their mother country, and conſequently the ſmall reſtraints they are under in any matters detrimental to her intereſt.

Reflections on the charter governments.

And therefore we would humbly beg leave to report and ſubmit to the wiſdom of this honourable houſe the ſubſtance of what we formerly propoſed in our report on the Silk, Linen and Woollen manufactures herein before recited; namely, whether it might not be expedient to give theſe colonies proper encouragements for turning their induſtry to ſuch manufactures and products as might be of ſervice to Great-Britain, and more particularly to the production of all kinds of naval ſtores.

Trade and produce of Rhode-Iſland and Providence plantation.

From a conſiderable Merchant of New-England I received the following account of the trade and produce of Rhode-Iſland and Providence Plantation, viz. That they have a great trade by ſea to the Britiſh Weſt-Indies, to the Dutch Colonies at Surinam, on the continent of South-America, and to the Dutch Iſland of Curaco, or Curaſſow, near the coaſt of Terra-Firma, whither they ſend Horſes, Salt, proviſions and lumber; that is Deal-boards, Pipe-ſtaves, Hoops, and Shingles. They alſo ſend their ſhips ſometimes by the way of the Weſt-Indies to London: And ſeveral veſſels ſail annually to the bay of Honduras for Logwood, which they tranſport to Europe; but this colony has very little concern in the fiſhery.

Trade with the Dutch and the Spaniards.

They are ſupplied with moſt of their Britiſh manufactures from Boſton; but ſometimes they import theſe themſelves directly from Great Britain. It is a pleaſant, healthful, and fruitful country. They breed and feed great numbers of Horſes and black cattle, their land being proper for grazing. They have ſome Indian Corn indeed, but very little other grain, importing moſt of their Wheat from New-York, and ſome from Virginia. Here are ſome iron-mines alſo wrought, and turn to a good account; for they make many of their own edged-tools, and implements of huſbandry.

A grazing country.

Iron-mines.

CHAP. V.

Of the hiſtory of New-England.

Two companies erected by one patent.

The London-Company plant South-Virginia.

KING JAMES I. by letters patents dated the 10th of April, 1606, erected two companies of adventurers, empowering them to ſend colonies to Virginia (as the north-eaſt coaſt of America was then called;) the firſt of which companies obtained the name of the London-Company, and were authoriſed to plant colonies between 34 and 41 degrees of north latitude; and the other obtained the name of the Plymouth-Company, and were empowered to plant their people between 38 and 45 degrees of north latitude; but it was provided that the ſaid companies ſhould not interfere or fix themſelves within an hundred miles of each other: The London-Company hereupon ſent out ſhips the very ſame year, and planted that country to which the name of Virginia is now appropriated, as has been already related; but the Plymouth-Company contented themſelves for ſome years with trafficking with the natives of North-Virginia (as New-England was then called) for Furrs, and fiſhing upon that coaſt. Two ſhips being employed in this fiſhery in the year 1614, commanded by Captain JOHN SMITH (formerly Preſident of South-Virginia) and Captain THOMAS HUNT; Captain SMITH went on ſhore, and took a particular view of the country of the Maſſachuſets, and had ſome ſkirmiſhes with the natives: After which he returned to England, ordering HUNT to ſail with the other ſhip to Spain, and diſpoſe of the fiſh he had taken there; but HUNT, propoſing to make a market of the natives themſelves, as well as of their fiſh, after Captain SMITH was gone, enticed twenty-ſeven of the Indians on board his Ship; and then ſetting ſail with them to Malaga, ſold them there to the Spaniards for ſlaves, at the rate of twenty Pounds a man; among whom was an Indian called SQUANTO, afterwards very ſerviceable to the Engliſh. This outrage was ſo reſented by the Indians for the preſent, that all commerce with them became impracticable; nor was this the firſt time the natives had been thus violently carried away by the Engliſh; for Captain HARLOW, in the year 1611, ſurpriſed one EPENOW, and two more of his countrymen, and brought them to England; where EPENOW having learned Engliſh enough to impoſe upon his maſters, and underſtanding that the hopes of acquiring mountains of gold was the

The Plymouth Company trade to North-Virginia or New-England.

HUNT ſpirits away twenty ſeven of the natives, and ſells them for ſlaves in Spain.

A ſtratagem of an Indian to get home again.

the principal inducement the Engliſh had to viſit his country, the cunning Indian, in order to get thither again, pretended there was a rich gold mine not far from the country where he was born, which he would guide them to if they thought it worth their while to fit out a ſhip on ſuch an Expedition. This overture had the ſucceſs EPENOW expected, and Captain HOBSON was diſpatched the next year, with proviſions, tools and materials proper to make a ſettlement, and open the mines EPENOW had given them intelligence of. The ſhip arriving on the coaſt of the Maſſachuſets, ſeveral Indians came on board, promiſing to return the next day with Furrs and other merchandize; and they did indeed return, but in an hoſtile manner, with twenty canoes full of armed men; and EPENOW beckoning to them to approach nearer the ſhip, jumped into the ſea, and made his eſcape to them: Whereupon the Engliſh fired upon the canoes, and were anſwered with a flight of arrows, and ſeveral were wounded on both ſides, among whom was Captain HOBSON himſelf: After which, the Captain, without attempting any thing farther, thought fit to return to England.

In the year 1619, Captain DORMER was ſent to New-England, and with him SQUANTO the Indian, as an interpreter, to endeavour to make peace with the natives, and ſettle a colony in the Maſſachuſet's Bay; but to no purpoſe, the Indians would not be reconciled, and in a ſkirmiſh with them, DORMER received fourteen wounds; whereupon he proceeded to Virginia, leaving SQUANTO on ſhore in New-England.

The original of the New-England Colonies.

In the mean time ſome Browniſts, the very worſt of our Engliſh ſectaries, who had rendered themſelves obnoxious to the government by the rebellious principles they taught, thought fit to tranſport themſelves to Amſterdam; where not being able to agree among themſelves, part of them removed with their preacher Mr. JOHN ROBINSON, to Leyden, about the year 1610; where having remained ſeven years more, either the Dutch grew weary of them, or they grew weary of the Dutch; for the Browniſts complained of very great hardſhips, declaring that impriſonment in England was preferable to the condition of refugees in Holland; and many of them actually returned to England. Whereupon ROBINSON and his elders, apprehending a general deſertion of their flock, hit upon this expedient to keep them together, and increaſe their number: They repreſented that New-England was not only a place which abounded with all things deſirable in life, but that there were great expectations of diſcovering treaſures there equal to thoſe of Mexico or Peru: However, as it was known to be a fruitful ſoil, and the climate not unlike that of Old-England, here the ſectaries might live in peace and plenty, and enjoy the freedom of their conſciences, and probably become the founders of ſome mighty ſtate; they propoſed therefore to the diſſenters in England to join them, and make a common purſe, with which they might purchaſe a territory in New-England of the Plymouth-Company, and obtain a patent from his Majeſty King JAMES I. for the free exerciſe of their religion; and furniſh themſelves with ſhips, men, proviſions, and utenſils to plant the country.

This project many diſſenters came into, and ſome others, on a proſpect of making their fortunes, and immediately applied themſelves to the then Miniſtry for a patent; which they at length obtained by the mediation of Sir ROBERT NANTON, Secretary of ſtate, and Sir EDWARD SANDYS: But it ſeems the patent was not ſo full as they expected; for there was not an expreſs toleration of their religion contained in it; only an aſſurance that their worſhips ſhould be connived at.

The motives made uſe of at court to obtain this grant were, the glorious pretence of propagating the chriſtian religion among infidels, the extending his Majeſty's dominions, and the enriching their mother country; and poſſibly it might be ſuggeſted, that they ſhould thereby prevent both the French and Dutch poſſeſſing themſelves of this deſirable country, which they were attempting to do at this time. All things being at length agreed upon, the Leyden adventurers embarked at Delf in Holland in July 1620, and arrived at Southampton the latter end of that month, where they found their friends on board a ſhip of near two hundred tons. It ſeems Mr. ROBINSON and great part of his congregation remained in Holland, not deſigning to embark till they received advice of the ſucceſs of this firſt attempt.

The firſt colony ſet ſail for New England and arrive at Cape Cod.

The two ſhips having provided themſelves with all manner of neceſſaries at Southampton for eſtabliſhing a colony, and taken to the value of between two and three thouſand Pounds in merchandize on board, to traffick with the Indians, they ſet ſail on the 5th of Auguſt: But the ſmaller ſhip ſpringing a leak, they were forced to return into harbour again; and the leaky veſſel being at length found unfit for the ſea, they removed part of their men and proviſions into the large ſhip, which ſet ſail from Plymouth on the 6th of September with an hundred and fifty people on board, including the ſeamen; and after a ſtormy paſſage they arrived at Cape Cod in New-England on the 9th of November following.

New Plymouth founded.

Our adventurers were bound for HUDSON's River, at the mouth whereof New-York now ſtands; but their pilot, it is ſaid, was bribed by the Dutch to carry them further north, the Hollanders propoſing to plant that country with their own people, as they actually did ſoon after. Certain it is, our adventurers finding the winter exceeding ſharp, and ſailing become dangerous on that coaſt, reſolved to fix themſelves at the firſt good harbour they ſhould meet with. They went on ſhore therefore in their boats; and having taken a view of the country over againſt Cape Cod, after a month's laborious ſearch, many hazards at ſea, and ſome ſkirmiſhes with the natives on ſhore, they arrived at a very commodious bay, on which they built a town, and gave it the name of Plymouth, being ſituate in 42 degrees north latitude, a great way to the north-eaſt of the country they had purchaſed and obtained a patent to plant. They determined therefore to have no regard to the letters patents they had obtained from the crown, but to elect a Governor, and ſtrike out ſuch a form of government as they could agree on among themſelves.

The chief planters.

The planters, deſigned to ſtay in the country, including women and children, were about an hundred, of whom only one boy died in the paſſage. Their hiſtorians mention no more than nineteen families that ſettled at Plymouth, and give us the names but of forty one effective men, among whom the chief were JOHN CARVER, WILLIAM BRADFORD, EDWARD WINSLOW, (JOHN BREWSTER, aſſiſtant to Mr. ROBINSON abovementioned, and ruling elder of his church, to whoſe care he committed that part of his flock who engaged in this enterprize,) Isaac Allerton, Miles Standish, John Howland, Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, Edward Tilly, Christopher Martin, William White, Richard Clark, and Thomas English.

The firſt thing they conſidered after their landing, was the choice of a Governor, and were unanimous in conferring that poſt upon Mr. John Carver. They alſo agreed to ſubmit to ſuch laws as ſhould be approved of by the majority, and ſigned an inſtrument to that effect; but ſuch were the fatigues and hardſhips this young colony underwent the firſt winter, that out of an hundred planters fifty of them died within the ſpace of two months; and had the Indians attacked them, they had probably all periſhed before the winter was over; but they met with no diſturbance from the natives after they fixed themſelves at Plymouth Bay, and only ſaw ſome few of them now and then at a diſtance till the middle of March, when Samoset, one of their Sagamores or Captains, came to them in a friendly manner, and gave them to underſtand they were welcome into the country, and that his people would be glad to traffick with them. And coming again the next day with ſeveral other Indians, they informed the Engliſh that their great Sachem or King, whom they called Massassoiet, had his reſidence but two or three days march to the northward, and intended them a viſit; and accordingly Massassoiet arrived on the 22d of March, with a retinue of about ſixty people, and being received by Captain Standish at the head of a file of musketeers, was conducted to a kind of throne they had prepared for his Indian Majeſty in one of their houſes.

Massassoiet an Indian King viſits them.

They relate, that this Monarch was of a large ſtature, middle aged, of a grave countenance, and ſparing in his ſpeech; that his face was painted red, and both head and face ſmeared over with oil; that he had a mantle of Deer-ſkin, and his breeches and ſtockings, which were all of a piece, were of the ſame materials; that his knife or tomahawk hung upon his breaſt on a ſtring, his Tobacco-pouch behind him, and his arms were cloathed with wild Cat-ſkins; and in the ſame garb were his principal attendants. They did not obſerve any marks of diſtinction between this Prince and his ſubjects, unleſs it were a chain of fiſh bones which Massassoiet wore about his neck.

Soon after the Prince was ſeated, Carver the Governor came in with a guard of muſketeers, a drum and trumpet marching before him: Whereupon Massassoiet roſe up and kiſſed him; after which they both ſat down, and an entertainment was provided for the Indians, of which no part appeared more acceptable to them than the brandy, the Sachem himſelf drinking very plentifully of it. In Massassoiet's retinue was the abovementioned Squanto, who had been carried to Europe by Hunt and brought to New-England again, as related above. This Indian it ſeems had a very great affection for the Engliſh, among whom he lived ſeveral years; and it was to his favourable repreſentation of the colony that the Sachem was induced to make them this friendly viſit; and at this firſt meeting to enter into an alliance offenſive and defenſive with the Engliſh, and even to acknowledge King James for his Sovereign, and promiſe to hold his dominions of him; and as an evidence of his ſincerity, Massassoiet granted and transferred part of his country to the planters and their heirs for ever. This alliance being founded upon the mutual intereſts of the contracting parties was maintained inviolably many years. The Sachem, who had been informed by Squanto how powerful a people the Engliſh were both by ſea and land, promiſed himſelf their aſſiſtance againſt the Narraganſet Indians his enemies; and the Engliſh ſtood in no leſs need of his friendſhip and aſſiſtance to eſtabliſh themſelves in that country.

Massassoiet enters into an alliance with the Engliſh, and acknowledges the King of Great-Britain his ſovereign.

The treaty being concluded, Massassoiet returned to his capital, leaving Squanto with the colony, who was extreamly ſerviceable to them, not only as an interpreter, but by inſtructing them how to plant and manage their Indian Corn, in piloting them along the coaſt, and ſupplying them with fiſh, fowl and veniſon. Still the Engliſh remained very unhealthful, and many of them died, among whom was Mr. Carver their Governor, who did not ſurvive the month of April, 1621. The ſeamen alſo had their ſhare of illneſs, inſomuch that they were not in a condition to ſail till May, when the ſhip returned to England to give their friends an account of the circumſtances of the colony.

The colony ſickly. Carver the Governor dies.

In the mean time the colony elected Mr. Bradford their Governor, who ſent an embaſſay to the Sachem Massassoiet, and renewed and confirmed the treaty of alliance his predeceſſor had made with that Monarch. The Ambaſſadors, in their journey to Pokanoket, the uſual reſidence of Massassoiet, received great civilities from the Indians upon the road, who ſupplied them with proviſions, carried their baggage, and aſſiſted them in croſſing the rivers they met with in their way; and the Engliſh underſtood from them that the country had been in a manner depopulated by a great plague which raged there the beginning of this year, inſomuch that ſeveral towns were left without inhabitants, and the Corn ſtanding in their fields without an owner; and to this calamity our adventurers in a great meaſure aſcribed their ſecurity that they were not moleſted by the natives. They tell us however, that they were threatened by the Narraganſets, enemies to Massassoiet, a powerful nation on the ſouth-weſt of Plymouth; but having ſtrengthened their fort, and planted cannon on their works, they rendered themſelves ſo formidable, that the Narraganſets did not think fit to attack them: On the other hand, ſeveral Sachems, or petty Princes, came in and put themſelves under their protection, acknowledging the King of Great-Britain their Sovereign.

Bradford elected Governor.

The natives deſtroyed by a peſtilence.

Several Chiefs deſire the protection of the colony.

In the year 1622 ſeveral ſhips arrived from England with planters, but bringing no proviſions with them, and there happening a great drought in New-England this ſummer, they were in great danger of being diſtreſſed for proviſions; but the rain falling plentifully in July, they had a better crop of Indian Corn than they expected; and ſome ſhips arriving from England with cutlery ware and other merchandize about the ſame time, they purchaſed a farther ſupply of Corn of the natives. This year died that friendly Indian Squanto, who had been ſo ſerviceable to the colony: It ſeems he endeavoured to render the Engliſh as formidable to his countrymen as poſſible;

Some ſhips arrive from England.

Squanto dies.

poſſible; and among other things aſſured them, that the Engliſh could inflict what plagues they pleaſed upon their enemies; inſinuating, that they had been the authors of the laſt peſtilence, which fell upon ſome diſtricts that were for driving the Engliſh out of their country; and this, it is ſaid, kept the reſt of the Indian Princes in great awe.

Diviſions in the colony on account of religion.

And now the numbers of the planters being increaſed by the continual arrival of ſhips from Old-England, and there being ſome differences among them on account of religion, Mr. WESTON, with part of their adventurers (who ſeem to have been members of the Church of England, by the character the ſectaries of Plymouth give of them) removed to a place called Weſaguſquaſet, afterwards Weymouth, ſituate on the ſouth-ſide of the Maſſachuſet's Bay, where they built ſome huts, and ſurrounded them with paliſadoes; but having no great guns, or any reinforcements of men from England, or ſupplies of ammunition or proviſion, as the people of Plymouth had; and being forced to range about the fields and woods in ſearch of proviſions, they became contemptible among the Indians, were daily inſulted, and had been all maſſacred (as the Plymouth men relate) if they had not ſent a detachment to their relief, who attacked the Indians, killed ſome of their Chiefs, and compelled the reſt to ſue for peace. However, WESTON and his men, being in no condition to maintain themſelves at Weymouth, quitted that ſettlement, which Captain GORGES afterwards came from England with a deſign to reſtore, being made Governor of that part of the country by the company; but not finding things anſwer his expectations, this gentleman alſo abandoned Weymouth, and returned to England, being ſoon followed by his Biſhop and the reſt of the planters, as the Plymouth men relate. What they mean by his Biſhop, I preſume, was the chaplain of the colony, which Captain GORGES carried over with him; and as this Weymouth Colony were generally epiſcopal Men, the New-England hiſtorians (who were of another perſuaſion) repreſent the Weymouth planters as a moſt licentious and debauched generation, and impute their want of ſucceſs to the wickedneſs of their lives; but as they dreſs up all their church-men in the like odious colours, it is preſumed little weight will be given to this charge, eſpecially as we find their dancing round a maypole enumerated amongſt their greateſt crimes.

The true reaſon why the ſectaries ſucceeded better in this country than other adventurers was, that their whole party almoſt engaged in the enterpriſe, propoſing to make this their retreat, if they miſcarried in the deſign they had in view, of ſubverting the eccleſiaſtical and civil government at home: If this could not be effected, they promiſed themſelves however that they ſhould be able here to put in practice their darling ſchemes of independency in the church, and democracy in the ſtate, and become the founders of a new religion, as well as of a new republick.

As their hearts were ſet upon this project, they took care to ſupply their friends they ſent before them from time to time with all manner of proviſions and neceſſaries, while they ſupplanted and diſcouraged all others from ſettling there, and actually ſent ſeveral conſiderable adventurers back again to England for preſuming to worſhip GOD after the manner of the eſtabliſh'd church, as will appear from their own relations in the courſe of this hiſtory.

As for themſelves, they had not for many years any clergyman amongſt them, either conformiſt or non-conformiſt, but were preached to and directed in their devotions by BREWSTER the lay-elder, whom father ROBINSON ſent over to explore the country, and prepare a place for his reception; but ROBINSON died in Holland, and was not ſuffered to paſs over Jordan to that land of reformation, that paradiſe of the ſaints.

The Plymouth planters obtain a charter.

The colony of Plymouth ſtill remaining without a patent, or any title to the lands they poſſeſſed from the North-Virginia (or New-England) Company, ſent over Mr. WINSLOW, one of their number, to ſolicit for both in the year 1624; and this gentleman ſucceeded beyond their expectations, for the charter he procured enabled the planters to elect a Governor, a Council and Magiſtrates, and to make laws, provided they were not oppoſite to the laws of England, nor encroached on the prerogatives of the crown.

Cattle ſent to New-England.

Three Heifers and a Bull were carried over to Plymouth Colony this year (1624) being the firſt horned cattle that ever were ſeen in New-England: Some Hogs, Goats and poultry alſo were imported about the ſame time, which ſoon increaſed to a very great number.

The company alſo ſent over one LYFORD an Iriſhman, as Chaplain to the Plymouth Colony, who would have performed divine ſervice and adminiſtred the ſacraments after the manner of the Church of England; but the planters compelled him to conform himſelf to their way of worſhip, and ſufficiently humbled him upon intercepting ſome letters he had ſent to England, complaining of their extravagancies, and repreſenting them as monſters in religion; inſomuch that he was forced to remove from Plymouth to a new colony of planters, who had fixed themſelves near cape Anne.

The original of the Maſſachuſet Colony.

In the year 1625 (as the New-England hiſtorians relate) Mr. WHITE, Miniſter of Dorcheſter, obſerving the ſucceſs of the Plymouth Colony, projected a new ſettlement in the Maſſachuſets Bay in New-England, as an aſylum alſo for the ſectaries; and prevailing with Mr. CONANT and ſome others, to go over and make choice of a proper ſettlement, he and his friends purchaſed or procured a grant from the North-Virginia or New-England Company in the year 1627, to Sir HENRY ROSWELL, Sir JOHN YOUNG, Knights, THOMAS SOUTHCOT, JOHN HUMPHRIES, and SIMON NEWCOMBE, Eſqrs. their heirs, aſſigns, and aſſociates, of all that part of New-England which lies between the great river Merimack and Charles River, at the bottom of the Maſſachuſets Bay, and all lands, &c. three miles north of Merimack River, and three miles ſouth of Charles River, and in length or in longitude between thoſe rivers from the Atlantick to the South Sea; and obtained a patent from King CHARLES I. to hold the ſame as of his manour of Eaſt-Greenwich, in common ſoccage, yielding and paying to his Majeſty a fifth part of ſuch gold and ſilver Oar as ſhould from time to time be found within thoſe limits.

Theſe gentlemen having taken in Sir RICHARD SALTOUSTAL, Mr. ISAAC JOHNSON, SAMUEL ADDERLEY, JOHN VAN MATTHEW CRADOCK, THOMAS GOFF, GEORGE HARWOOD, SAMUEL BROWN, and ſeveral more partners, the following year 1628, procured a new patent with the names of the laſt mentioned gentlemen inſerted as proprietors; by which patent they and all others who ſhould join with them were incorporated by the name of the Governor and Company of the Maſſachuſets Bay in New-England, and were impowered to elect a Governor, Deputy Governor, and Magiſtrates, and to make laws for the good of the plantation, tho' not repugnant to the laws of England; and liberty of conſcience was thereby granted to all that ſhould ſettle there.

Cradock the firſt Governor of the Maſſachuſet Colony.

The adventurers, by virtue of this patent, elected Mr. Cradock their Governor, and Mr. Endicot their Deputy-Governor, and ſent over the latter immediately to reinforce Mr. Conant, who was ſettled at Mumkeak, now Salem, ſituate on the coaſt of New-England, between the promontories of Marblehead and Cape Anne.

A fleet of planters arrive at Salem.

The following year the Maſſachuſet adventurers fitted out ſix ſhips, on board whereof were three hundred and fifty planters, men, women and children; and two non-conformiſt Miniſters, viz. Mr. Shelton and Mr. Higginson: They alſo ſent over cattle of all kinds, viz. Horſes, Mares, Cows, Hogs and Goats, with Rabits and Barn-door-fowls; as alſo cannon, ammunition and proviſion of all kinds, neceſſary to eſtabliſh a colony; which fleet ſailed from the Iſle of Wight on the firſt of May, 1620, and arrived at Salem in New-England on the twenty-fourth of June following. The firſt thing they did after their arrival was to ſend for ſome of their brethren from Plymouth, and having learned what ſpecies of independents they were, reſolved to copy after them (in religion at leaſt) and entered into a ſolemn covenant among themſelves for that purpoſe; declaring (as I underſtand the inſtrument) that they would ſubmit to no government, eccleſiaſtical or civil, but of their own framing. One of their own writers obſerves, that they were attached to the principles of the Browniſts, which they carried to ſuch a length as not only to diſcourage but to drive away a regular and learned miniſtry, which after ſome years they were bleſſed with. (I preſume he means the presbyterian fathers who reſorted thither afterwards.)

They refuſe to tolerate the ſervice of the church of England.

The ſame writer informs us, that ſome of the planters, finding their Miniſters did not uſe the common-prayer, or adminiſter the ſacraments with the uſual ceremonies, ſet up a ſeparate aſſembly, wherein they uſed the liturgy of the Church of England; and of theſe Mr. Samuel Brown a lawyer, and his brother John Brown a merchant, men of eſtates and figure, were the chief, being of the number of the firſt patentees.

The Deputy-Governor ſending to theſe gentlemen to demand the reaſon of their ſeparation, they repreſented, that the Miniſters were ſeparatiſts from the Church of England, and the principles they profeſſed would ſhortly lead them to become anabaptiſts. To which the Miniſters anſwered, they were neither ſeparatiſts nor anabaptiſts; they did not ſeparate from the Church of England, or from the ordinances of God, but only from the corruptions and diſorders of that church; that they came away from the common-prayer and ceremonies, and had ſuffered for their non-conformity in their native land; and being now in a place where they had their liberties, they neither could nor would uſe them, judging the impoſition of theſe things ſinful corruptions of the word of God.

Mr. Brown and his friends replied, that as they were of the church eſtabliſhed by law in their native country, it was highly reaſonable they ſhould worſhip God in the manner that government required, from which they received their charter; at leaſt they ought to allow the members of the church that liberty of conſcience they themſelves thought ſo reaſonable when they were on the other ſide of the water; and as one article in their charter provided that all perſuaſions of Chriſtians ſhould have liberty of conſcience, they did not know whether their denying it to them was not a forfeiture of their charter. But theſe arguments were called ſeditious and mutinous; and the brethren, determining to ſuffer none to reſide there that were not of the ſame levelling principles in church and ſtate as they profeſſed, forced the two Mr. Browns to return back to Old-England in the ſame ſhip that brought them over, whereby they eſcaped that mortality which happened among the planters the next winter, when an hundred of them died, and among the reſt Mr. Francis Higgonson their preacher, and Houghton the ruling elder of their church.

A great mortality amongſt the planters.

Winthrop made Governor.

Dudley Deputy-Governor.

The year following (1630) Mr. Cradock declining to go over to his government, the Maſſachuſet adventurers in Old-England made choice of John Winthrop, Eſq. for Governor, and Mr. Thomas Dudley Deputy-Governor; and having fitted out ten ſail of ſhips, the Governor and his Deputy embarked in that fleet for New-England, together with Sir Richard Saltoustal, Isaac Johnson, Eſq. and his lady, Theophilus Eaton and John Venn, Eſqrs. with ſeveral other gentlemen and non-conformiſt Miniſters, and upwards of two hundred planters more, who arrived at Salem in July 1630: Soon after which the people of Salem made two new ſettlements, the firſt at Charles Town, on the north ſide of Charles River, oppoſite to the place where Boſton now ſtands, and the other at Dorcheſter, ſituate at the bottom of the Maſſachuſets Bay; but the new planters bringing the ſcurvy and other diſtempers along with them, and lying in tents and booths pretty much expoſed to the weather, above an hundred of them dyed within three months after their arrival. The ſmall-pox at the ſame time made ſuch havock among the Indians that nine parts in ten of them (as the New-England hiſtorians relate) died of that diſtemper, and the reſt flying from the diſtemper the country was in a manner depopulated: But this it not very conſiſtent with what the New-England writers add: That they purchaſed the ſeveral tracts of land they afterwards poſſeſſed of the natives; for if the former inhabitants were all dead or gone, the Engliſh, who ſucceeded them in the poſſeſſion, ſeem to have had the beſt title to the country, and had no occaſion or even opportunity to purchaſe their lands. If they did purchaſe ſome ſmall parcels on their arrival, there is no doubt to be made but they poſſeſſed themſelves of much more on this general deſertion without paying any thing for it.

Charles Town founded: And Dorcheſter.

The latter end of the ſame year 1630, the inhabitants of Charles Town obſerving that the oppoſite ſide of the river was a much more deſirable ſituation than that their town ſtood upon, took the liberty to diſpoſſeſs Mr. Blackston an epiſcopal Miniſter, of it, who had built a little houſe there, by vertue whereof he laid claim to the whole peninſula; and they ſeem to juſtify the outrage by ſuggeſting that Mr. Blackston was an odd ſort of a man, who would not join himſelf with any of their New-England Churches, declaring that as he came from Old-England becauſe he did not like Lords Biſhops, ſo he would not join with them becauſe he would not be ſubject to the Lords Brethren, whoſe tyranny he held much more inſupportable than the other: But however that be, certain it is, when the brethen had driven away this unhappy Parſon that could agree with no body, they laid the foundation of their capital city upon this very ſpot of ground, to which they gave the name of Boſton: Cambridge and ſeveral towns more were founded ſoon after not far from Boſton; for now the non-conformiſts reſorted hither in great numbers; fleets of ſhips came over crowded with them every year. In 1634 the ſmall-pox was as fatal to the Indians as it had been in the year 1630. The Engliſh obſerve that thoſe people are generally very full of them, and wanting beds and Linen they become the moſt loathſome objects imaginable; for having nothing but hard matts to lie on, when the poſtules break they ſtick to the matts, and all their skin is flead off, and in this condition they catch cold and die in the utmoſt torture; which makes the natives dread the ſmall-pox much more than a peſtilence.

Boſton the capital founded.

The ſmall-pox fatal to the Indians.

Diviſions among the planters.

There happened great diviſions about this time (1634) among the brethren. Their writers relate, that Mr. ROGER WILLIAMS, who was choſen to ſucceed Mr. SHELTON deceaſed, as Paſtor of the Church of Salem, being a rigid Browniſt, preciſe and uncharitable, and of turbulent paſſions, was near ſetting the whole country in a flame. This father taught, that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for a good man to join in prayer with thoſe he thought unregenerate: That it was not lawful to take an oath to a Magiſtrate; and thereupon refuſed the oath of allegiance, and adviſed his congregation to do the ſame: And declared that their charter granted by the King of England was void, and an inſtrument of injuſtice which they ought to renounce as injurious to the natives; his Majeſty having no power to diſpoſe of their lands to his ſubjects: That Magiſtrates had nothing to do with matters of the firſt table of the decalogue, and therefore there ought to be a general and unlimited toleration for all religions: To puniſh men for matters of conſcience was perſecution. For holding which tenets the Magiſtrates baniſhed him the Maſſachuſet Colony as a diſturber of the peace of their church and commonwealth: But ſuch an influence had his exhortations on ſome of his followers, that in the height of their zeal they cut the croſs out of the King's ſtandard, declaring it to be an idol; and the people thereupon became divided in their opinions, whether it was lawful to have the croſs in their colours or not. Several furious books were printed and publiſhed on each ſide the queſtion, and moſt of their militia refuſed to march with their colours ſo long as the croſs remained in them, leſt they ſhould be thought to do honour to an idol; while others were for following the King's colours with the croſs in them, leſt their deſerting them ſhould be interpreted a caſting off their allegiance to the crown of England: But at length the Magiſtrates and Officers compromiſed the matter in the following manner: They ordered that all caſtles and ſhips ſhould have the ſame colours as formerly, but that the croſs might be omitted in the colours belonging to the regiments of militia. To return to ROGER WILLIAMS, who ſtarted and encouraged theſe notions. So much were his congregation devoted to him that many of them choſe to accompany him in his baniſhment. Whereupon he led them to the ſouthward, beyond the bounds of the Maſſachuſets juriſdiction, and there became the founder of another petty ſtate, calling the country Providence, which it retains to this day; and here ſays the New-England writers, they incorporated a church, proceeding from one whimſey to another until they crumbled to pieces, every one following his own fancy; inſomuch that religion itſelf grew into contempt, and the publick worſhip of God was generally neglected among them.

The croſs in the colours expunged as idolatrous.

The original of Providence Plantation.

However, they tell us, that ROGER made a good civil Governor, remained in thoſe parts above forty years, and regained his reputation even among the Maſſachuſet Planters who had baniſhed him, and was very inſtrumental in obtaining the charter of Rhode-Iſland, to which his plantation of Providence was annexed; adding, that if he had never meddled with divinity he would have been eſteemed a great and uſeful man.

Mr. Vane Governor of the Maſſachuſets.

In the mean time Mr. VANE arrived in the Maſſachuſet Colony, a gentleman that made a much greater noiſe afterwards both in Old and New-England than ever ROGER WILLIAMS had done. Their writers repreſent Mr. VANE at this time as a hot-headed young fellow, whoſe zeal for pure religion drew him over thither: His firſt deſign was to have ſettled a new colony on the banks of the river Connecticut; but being complimented with the government of the Maſſachuſets on his arrival, he reſolved to ſtay there.

He was no ſooner advanced to the government, but he appeared to be a perſon of little conduct, and by no means equal to the poſt he was preferred to: He was, they tell us, a violent enthuſiaſt, openly eſpouſing the antinomian doctrines, and gave ſuch encouragement to their preachers, that he had very near overturned their infant-church and commonwealth, if ſome of the wiſeſt of them had not put an end to his reign, by electing another Governor as ſoon as the year expired.

He returned afterwards to Old England, where his father being principal Secretary of ſtate he was elected a member of the Long Parliament; and what a ſhare both father and ſon had in fomenting the Grand Rebellion againſt King CHARLES I. all the world are appriſed; nor did any man act with more zeal, or rather more malice, againſt the royal family and monarchy itſelf during the uſurpation, than this gentleman, which occaſioned his being left out of the act of indemnity by King CHARLES II. But to return to the Maſſachuſet planters; the brethren flocking over to them continually, ſo that they began to be ſtraitened for want of room, and the Indians on their weſtern frontiers beginning to be troubleſome, they detached a party of an hundred men to the banks of the River Connecticut, that they might plant that country and ſerve as an outguard to their more eaſtern ſettlements. And theſe adventurers beginning their march in the month of June, and travelling on foot with their wives, children and baggage, about nine or ten miles a day, arrived at the River Connecticut in leſs than a fortnight, where they founded the town of Hartford, now the capital of Connecticut, on the weſt-ſide of that river; and ſoon after laid the foundation of Windſor, Weathersfield and Springfield in the ſame province; and finding themſelves beyond the limits of the Maſſachuſets juriſdiction, they choſe a Governor and Magiſtrates among themſelves, and made ſuch laws as they thought fit

Connecticut Colony.

fit in imitation of the Colony from whence they came; and in this ſtate they remained till the reſtoration of King Charles II. when they applied to his Majeſty for a patent, and in the year 1664 obtained a very ample charter, authoriſing them to elect their own Governor, Council and Magiſtrates, and enact ſuch laws as they thought moſt advantageous to the colony, not oppoſite to the laws of England; the benefit whereof they enjoy to this day: The colony of New-Haven, and moſt of the Narraganſet country being annexed to it by the ſame charter, and conſtituting but one government at preſent. New-Haven and the Narraganſet country it ſeems had been granted by King Charles I. to the Earl of Warwick in the year 1630, and purchaſed of that Earl by William Viſcount Say and Seal, Robert Lord Brooks, Robert Lord Rich, Charles Fiennes, Eſq. Sir Nathaniel Rich, John Pym, Eſq. John Hampden, Eſq. and other male-contents, who fomented the Grand Rebellion againſt King Charles I. for a place of refuge, in caſe their conſpiracy againſt that Prince had not ſucceeded; and they were once upon the point of tranſporting themſelves thither with the moſt noxious of their party, being in doubt of carrying their point in the ſenate. Oliver Cromwell, 'tis ſaid, was actually on board in the River Thames, intending to have tranſported himſelf to New-England; but ſuch multitudes of people were embarking at the ſame time for the plantations, that it was thought proper to publiſh a proclamation (dated the 30th of April 1637) prohibiting all people to tranſport themſelves without licenſe, whereby Cromwell, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. John Hampden, and ſeveral other diſaffected gentlemen, were prevented going thither; and ſucceeding in their rebellion afterwards beyond their expectation, they ſold their intereſt in theſe plantations to other adventurers, who united with the Connecticut Colony, and became one government, as has been intimated already.

New Hampſhire and Maine planted.

In the mean time other Engliſh adventurers poſſeſſed themſelves of the countries of New-Hampſhire and Maine to the northward of the Maſſachuſets, which for ſome time remained ſeparate governments; but afterwards united themſelves with the Maſſachuſets, and continued ſo till the reign of King Charles II. when the Maſſachuſets charter was adjudged to be forfeited. And in the charter which was granted to the Maſſachuſets by King William III. after the revolution, the provinces of Maine and Plymouth were annexed to the Maſſachuſets, but Hampſhire was made a diſtinct government immediately depending on the crown, which appoints the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Council and Magiſtrates there; as will appear further under the head of Government: I ſhall only add here, that all the New-England provinces were planted and pretty well peopled within the ſpace of ſeventeen or eighteen years, and a very beneficial fiſhery carried on at the ſame time on their coaſts by the Merchants of Old-England, who with the fiſh, taken here annually, purchaſed the merchandize of Spain and Portugal.

The War with the Pequots.

Hitherto the Engliſh colonies had lived in peace with the Indians. Some little miſunderſtandings and ſlight skirmiſhes had happened indeed, but theſe differences had been amicably compoſed, and no formal war yet entered into with the natives: But upon the Maſſachuſets penetrating into the heart of their country, and taking poſſeſſion of the province of Connecticut, without any previous treaty, or ſo much as notice given them of their intention, the Indians immediately concluded they ſhould be extirpated, or at leaſt enſlaved by theſe ſtrangers; and the Pequots, the moſt potent nation in thoſe parts, thereupon fell upon the Engliſh before they had perfected their ſettlements on Connecticut River, killed nine men, and carried two women into captivity; and then endeavoured to form a confederacy with the reſt of the Indian nations againſt the Engliſh for their common defence. But the Narraganſets, ancient enemies of the Pequots, refuſed to come into their meaſures, and determined to take part with the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the Pequots repreſented that nothing could now preſerve their country from a foreign yoke but a ſtrict union among themſelves: That the Narraganſets, if they favoured the Engliſh, would only have the ſatisfaction of being deſtroyed laſt; conjuring them therefore, as they valued their own preſervation, to forget all quarrels among themſelves, and unite in the defence of their common country againſt ſo formidable an enemy: That it was true, the fire-arms of the Engliſh ſeemed to render them invincible in a body, yet they might ſurpriſe them when they were diſperſed in ſmall parties, or buſied in building and fortifying their towns; they might cut off their proviſions, harraſs their troops, and ſo diſtreſs them by perpetual alarms, if they were unanimous; that they would be glad to retire again to the ſea-coaſts, and probably abandon their country; whereas if they defer it till more of them came over, and they were ſuffered to complete the fortifications of their towns, it would then be in vain to ſtruggle for the recovery of their loſt liberties, and they muſt ſubmit to ſuch terms as theſe foreigners ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe on them.

But ſuch was the reſentment of the Narraganſets againſt their former enemies the Pequots, who had frequently triumphed over them, that they were not to be removed with any arguments they could uſe; the proſpect of ſatiating their revenge, on a people that had often inſulted them, made them not conſider the conſequences of aſſiſting the Engliſh; or perhaps, like ſome other people, they choſe rather to be ſlaves to foreigners than to their neighbours, and might hope for better terms from the Engliſh by an early ſubmiſſion.

Thus were the Pequots left alone to defend themſelves againſt theſe powerful invaders, infinitely ſuperior to them both in their arms and in the art of war; and what was ſtill more unfortunate, ſeveral Indian nations joined in confederacy with them, and contributed to the conqueſt of their country. However, they aſſembled their troops, determining to make the beſt defence they could; and on the other hand the Governor of the Maſſachuſets ſent a detachment of an hundred and ſixty men to ſupport the new Colony of Connecticut, who were joined by five hundred of their Indian allies, who vowed to live and die with the Engliſh; but the Narraganſets no ſooner came in ſight of the Pequots than moſt of them deſerted the ſervice and run away; however, the Engliſh advanced and drove the Pequots before them, who retired into two forts that were defended only by ſtakes and buſhes, one of which the Engliſh entering in the night-time ſet fire to their thatch'd huts; and the Pequots, endeavouring to make their eſcape from the flames, were moſt of them cut in pieces, either by the

The Pequots defeated by the Engliſh.

Engliſh or their Indian allies, who now returned to the ſlaughter of the flying enemy; tho' they could not be perſuaded to face them while they were unbroken; and of five hundred Pequots that were ſhut up within this fort (as it was called) not more than ſix or ſeven eſcaped: This victory being obtained with the loſs only of two Engliſh men killed and twenty wounded.

The Engliſh advancing towards the other fort the garriſon mutinied againſt SASSACUS their Sachem, and he was forced to abandon it; his people thereupon retiring to the woods and ſwamps; whither being purſued by the Engliſh and their allies, ſome hundreds more of them were killed, and near two hundred men, women and children taken priſoners; who were divided between the colony and the Narraganſet Indians: As to thoſe that fell to the ſhare of the Engliſh, the males were ſent ſlaves to the Bermudas, and the females diſtributed in their own families; which ſucceſs ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Indian Sachems that many of them came in and deſired to be taken into the protection of the Engliſh. As for SASSACUS, the great King of the Pequots, he fled with moſt of his ſubjects to the Maquas; who, at the inſtance of the Narraganſets, cut off his head, and the Connecticut colony poſſeſſed themſelves of his dominions, as the New-England writers acknowledge. But after this, it is to be preſumed, they will no longer affirm that they obtained the lands of the Indians by purchaſe, or the voluntary grants of the natives.

Who poſſeſs their country.

Diviſions among the Engliſh, occaſioned by the numerous and monſtrous hereſies and errors that were broached at this time.

To proceed in their hiſtory. While the Maſſachuſets were thus ſucceſsful againſt their enemies abroad, they were in great danger of being deſtroyed by their inteſtine diviſions at home, as the celebrated MATHER, and after him Mr. NEAL relate. Familiſtical and antinomian errors, according to theſe writers, over-ſpread the colony, the riſe of which they aſcribe in a great meaſure to one Mrs. HUTCHINSON; who obſerving that the men uſed to meet once a week at Boſton to repeat the ſermons they had heard the preceeding Sunday, and to paſs their judgments on the doctrines contained in them, ſhe apprehended it might be as expedient for the zealous women to have the ſame kind of meetings, grounding her opinion on that paſſage of ſcripture, that the elder woman ought to teach the younger; and accordingly aſſembled three or fourſcore women at her houſe every week, where ſhe repeated the ſermons of her teacher Mr. COTTON, and made her remarks on them. Among other things ſhe taught her diſciples, that believers were perſonally united with the ſpirit of GOD, and that the revelations the ſaints were indulged with, were of equal authority with the holy ſcriptures; that their miniſters were legaliſts, men that were unacquainted with the ſpirit of the goſpel and with Chriſt himſelf: And the whole country became immediately divided into two factions, the one zealous for the covenant of works, and the other for the covenant of grace, as they called them. The colony of Plymouth were ſo furious for the latter, that they ſtarved and diſcarded all their old miniſters who were of another opinion, and ſet up mechanicks in their ſtead. The town of Boſton alſo was infected with antinomianiſm; whereupon the fathers of the Maſſachuſet Colony thought fit to call a ſynod to cenſure their errors, of which they enumerated above four-ſcore, ſome of them, according to the aboveſaid writers, the moſt monſtrous and abſurd that ever were broached: And when Mr. WHEELRIGHT, one of their Miniſters, and Mrs. HUTCHINSON perſiſted to avow their opinions, the ſynod called in the lay powers to their aſſiſtance, and cauſed WHEELRIGHT, Mrs. HUTCHINSON, and many more of their adherents, to be baniſhed the colony, and fined and impriſoned others, without which wholeſome ſeverities they ſuggeſted it was impoſſible for their church or commonwealth to ſubſiſt: For, ſay they, theſe men were for turning the government upſide down, and excluding the Magiſtrates as unqualified for their offices, becauſe they were men of legal ſpirit, and inclined to a covenant of works.

One party baniſhes the other.

The exiles retire to Rhode-Iſland, and plant it, an. 1639.

Thoſe that were thus baniſhed, and many more of their friends, hereupon retired to Rhode-Iſland, which they planted in the year 1639, and purchaſing that tract of land over-againſt it on the continent, where the towns of Providence and Warwick are ſituated, they became a ſeparate colony, and in proportion to the extent of their territories, which are but ſmall, are now as flouriſhing a people as any in New England; tho' Dr. MATHER and the reſt of the Maſſachuſet fathers load them with the moſt ſcandalous reproaches, repreſenting them as a generation of libertines, familiſts, antinomians, and quakers, whoſe poſterity, for want of ſchools and a publick miniſtry, became ſo barbarous, they ſay, as not to be capable of ſpeaking good Engliſh or good ſenſe.

Charge the Independents with perſecution.

On the other hand, the good people of Rhode-Iſland charge the Maſſachuſet fathers with perſecution for conſcience-ſake, the very motive which induced them all to leave their native country: And they glory in it, that in this colony no man's conſcience was ever forced, or any manner of compulſion uſed in matters of religion to this day.

MASSASOIET renews the treaty of alliance with the Plymouth Colony.

Notwithanding theſe diviſions among the Engliſh, the natives remained quiet for ſome time after the defeat of the Pequots, or Connecticut Indians; and in the year 1641 the great King or Sachem MASSASOIET came to Plymouth with his ſon MOOANAM, to confirm his ancient league with the Engliſh, both of them promiſing to remain faithful ſubjects to the King of Great-Britain; and the colony on the other hand promiſed to protect and defend them againſt their enemies.

The New-England heroes return to England, and join the rebels, an. 1641.

And now the civil wars breaking out in Old-England, and the faction at London carrying all before them, the brethren put a ſtop to their embarkations for New-England, and inſtead of tranſporting themſelves thither, a great many gentlemen and non-conformiſt Miniſters returned to Old-England at this time (1641) either to new model the church here, or to aſſiſt in ſubduing their Prince and country; in order to erect ſuch another commonwealth at home as they had eſtabliſhed in New-England; among whom were EDWARD WINSLOW, afterwards one of the Commiſſioners of the navy under the uſurpers, EDWARD HOPKINS, a Commiſſioner of their admiralty, GEORGE DOWNING, afterwards Sir GEORGE DOWNING, employed as envoy in Holland by the uſurpers, and afterwards by King CHARLES II. SAMUEL MATHER, JOHN KNOWLES, THOMAS ALLEN, HENRY WHITFIELD, and the infamous HUGH PETERS, CROMWELL's chaplain and buffoon, who made a jeſt of all religions and all forms of government.

The government of New-England modelled like that of Holland.

In the mean time thoſe they left behind them in New-England, kept pace with the diſaffected here, or rather led the way in caſting off their allegiance to the crown of Great-Britain: And in the year 1643 the four principal colonies of New-England (viz.) the Maſſachuſets, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven Colonies entered into an aſſociation or confederacy; like that of the United Provinces, to defend themſelves againſt all mankind.

They exclude all that differ from them from places in the government.

Each province aſſumed ſovereign power, and agreed to ſend deputies to a certain place, where they were to form a council like that of the States General, and negotiate their common concerns, eſpecially thoſe relating to peace and war, and the adjuſting their ſeveral quotas and proportions of men and money; but their reſolutions were to be of no force till confirmed by the reſpective colonies. They alſo copied ſo far after the Dutch as not to ſuffer any denomination of chriſtians but thoſe of their own church, to have any poſts or places in the government, and laid diſſenters to independency under very great reſtraints and hardſhips; of which the preſbyterians, anabaptiſts, antinomians, and other ſects complained very loudly: They repreſented, that they had a natural right to be admitted to a ſhare in the government as well as the independents without taking the oaths and covenants that were required of them, and were evidently inconſiſtent with the oath of allegiance: And that it was ſtill more oppreſſive to fine and impriſon them for neglecting to take ſuch oaths, and preſs them into the military ſervice againſt their wills, as many of them were: They preferred a petition therefore to the government to have theſe grievances redreſſed, which being rejected, they appealed to the parliament of England, and ſent over Agents thither to lay their caſe before the Houſes; at which the independent preachers exclaimed in their pulpits, calling it an unjuſt and rebellious appeal againſt the people of God, and denounced judgment againſt thoſe that promoted it.

Converſion of the Indians.

While the independents thus perſecuted their brethren in New-England, their hiſtorians inform us, they appeared no leſs zealous in converting and civilizing the Indians that lived amongſt them; and as theſe poor creatures were abſolutely in their power, I find they ſubmitted to whatever their maſters dictated; and thereupon the independent fathers boaſt of the hundreds and thouſands they converted in the ſpace of a few years. But this ſeeming converſion appears to be owing altogether to force and compulſion; for I do not find they ever made converts of any Indians but thoſe in the little iſlands upon the coaſt, and ſuch as reſided within their bounds. There is ſcarce an inſtance of a convert made beyond the walls of their towns; or if there were any ſuch they have now deſerted their communion, all the Indians on the borders of New-England, that are at liberty, being roman catholicks at this day, the fruits of the jeſuit miſſions. And here give me leave to mention ſome few of thoſe cuſtoms the New-England fathers of thoſe days compelled their converts to obſerve, which were ſuch as theſe: That the women ſhould not wear their hair looſe and flowing, but tied up; and that they ſhould not go with naked breaſts: That the men ſhould not wear long hair, or kill their Lice between their teeth; and that they ſhould not commit fornication, or beat their wives: That they ſhould not attend the pawawing, or ſuperſtitious ceremonies and ſorceries of their prieſts: That they ſhould lay aſide the cuſtom of howling, greaſing their bodies, and adorning their hair: That they ſhould not ſteal, get drunk, or break the ſabbath: That they ſhould pray in their wigwams with their families, and ſay grace before and after meat. Their writers add, that having inſtructed a great many hundred Indians in the chriſtian religion, they proceeded to baptize and admit them to the communion; and ſeveral congregational churches were formed out of them, after the manner of the independents, about the year 1660. They alſo printed catechiſms, the practice of piety, and even the bible itſelf in the Indian language. Several Indians were ordained preachers, and ſome ſpecimens are given us of their ſermons and prayers; from whence it is not difficult to diſcover who were their maſters, and where they learned their divinity: The chief apoſtles in theſe notable converſions of the Indians were Mr. Elliot, Mr. Mayhew, and Mr. Cotton.

The Indians prejudiced againſt the independents.

Doctor Increase Mather, Miniſter of Boſton, and Rector of their univerſity of Cambridge, in his letter to Doctor Leusden, hebrew profeſſor at Utrecht, and dated the 12th of July 1687, tells him, that there were then ſix churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen aſſemblies of catechumens: That there were there four Engliſh Miniſters who preached in the Indian tongue, and twenty four Indians who were preachers: And Dr. Cotton Mather, ſon of Increase Mather, who has brought down their eccleſiaſtical hiſtory to the year 1695, ſays, there were then three thouſand adult Indian chriſtians in the iſlands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket; but the Indians on the continent, and eſpecially at a diſtance from the coaſt, it appears, have but little regard to the independent miſſionaries. Mr. Experience Mayhew, in his viſitation of the Pequot and Mohegin Indians, in the years 1713 and 1714, obſerved that the remains of thoſe nations were under ſtrong prejudices againſt the chriſtian religion; and that one of their Sachems bid him go and make the Engliſh good firſt before he preach'd to them; objecting that ſome of the Engliſh kept Saturday, others Sunday, and others no day at all for the worſhip of God; ſo that if his people were inclined to turn Chriſtians, they could not tell what ſect to be of. Others, after they had heard him preach, ſaid, they did believe the being of a God, and worſhipped him, but as every nation had its peculiar way of worſhip, ſo they had theirs, and they thought their way good, and there was no reaſon to alter it. Another ſaid, that the difficulties of the Chriſtian religion were ſuch as the Indians could not endure; their fathers had made ſome trial of it, but found it too hard for them, and therefore quitted it; and they were no more able to undergo the hardſhips of it than their fathers: That they did not ſee men were ever the better for being Chriſtians, the Engliſh Chriſtians cheated the Indians of their lands, and wronged them in other inſtances; and their knowledge of books only rendered them more artful and cunning to cheat others, and therefore ſeemed to do them more hurt than good; and one of their prieſts plainly told Mr. Mayhew, if the Indians made him any promiſes of becoming Chriſtians, they would not keep them, but as ſoon as he was gone, they would get drunk, and be as bad as ever.

Anabaptiſts and quakers perſecuted.

My author (Mr. NEAL) having finiſh'd his account of the converſions of the Indians, proceeds to cenſure the independent church of New-England for not allowing liberty of conſcience, telling us they fined two anabaptiſts for ſeparating from them, and whipped a third at the common whipping poſt; and that they afterwards paſſed an act of aſſembly to baniſh all anabaptiſts the colony. But they appeared ſtill more ſevere againſt the quakers in the year 1656; for having fined, impriſoned, and whipped many of them, and finding this would not reclaim them, tho' ſome of them were almoſt whipped to death, a law was made for cutting off their ears, and boring their tongues through with hot irons; and laſtly, they made it death (in the year 1658) for a quaker to return from baniſhment; and three of them actually ſuffered death at Boſton by virtue of that act, in the year 1659, viz. WILLIAM ROBINSON, of London, merchant, MARMADUKE STEVENSON, of Yorkſhire, huſbandman, and MARY DYAR.

Several quakers put to death.

STEVENSON, a little before his execution, ſigned a paper, wherein he ſays, "That when he was following his plough, in the eaſt part of Yorkſhire in Old-England, he was in a ſort of rapture, and heard a ſecret voice in his conſcience, ſaying, I have ordained thee a prophet of the nations: And in obedience to this voice he left his family and employment, and went firſt to Barbadoes, in the year 1658, and from thence to Rhode-Iſland, where, as he was viſiting the ſeed, the word of the LORD came to him, ſaying, Go to Boſton with thy brother WILLIAM ROBINSON; and for yielding obedience to this command of the ever living GOD, and not obeying the commands of men, he ſuffered." And ROBINSON alſo left a paper of the like tenour.

Theſe executions, ſays my author (Mr. NEAL) raiſed a great clamour againſt the government, and ſullied the glory of their former ſufferings from the biſhops; for now it appeared that the New-England puritans were no better friends to liberty of conſcience than their adverſaries; and that the queſtion between them was not whether one party of Chriſtians ought to oppreſs another, but who ſhould have the power of doing it. The quakers themſelves obſerved upon theſe executions, that the law for putting them to death was contrary to the laws of England, and conſequently a forfeiture of their charter: And if it was not contrary to the laws of England, it was certainly contrary to the laws of GOD, which allowed every man a right of private judgment, or to judge for himſelf in religious matters. They added, that if it was an offence to make profeſſion of their religion, the puniſhment they inflicted upon it, however, was too ſevere; for they were not charged with felony or treaſon, but only with a contempt of authority and GOD's ordinances, which might deſerve a fine or the pillory, but were never puniſhed with death in any civilized nation.

However, the government ſtill continued to put this ſanguinary act in execution, and having baniſhed ſeveral quakers more, put to death WILLIAM LEDDIA, a foreigner, in the year 1660; who told them, when he was brought to the gallows, That he ſuffered for bearing his teſtimony for the LORD againſt the deceivers and the deceived. Nor did the puritans of New-England cauſe theſe bloody perſecutions to ceaſe, till they received the following order from King CHARLES II.

King CHARLES order to ſtop theſe perſecutions.

CHARLES Rex.

"Truſty and well beloved, We greet you well. Having been informed that ſeveral of our ſubjects among you, called quakers, have been, and are impriſoned by you, whereof ſome have been executed, and others (as hath been repreſented to us) are in danger to undergo the like; we have thought fit to ſignify our pleaſure in that behalf for the future, and do hereby require, That if there be any of thoſe people called quakers, amongſt you now, already condemned to ſuffer death, or other corporal puniſhment; or that are impriſoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein, but that you forthwith ſend the ſaid perſons (whether condemned or impriſoned) over into this our kingdom of England, together with their reſpective crimes or offences laid to their charge, to the end ſuch courſe may be taken with them here as ſhall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits; and for ſo doing, theſe our letters ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge. Given at our court at Whitehall, September the 9th, 1661, in the 13th year of our reign.

"Subſcribed, to our truſty and well beloved JOHN ENDICOT, Eſq. and to all and every other the Governor or Governors of our plantation of New-England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter ſhall be; and to all and every the Miniſters and Officers of our ſaid plantation and colonies whatſoever within the continent of New-England.

By his Majeſty's command.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

The ſame author obſerves, that all the colonies of New-England were not equally ſevere againſt the quakers. They ſuffered but little in the diſtricts of Connecticut and New-Haven; but Plymouth colony copied after the Maſſachuſets, as appeared by a letter from Mr. JAMES CUDWORTH to his friend at London, dated the 10th of December, 1658, wherein Mr. CUDWORTH ſays: The condition of things amongſt us is ſad, and ſo like to continue. The antichriſtian perſecuting ſpirit is very active. He that will not whip and laſh, perſecute and puniſh men that differ in matters of religion, muſt not ſit on the bench, or ſuſtain any office in the commonwealth. By our law, if any man entertain a quaker but a quarter of an hour he forfeits five Pound; and if any man ſee a quaker, he is obliged to give notice to the next Conſtable, tho' he lives five miles off, and the Conſtable is to apprehend him; and if he do not preſently depart, to whip and ſend him away. Divers have been whipped in our colony; and to tell you truly, the whipping them with that cruelty as ſome have been whipped, and their patience under it, has gained them more diſciples than their preaching could have done.

There is another law in our colony, which provides, that if a quaker's meeting be held in any man's houſe or ground, the owner thereof ſhall pay forty Shillings, and the preacher and every hearer the like ſum. Our civil powers (ſays the writer) are ſo exerciſed in matters of religion and conſcience, that they have no time to do any thing that tends to promote the civil proſperity of the place. We muſt now have a ſtate religion, ſuch as the powers of this world will allow, and no other. A ſtate miniſtry (clergy) and a ſtate maintenance for them: And we muſt worſhip and ſerve the LORD JESUS as the world ſhall appoint us: We muſt all go to the publick place of meeting in the pariſh where we dwell, or forfeit ten Shillings for abſenting: Fourſcore were preſented laſt court for not coming to the publick meetings.

Baptiſm denied to the children of baptized Chriſtians.

But notwithſtanding the independents of New-England perſecuted every other denomination of Chriſtians, when they addreſſed King CHARLES II. on his reſtoration, they implored that he would grant them that invaluable bleſſing, liberty of conſcience, which they denied to every body elſe; and endeavoured at the ſame time to juſtify their uſage of the quakers. They pretended alſo to merit his favour, by telling him, That they were not ſeditious as to the intereſts of Cæſar, nor ſchiſmatick as to matters of religion (which was equally true, for they had taken part with every ſpecies of uſurpers againſt church and crown from the beginning of the civil wars till the reſtoration.) The next thing I meet with remarkable in their hiſtory, is a diſpute among the independents of New-England, in the year 1662, whether the children of perſons baptized (who had not entered into covenant to be obedient to that church, and been formally admitted members after they were of years of diſcretion) might be baptized; and upon calling a ſynod of their preachers, it was decreed, that the children of ſuch perſons ought not to be baptized.

One executed for a witch.

Connecticut charter.

New-York recovered from the Dutch and given to the Duke of York.

In the ſame year they began their proſecution of witches, and put to death one Mrs. GREENSMITH for acts of witchcraft ſaid to be committed on the body of ANNE COLE, who being taken with fits, accuſed this GREENSMITH as the occaſion of them. Their Miniſters relate that the priſoner was prevailed on alſo to confeſs, that the devil appeared to her in the ſhape of a Deer, and that ſhe talked with him, though ſhe did not enter into covenant with him, and he had carnal knowledge of her body; from whence it appears that the devil is fleſh and blood, and not a ſpirit, and indulges himſelf in the ſame pleaſures as thoſe of human race, according to the New-England creed; but of this hereafter, when I come to ſpeak of thoſe numerous murders that were committed there under a colour of law for the like pretended crimes. In the year 1664 Connecticut and New-Haven procured the charter already mentioned from King CHARLES II; which united thoſe two colonies, and empowered them to elect their own Governor, Council, and Magiſtrates, and make laws. The ſame year King CHARLES made a grant to his royal Highneſs JAMES Duke of York (his brother) of the provinces of New-York and New-Jerſey, then called Nova Belgia, which the Dutch pretended to have purchaſed of Mr. HUDSON, an Engliſhman, about the year 1608, and afterwards planted in 1623; and the latter end of this year a ſquadron of men of war with land forces on board, under the command of Sir ROBERT CARR, was ſent over to reduce it. Sir ROBERT landing 3000 Men near New-Amſterdam, now New-York, ſituate on an iſland at the mouth of Hudſon's River, and ſummoning the Governor, it was ſurrendered to him without ſtriking a ſtroke, and moſt part of the Dutch inhabitants choſe to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England and remain there. Fort Orange, now Albany, an hundred and fifty miles up Hudſon's River, alſo with the whole country, in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch ſubmitted, and has remained in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh ever ſince, having been confirmed to them by the treaty of peace that was made at the end of the Dutch war.

The perſecution ſtill continued in New-England.

The diſpleaſure of the government (of New-England) ſays Mr. NEAL, ſtill ran very high againſt the anabaptiſts and quakers (anno 1669) being very ſevere in putting the laws in execution againſt them, whereby many honeſt people were ruined by fines, impriſonment and baniſhment, which was the more extraordinary, the ſame writer obſerves, becauſe their brethren in Old-England pretended to groan under perſecution there. Sad complaints were ſent over every ſummer of the ſeverity of the government of New-England againſt the anabaptiſts, which induced the diſſenters in London to ſend a letter to the Governor of the Maſſachuſet's, ſigned by their preachers, Dr. GOODWIN, Dr. OWEN, Mr. NYE, Mr. CARYL, and nine more, intreating him to make uſe of his authority and intereſt for reſtoring ſuch of them to their liberty as were in priſon on account of religion, and that their ſanguinary laws might not be put in execution for the future. In this letter they tell the Governor they hoped he would not give an advantage to their adverſaries, who ſought pretences and occaſions againſt their liberty, and were too apt to retort upon them, that perſons of their principles could not bear with diſſenters from them, and left it to his wiſdom therefore to conſider if it was not adviſeable at preſent to put an end to the ſufferings and confinement of the perſons cenſured, and reſtore them to their liberty.

The quakers petition to King CHARLES II.

But this letter, ſays Mr. NEAL (my author) made no impreſſion on them; the priſoners were not releaſed, nor the execution of the laws ſuſpended. The perſecuted quakers alſo ſent over a petition or repreſentation to his Majeſty, wherein having enumerated the hardſhips their friends ſuffered during CROMWELL's uſurpation, they add, "And now, O King, ſince the very day "the LORD brought thee into this land again, and "gave unto thee thy regal power, have they in "thy name made ſtrange and cruel havock of thy "true ſubjects, in putting to death and baniſhing: "And in thy name, with many torturing whippings of old and young at poſts, and at wheels "of great guns, and at carts tails, dragging the "naked bodies of parents, and children through "divers long towns, through the dirt and filth of "their chanels and cart-ways: And in thy name "commanding one friend and brother to help "impriſon the other; yea, in thy name they have "lately preſſed the ſon to help to force his tender "father and mother to goal ſundry miles in the "extremity of the winter-ſeaſon, to the hazard of "their lives: And ſuch as refuſed to obey their unnatural and abominable commands, they have "fined in their courts. And thus from court to "court do theſe monſters of men, in thy name,

“ fine and break open the houſes of the quakers, “ and rob them of their goods, and take away that “ they ſhould eat in, and that they ſhould drink “ in; yea, the very cloaths from their backs in the “ winter, and the bed they ſhould lie on, while “ they keep the body ſundry miles off in priſon; “ driving husbands and wives divers miles to “ priſon; in times of great froſt and ſnow, keeping “ them cloſe priſoners in a very cold room, “ to the endangering of their lives, and to the “ ruin of their families, had not the Lord preſerved “ them. All this, and much more too “ tedious to mention at this time, have they done “ to the ſervants of the Lord in New-England, “ in thy name, ſaying that thou owneſt their “ doings, and eſteemeſt their laws as thy laws: “ And theſe hard things have the ſervants of the “ Lord patiently ſuffered and ſuſtained at their “ hands for no other cauſe but for their faithful “ obedience to the ſpirit of the Lord in their “ hearts, which ſpirit of holineſs teacheth them, “ that forced worſhips and worſhippers are both “ an abomination to the Lord. Theſe few Lines “ are written not from any deſire of the leaſt “ revenge from thy hand upon them, but that “ thou mayeſt know it, and make known thy “ diſlike of their wickedneſs, that ſo the blood “ of the innocent there, if poſſible, might not “ be laid to thy charge in the terrible day of the “ Lord.”

The quakers alſo reflected ſeverely upon the diſſenting preachers in London, becauſe they did not mention them in the letter they wrote to the Governor of New-England in behalf of the other ſects: And in the reign of Queen Anne, Mr. Neal obſerves, the principal quakers in London preſented the following ſhort memorial to the diſſenting Miniſters of that City, viz.

“ There being ſeveral ſevere laws made by “ your brethren in New-England in the Maſſachuſet “ bay and province, againſt our friends “ the people called quakers, only for their conſcientious “ diſſent from the national way there, “ if you are for liberty of conſcience to thoſe that “ diſſent from you, and are willing our friends “ in New-England ſhould enjoy the like liberty “ of conſcience there as you with us do here, we “ requeſt you to manifeſt your ſincerity herein, “ not only by ſhewing your diſlike hereof to your “ brethren there, but alſo by your concurrent “ application with us to the Queen, that ſhe “ would be favourably pleaſed to diſallow of all “ ſuch laws.”

The diſſenters of London thereupon writing over to their brethren in New-England, deſired the quakers might be allowed liberty of conſcience there.

The independents anſwer to the quakers charge of perſecution.

Doctor Cotton Mather, a New-England preacher, in the name of the reſt anſwered, that there could not then (in the reign of Queen Anne) be any ſevere laws in force there on account of religion, becauſe their charter expreſly provided, that liberty of conſcience ſhould be allowed there for ever in the worſhip of God to all Chriſtians, except papiſts.

But the ſevere laws they complained of (ſays Mather) were only ſuch as theſe; 1. The law which requires all perſons of a proper age, quality and condition, to attend the military exerciſes on four training days in a year; as alſo to be furniſhed with arms and ammunition fit for ſervice, on the penalty of a moderate fine therein expreſſed. Now, the government does not inſiſt upon the quakers perſonal appearance, but upon their paying the fine, in caſe of default, as many other gentlemen and inhabitants of the country chuſe to do; but the quakers will do neither. Tho’ they enjoy the protection of the government, they will do nothing towards the ſecurity and defence of it; which is the more extraordinary, ſince all the world knows that the quakers in Penſylvania, in the year 1692, on occaſion of a piracy, hired men with money, and ſupplied them with ammunition and fire-arms to recover their ſloop from the privateers.

Another branch of the law provides, that there be military watches kept in every town at ſuch times, in ſuch places, and in ſuch numbers, and under ſuch regulations as the chief Officer in each town ſhall appoint, and that all perſons able of body, or that are of eſtates (not exempt by law) ſhall by themſelves, or ſome meet perſon in their ſtead, attend the ſame, on the penalty therein expreſſed. But the quakers, though the country was then at war with the French and Indians, would neither provide arms and ammunition, nor watch and ward; they would neither march out againſt the enemy nor keep garriſon at home, nor pay the penalty which the law provides for defaulters. It is true, the quakers pay the taxes raiſed by the general aſſembly for the maintenance of the army, but refuſe to ſubmit to the penalty which the law inflicts on perſonal defaulters in the trained-bands, which has obliged the Officers ſometimes to diſtrain their goods; but the quakers have no more reaſon to complain of this, than of the practice of their own friends in Penſylvania, who have not only fined their brethren for declining to ſerve on juries, but have violently taken away their goods for non-payment, though they pleaded the laws of England, which exempt quakers from ſerving on juries.

The other ſevere law which the quakers complain of, is that which obliges them, as well as the other Inhabitants, to pay their proportion of aſſeſſment for the maintenance of the Miniſters legally choſen and ſettled. This law extends only to ſuch places where the Miniſter’s ſalary is raiſed by aſſeſſment; for in Boſton, and ſome other places, it is raiſed by a voluntary contribution, and there nothing is demanded of them. But if this law was univerſal, it is no greater a hardſhip than they are under from the national Church of Old-England; and yet the Governors of New-England have ſomething more to ſay for themſelves; for in a conſiderable part of the province, the original grants of the lands were made with this condition, that there ſhould be certain taxes paid out of them as a ſort of quit-rent, towards the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed miniſtry: Now, tho’ the quakers are in poſſeſſion of ſome of thoſe lands, and have raiſed eſtates upon them, yet they deny to pay the quit-rent, becauſe it is to ſupport a miniſtry they do not approve of.

Now if this be a true ſtate of the caſe (ſays Mather) I leave the reader to judge whether the quakers had reaſon to raiſe ſuch a cry of perſecution againſt the New-Engliſh government, or to prefer a ſupplication to Queen Anne againſt them, when they enjoyed the ſame privileges with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects of that country.

Thus I have given ſome account of the diviſions among the New-England ſectaries, and of the perſecuting ſpirit of the Independents or governing party there, which will be enlarged upon hereafter. It is time now to return to the civil hiſtory of this province, which has not yet been brought down lower than the year 1673, when there happened one of the moſt remarkable occurrences that is to be met with upon record, and can by no means be omitted here, becauſe it ſhews how America was or might be, firſt peopled; an event that has perplexed all inquiſitive people that have hitherto treated on that ſubject.

A boat with men in it drove from the coaſt of Spain to New-England.

A veſſel being bound from the Streights to London, the crew mutinyed againſt their maſter and officers, and having put them into the long-boat, with a ſmall quantity of proviſions, about an hundred leagues to the weſtward of the coaſt of Spain, the mutineers ſet ſail with the ſhip for New-England, where they arrived in a few weeks; but to their great ſurpriſe met with their maſter and his officers ſoon after their coming on ſhore, for the wind having blown briſkly from the eaſtward from the time the ſhip parted from the long-boat, and the officers labouring hard at their oars, they had the good fortune to make the coaſt of New-England before their proviſion was all ſpent; and the Captain informing the Magiſtrates of Boſton of the matter, the crew were apprehended, tryed and convicted of piracy; and FOREST, the chief of the mutineers, with ſeveral more of the criminals, were executed for the fact at Boſton this very year 1673; which does not only ſhew the poſſibility of peopling America by ſhips, or even boats driven from the coaſts of Europe or Africa, but that it muſt have been very ſtrange, if no ſuch accident had ever happened, when the Phœnicians and Carthiginans were ſo long maſters of the weſtern coaſts of Europe and Africa, and of the Canary Iſlands, and other iſlands that lie between this and the American continent; eſpecially as the wind always ſits eaſterly between the tropicks, and ſix or ſeven degrees beyond either tropick. But to proceed in the hiſtory of New-England.

The hiſtory of New-England reſumed.

The Indians until now made ſcarce any attempts for the recovery of their liberties, after the Pequot Nation was ſubdued in the year 1637. Their reſpective ſovereigns remained at variance among themſelves, and frequently called in the Engliſh to revenge their domeſtick quarrels, appealing to them when they apprehended themſelves injured, and making the Engliſh arbiters of all their differences; who cunningly played one againſt another, until they were ſo weakened by their private quarrels, that our colonies found themſelves in a condition to give law to the whole country; after which they proceeded to enlarge and ſtrengthen their frontiers, uſing the natives as their ſlaves and vaſſals; which the Indians might eaſily have foreſeen would be the conſequence of calling in a people ſo much ſuperior to themſelves to aſſiſt in the conqueſt of their domeſtick enemies, if they had not been blinded and infatuated with an inſatiable thirſt of revenge.

There may alſo be other reaſons aſſigned for their courting and ſubmitting to the Engliſh: They might be ſo terrified by their fire-arms at their firſt arrival, as to apprehend them irreſiſtible, and might hope to obtain the better terms by a ready ſubmiſſion. They might hope perhaps to gain advantages in point of traffick alſo by entering into alliances with them; and probably were impoſed on by the fair pretences of the adventurers, who aſſured them they had no other deſign than trade, and to exchange the valuable merchandize of Europe for what their country afforded; and deſired only to purchaſe ſome ſmall parcels of land to ſecure their effects, and enable them to carry on their traffick with advantage.

Theſe or ſome ſuch reaſons, no doubt induced the Indians to permit the Engliſh to ſettle amongſt them, and to give them but little diſturbance for thirty years and upwards; but when they found the Engliſh uſed them every where like a conquered people, and there was not much diſtinction made between thoſe that had ſubmitted and entered into alliances with them, and thoſe who had not, but that they were all now equally ſlaves, and compelled to part with their religion as well as their liberties, they entered into a general confederacy to ſhake off this inſupportable foreign yoke, in which they were encouraged by the following conſiderations.

A general conſpiracy againſt the Engliſh.

1. The tyranny of the Engliſh had rendered them more unanimous than formerly.

2. Their fire-arms were no longer terrible; the Engliſh had taught the natives the uſe of guns, given them powder and ſhot, and employed them in ſhooting game, ſo that the Indians were become better markſmen than their maſters.

3. The Engliſh now looking upon themſelves to be ſecure, and believing the Indians would never dare to make head againſt them, had neglected to fortify their towns, and diſcipline their forces, which rendered it much eaſier to drive them from their coaſts at this time than it was when they ſtood upon their guard, as in an enemy's country.

In theſe circumſtances, METACOMET (the ſon and ſucceſſor of the great MASSASOIET King of the Wampanoags, who had formerly taken the chriſtian name of PHILIP upon him, when he renewed the treaty of alliance his father made with the colony of Plymouth,) obſerving the encroachments of the Engliſh, who had in a manner deprived him of his authority, treating him and the neighbouring Sachems as their vaſſals.

The conſpiracy diſcovered by SAUSAMAN.

This prince, eminent for his valour and conduct, diſpatched meſſengers privately thro' all the tribes of Indians, inviting them to a general revolt, as the Engliſh termed it, of which the government of Plymouth received advice by one SAUSAMAN, who had changed his religion ſeveral times, and was now pleaſed to profeſs himſelf a chriſtian. PHILIP being informed that his deſign had taken air, and who had betrayed him, ordered ſome of his people to ſurpriſe and kill SAUSAMAN as he went to viſit his converts (for the Engliſh it ſeems employed him as a miſſionary among the natives) and the Sachem's orders were executed with great privacy; for three or four Indians met SAUSAMAN on the road, and killed him as he was going over a pond that was frozen, and cutting a hole in the ice thruſt his body under it, leaving his hat and gun near the place, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally: And it ſeems thoſe that found his corps were of that mind, for they buried him without inquiring farther into the matter. But the Magiſtrates of Plymouth ſuſpecting ſome foul play, ordered the body to be dug up, and a jury, half Engliſh and half natives, to ſit upon it; who found that his neck was broke, his head very much ſwelled, and ſeveral bruiſes on his body, and gave their verdict that he was murdered. But the firſt intimation, who were the authors of his death, according to the credulous Dr. MATHER, proceeded from the bleeding of the corps on its being touched by an Indian named TOBIAS, one of King PHILIP's council; though afterwards ('tis ſaid)

Who is killed by the Indians.

The murderers put to death by the Engliſh.

ſaid) another Indian came in as a witneſs, and ſwore poſitively that he ſaw Tobias and two more murder Sausaman; and tho' all three of them denied the fact when they were brought to the gallows; yet one of them breaking the rope confeſſed that he ſaw the other two murder the deceaſed, but ſtill avowed his own innocence.

From hence it is evident that the colony had aſſumed the government of the Indians as well as of the Engliſh: And this inſtance of it was no doubt a freſh provocation to the Sachem Philip, and the more ſo as they had taken upon them to put to death one of his principal Miniſters without laying the matter before him, or demanding ſatisfaction in an amicable manner. And though he ſmothered his reſentment ſome months, he was no ſooner prepared to execute the ſcheme he had formed, but he ſuffered his people to inſult the Engliſh ſettlements; and when complaint was made to him, he returned ſuch haughty anſwers as diſcovered he no longer intended to ſubmit to their uſurpations. In the month of June 1675, things came to an open rupture, for the Sachem encouraged his ſoldiers to plunder ſome plantations almoſt in view of his palace of Mount-Hope; and a party of Engliſh being ſent out to protect them, fell into an ambuſcade of Indians, who fired from the buſhes and killed ſix or ſeven of the Plymouth men, and then retired to the woods. Whereupon the Governor of Plymouth immediately diſpatched an expreſs to the Maſſachuſets, and the reſt of the united colonies, with advice that the war was actually begun, and to demand the troops they were reſpectively obliged to ſend to his aſſiſtance by the articles of the confederacy.

A war commences thereupon.

King Philip driven from Mount Hope.

Theſe ſuccours being arrived, the Engliſh attacked the Sachem in his palace of Mount-Hope, which, after a faint reſiſtance he abandoned (the place being ſurrounded by the Engliſh plantations) and retired to the Pocaſſet Indians on the ſea-coaſt; whereupon the Engliſh marched into the country of the Narraganſets, whoſe fidelity they ſuſpected, compelled them to deliver up ſeveral of their Sachems as hoſtages, and ſign a treaty, whereby they obliged themſelves to aſſiſt the confederated colonies againſt King Philip and his adherents; after which receiving intelligence that King Philip was fortifying himſelf in a ſwamp covered with buſhes, in the Pocaſſet country, the Engliſh ſurrounded the place with their forces, and by blocking up the avenues to it propoſed to reduce him by famine. But Philip eſcaped in the night-time on a float of timber over a river that ran by the ſide of the ſwamp or moraſs, and fled to the Nipmuck Indians, who inhabited the in-land country on the eaſt ſide of the river Connecticut. Here Philip aſſembled a conſiderable army, and ſoon became maſter of moſt of the Engliſh plantations in this country; and four-ſcore of the Engliſh retiring to a place of difficult acceſs, he beſieged them in it; but the confederated colonies ſending a detachment to the aſſiſtance of their friends, the ſiege was raiſed, and Philip retreated further weſtward, being purſued as far as the river Connecticut. Several ſkirmiſhes in the mean time happened between the Engliſh and Indians in the other colonies; all the nations of Indians having by this time taken arms to recover their expiring liberties, which they were now too late convinced were in the utmoſt danger. And in ſome encounters they were ſucceſsful. They attacked Captain Beers, who commanded a party of ſix and thirty men, killing the Captain and twenty more, the reſt making their eſcape to Hadly; after which the enemy cut off the heads of the ſlain, fixing ſome of them on poles by the high-way ſide, and hanging up others by the jaws on the boughs of trees; which Major Treat marching with a body of four-ſcore men to revenge, and fighting after the Indian manner in the woods, where every man endeavoured to cover himſelf by ſome tree from the enemy's ſhot, the Indians, who were ten times his number, and better markſmen, killed ſeventy of his men; and the remainder had been cut off if Captain Mosely (hearing the continual fire) had not come in to their aſſiſtance; after which Philip's men retired, having loſt about an hundred of their companions, as the New-England hiſtories relate. However, it appears from the ſame hiſtories, that the Indians were ſtill maſters of the field, and among other places burnt and plundered the town of Springfield, ſituated on the river Connecticut; and the New-England people were now ſo ſenſible of their weakneſs, that they had recourſe to faſting and prayers to deprecate the divine vengeance, and inquire into the crying ſins of the land, which they held to be the occaſion of theſe calamities; but in their bead-roll of ſins they never took notice of the moſt crying ſins of injuſtice and oppreſſion of the Indians, over whoſe perſons and country they had uſurped the dominion, and which were indeed the ſole occaſion of this war, and of the calamities they moſt juſtly ſuffered in it.

Two parties of Engliſh cut off by the Indians.

However, bad as their cauſe was, they met with ſome ſucceſs ſoon after, which they held to be the effect no doubt of their faſts. They received intelligence, or pretended they had intelligence, that the Narraganſets had harboured ſome of King Philip's ſoldiers, which they determined amounted to a declaration of war; and therefore in the beginning of winter, 1675, without ſending to enquire the truth of the advice, or expoſtulating with the Narraganſets, they invaded their country with twelve or fifteen hundred Engliſh deſtroying it with fire and ſword; and the people thereupon retiring into a ſwamp, which they endeavoured to fortify by cutting down trees, and raiſing a breaſt-work, the Engliſh ſtormed and carried the place, killing a thouſand Indians in arms, among whom were twenty of their Captains of great fame: Beſides theſe were maſſacred multitudes of old men, women and children, who fled hither on the invaſion, this being eſteemed the beſt natural fortification, and the moſt inacceſſible in the country of the Narraganſets. The Engliſh loſt in the action ſix of their braveſt Captains, and eighty-five Soldiers, beſides an hundred and fifty that were wounded.

The Narraganſets maſſacred.

This ſlaughter of the Narraganſets did not go long unrevenged; for all the Indian nations on the frontiers of New-England immediately took the field (and calling in the French of Canada to their aſſiſtance, as their hiſtories relate) they burnt and plundered the towns of Mendham, Lancaſter, Marlborough, Sudbury, Chelmſford, Weymouth, and even the town of Medfield, within twenty Miles of Boſton, the capital of the Maſſachuſets, carrying many of the inhabitants into ſlavery. From hence they marched into the colony of Plymouth, where the war firſt began, laid the town of Warwick in aſhes, and ſurpriſed Plymouth, the capital of that colony,

The Indians burn and plunder the Engliſh towns.

They cut off two detachments of Engliſh.

lony, but were beaten out of it again; and being purſued by fifty Engliſh, and twenty Chriſtian Indians, they formed an ambuſcade, into which the Engliſh fell and were all cut in pieces, except one Engliſhman, and twelve of their Indian allies. After this King Philip's people burnt the towns of Rehoboth, Providence, Andover, and ſeveral more; the inhabitants having deſerted them and fled for refuge to places that were more defenſible.

The Indians ruined by their diviſions.

Philip killed. The Queen of Pocaſſet defeated and drowned.

In the mean time a detachment of ſeventy Engliſh under the command of Captain Wadsworth and Captain Brattlebank, marching to the aſſiſtance of their friends, were ſurrounded by five hundred Indians, who killed fifty of them on the ſpot, and took ſome priſoners after a very obſtinate engagement, wherein it is ſaid above one hundred Indians were ſlain. However, it is agreed on all hands, the Indians obtained the victory, and, according to the New-England hiſtories, put their priſoners to death by the moſt unheard-of tortures. But notwithſtanding the Indians were generally ſucceſsful during the winter, when the ſeaſon was ſo rigorous that the Engliſh forces could not keep the field, fortune began to frown on them in the beginning of the year 1676. King Philip's troops were defeated in ſeveral encounters, and the potent nation of the Mohawks, upon ſome quarrel with Philip, entering into a league offenſive and defenſive with the Engliſh, he was no longer able to make head againſt his enemies, but fled to his fortreſs of Mount-Hope in Plymouth Colony, where the war began. And here he ſhut himſelf up, refuſing to ſurrender, but was at length killed by a musket ſhot, on the 12th of Auguſt 1676. The brave Queen of Pocaſſet, his moſt faithful ally, loſt her life a few days before. This heroick ſavage being ſurprized by a detachment of the Engliſh, animated her men as long as there was any hopes of ſucceſs, and when they deſerted her, fled to a river-ſide, where miſſing of her canoes, ſhe attempted to croſs the river and was drowned.

King Philip's character.

The character the New-England hiſtorians give us of King Philip is, that he was ever an implacable enemy of the Engliſh nation; a bold and daring Prince, with all the pride, fierceneſs, and cruelty of a ſavage, and a mixture of deep cunning and deſign. He had the addreſs to engage all the Indian nations in his neighbourhood in the war againſt the growing power of the Engliſh; and when his affairs became deſperate, choſe rather to die than ſurvive the liberties of his country, and ſubmit to a foreign yoke: That he was no leſs an enemy to the Chriſtian religion than to the dominion of the Engliſh, never ſuffering any of them to preach to his people, telling their miſſionaries he did not care a button for their goſpel.

The Indians on the ſouth weſt entirely ſubdued.

The war on the north-eaſt.

Upon the death of King Philip, his adherents either ſubmitted to the Engliſh government or diſperſed, ſome of them flying to Albany, and others beyond the river Piſcatawa; which put an end to the war on the ſouth-eaſt of New-England, and ſo broke the ſtrength of the Indians there, that they never attempted an inſurrection afterwards: But the war of the frontiers of New-Hampſhire and Maine (that is, on the north and the north-eaſt) ſtill continued. The Maſſachuſet writers inform us, that the Engliſh adventurers, who firſt poſſeſſed themſelves of the provinces of Maine and New-Hampſhire, lived diſperſed all over thoſe countries without building a ſingle town or fort in it for their defence; and behaved themſelves however very inſolently, treating the Indians as ſlaves, and cheating and impoſing upon them in their traffick; though their trade would have been very advantageous to them if they had dealt fairly and upon the ſquare, inaſmuch as they purchaſed Beaver-ſkins and other rich Furrs of the natives for trifles.

The Indians had long borne with the inſults and outrages committed by the Engliſh of theſe colonies; but when they found they were engaged in a war with their countrymen on the ſouth-weſt, they alſo had recourſe to arms, over-run and plundered the provinces of Maine and Hampſhire, the Engliſh flying before them to the towns in the Maſſachuſet Colony; and thoſe which could not eſcape thither were either cut in pieces or carried into captivity. Whereupon the Maſſachuſets detached a body of two hundred men to oppoſe the Indians on the north-eaſt, who had the good fortune to ſurpriſe four hundred of the enemy and make them all priſoners. Upon which ſucceſs the Indians were induced to come to a treaty with the Engliſh, and a peace was concluded on the 12th of November, 1676, on the following terms, viz.

A peace with the northern Indians.

1. That the Indians ſhould deliver up all the Engliſh priſoners they had taken, with their effects, and make ſatisfaction for the loſſes the Engliſh had ſuſtained. 2. That the Engliſh furniſhing the Indians with powder and ſhot, they ſhould trade with no other people; and, 3. That thoſe who had been concerned in maſſacring the Engliſh in their houſes before war was declared, ſhould be put to death, or delivered up to the Engliſh.

Broken.

Another diſadvantageous treaty.

Upon the concluſion of this treaty ſome few Engliſh priſoners were releaſed, but others being ſtill detained in captivity, the Engliſh ordered a detachment of two hundred men to march to the north-eaſt, to compel the Indians to perform their part of the articles; which they were ſo far from obtaining, that the Engliſh, in a ſubſequent treaty, were obliged to promiſe to deliver a certain quantity of corn annually to the northern Indians, as a tribute or acknowledgment for that part of the country they had planted.

A ſurrender of the New Hampſhire charter.

Judgment againſt the Maſſachuſet charter.

A new charter granted the Maſſachuſets.

In the year 1684, the colony of New Hampſhire finding themſelves continually expoſed to the invaſion of the French and their confederate Indians of Canada, ſurrendered their charter, and put themſelves immediately under the protection of the crown of England, and ever ſince their Governor, council, and Magiſtrates have been appointed by the King; and about the ſame time judgment was obtained, on a Quo Warranto, againſt the Maſſachuſet and Plymouth Colonies. On the other hand, the Connecticut and Rhode-Iſland Colonies ſubmitting themſelves to his Majeſty's pleaſure, no judgment was given againſt them, and they afterwards reſumed their ancient form of government, which they have been permitted to exerciſe ever ſince: But the Maſſachuſet and Plymouth Colonies were governed by the crown of England in an arbitrary manner, till King William granted a new charter to the Maſſachuſets, in which were comprehended the colonies of Maine and Plymouth, as has been obſerved already.

In the mean time King Charles II. granted a commiſſion to Henry Cranfield, Eſq. to be Governor of the Maſſachuſet Colony; and he remained

An inſurrection in New-England.

Sir EDMUND ANDROS made Governor.

mained in that poſt till the reign of King JAMES II. who appointed JOSEPH DUDLEY, Eſq. a native of New-England, and one he thought acceptable to them, as being a member of the independent ſect, to ſucceed Mr. CRANFIELD; but they were ſo far from approving Mr. DUDLEY's adminiſtration, that they roſe in arms, made the Governor priſoner, and ſent him to England, and at the ſame time threw off their allegiance, pretending to revive their former charter by their own authority; and actually proceeded to the choice of Magiſtrates, after they had depoſed thoſe appointed by the crown. However the King conſtituting Sir EDMUND ANDROS their Governor, in June 1686, impowered him and four of the council to frame laws for the government of the colony, which the Maſſachuſets thought fit to ſubmit to for ſome time; and all the Judges, Magiſtrates, and Officers civil and military, were preferred to their poſts by Sir EDMUND ANDROS.

A war with the Indians.

During this gentleman's adminiſtration, namely, in the year 1687, the Indians on the north-eaſt of New-England, ſupported by the French of Canada and Nova Scotia, began to commit outrages on the northern frontiers of New-England, for which they gave the following reaſons: 1. That the Engliſh had neglected to pay the tribute of Corn, as was ſtipulated by the laſt treaty of peace. 2. That they obſtructed their fiſhery in the river Saco, by pitching nets and ſeins at the mouth of it. 3. That the Engliſh had turned cattle into one of their iſlands and eaten up their Corn; and, 4. That their lands were actually patented out to the Engliſh; which ſeems to be too true, for the New-England writers tell us they threatened the Surveyors to knock them on the head when they came to lay out thoſe lands: And indeed I don't find the Engliſh denied any part of the charge, only replied, that the Indians ought to have complained of theſe grievances firſt, and ſeen if they would not have been redreſſed in an amicable way, before they had proceeded to acts of hoſtility.

As to the French, their principal complaint was, that the Engliſh had made ſome encroachment on their territories in Canada: But however, as they were incorporated with the Indians by intermarriages, and were become in a manner one people with them, it could ſcarce be expected they ſhould ſtand neuter; and in fact we find they have ſupported theſe Indians in all their wars with the Engliſh ever ſince.

The revolution.

The people of New-England depoſe their Governor.

Sir EDMOND ANDROS, who was at this time at New-York, hearing the frontiers of New-England were invaded by the French Indians of Canada, returned to Boſton, and having endeavoured to accommodate matters in vain, marched againſt the enemy in the winter of 1688, at the head of a thouſand men; whereupon the Indians retiring into the woods, he built and garriſoned two forts to defend the frontiers, and ſent the reſt of his forces into winter quarters, and before the next ſpring, 1689, advice came of the revolution in Old-England. Whereupon the people roſe and made the Magiſtrates and Officers of Boſton priſoners, and ſummoned Governor ANDROS, who was retired into the caſtle, to ſurrender, which, after ſome time, he thought fit to do, obſerving the whole country diſpoſed to revolt. Upon his return to England, King WILLIAM approved his conduct, tho' great complaints were made of the tyranny of his adminiſtration, and in the year 1692 he was conſtituted by that Prince Governor of Virginia.

In the mean time the gentlemen of New-England were pleaſed to call an aſſembly of repreſentatives by their own authority, who voted that the government was devolved upon the people, and appointed SIMON BRADSTREET, Eſq. their Governor, and THOMAS DANFORTH, Eſq. Deputy-Governor, with the ſame council or aſſiſtants they had elected in the year 1686. But their declaration that the government was devolved on the diffuſive body of the people, was attended with ſome ill effects; for the common people, now looking upon themſelves as ſo many ſovereigns, took upon them to plunder every one they did not like, and among the reſt the friendly Indians; but while they were in this confuſion, a letter arrived from King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, dated the 12th of Auguſt, 1689, requiring them to obey their Magiſtrates till they received further orders.

Sir WILLIAM PHIPS's expedition againſt Port-Royal.

Still the Indians continued to ravage the frontiers, killed great numbers of Engliſh, and were guilty of very barbarous actions (as the New-England writers relate) in which they met with little oppoſition while the government remained in that unſettled condition. At length the celebrated Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, in the year 1690, raiſed a body of ſeven hundred men, and obſerving that the Indians were conſtantly ſupported in their wars by the French, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of Nova Scotia or Acadia, a country which of right belonged to the Engliſh, and that their principal fortreſs was at Port-Royal, he reſolved to embark with his troops, and endeavour to reduce that place; but before I give an account of the ſucceſs of that expedition, I ſhall take this opportunity to inform the reader who this Sir WILLIAM PHIPS was, and the memorable occaſion of raiſing his fortune.

His riſe in the world.

This hero was born of mean parents, anno 1650, at a ſmall plantation on the banks of the river Kennebeck, the north-eaſt frontier of New-England. His father was a Gunſmith, and left his mother a widow with a large family of ſmall children: This WILLIAM being one of the youngeſt, kept Sheep in the wilderneſs till he was eighteen years of age, and was then bound apprentice to a Ship Carpenter. When he had ſerved his time, he went to ſea, and having been ſucceſsful in ſome ſmall adventures, at length diſcovered a rich Spaniſh wreck, near the Port of La Plata in Hiſpaniola, which gained him a great reputation in the Engliſh court, and introduced him into the acquaintance of ſome of the greateſt men in the nation.

The galleon, in which this treaſure was loſt, had been caſt away upwards of fifty years, and how Captain PHIPS came to the knowledge of it does not appear to me; but upon his applying to King CHARLES II. in the year 1683, and acquainting his Majeſty with the probability there was of recovering it, the King made him Commander of the Algier Roſe, a frigate of 18 guns, and 95 men, and ſent him to Hiſpaniola, in ſearch of the prize. Here he was informed by an old Spaniard of the very place where it was loſt, and began to fiſh for it, but his ſhip's crew looking upon it as a romantick undertaking, after ſome little trial deſpaired of ſucceſs, and compelled him to return to England without effecting any thing:

And tho' the Captain aſſured the Miniſtry that the impatience of the ſeamen only prevented his ſucceſs, the court refuſed to be concerned in the Enterprize any further, and it was dropped for ſome time. However, the Captain continuing his application to ſome great men, the Duke of Albemarle, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, fitted him out again in the year *1686*; and arriving at the port De la Plata with a ſhip and tender, the Captain went up into the woods, and built a ſtout canoe out of a Cotton Tree, large enough to carry eight or ten oars. This canoe and tender, with ſome choice men and ſkilful divers, the Captain ſent out in ſearch of the wreck, whilſt himſelf lay at anchor in the port. The canoe kept busking up and down upon the ſhallows, and could diſcover nothing but a reef of riſing ſhoals, called the boylers, within two or three foot of the ſurface of the water. The ſea was calm, every eye was employed in looking down into it, and the divers went down in ſeveral places without making any diſcovery, till at laſt, as they were turning back, weary and dejected, one of the ſailors looking over the ſide of the canoe into the ſea, ſpied a feather under water, growing, as he imagined, out of the ſide of a rock; one of the divers was immediately ordered down to fetch it up, and look out if there was any thing of value about it. He quickly brought up the feather, and told them that he had diſcovered ſeveral great guns; whereupon he was ordered down again, and then brought up a pig of ſilver of two or three hundred Pounds value, the ſight of which filled them with tranſports, and convinced them ſufficiently, that they had found the treaſure they had been ſo long looking for. When they had buoyed the place, they made haſte to the port, and told the Captain the joyful news, who could hardly believe them, till they ſhewed him the ſilver, and then with hands lift up to heaven, he cried out, Thanks be to GOD we are all made! All hands were immediately ordered on board, and ſailing to the place, the divers happened to fall firſt into the room where the bullion had been ſtored, and in a few days brought up 32 ton of ſilver, without the loſs of any man's life. When they had cleared the ſtore room they ſearched the hold, and amongſt the ballaſt of the ſhip found a great many bags of pieces of eight. It is obſervable, that theſe bags having lain ſo long under water amongſt ballaſt, were cruſted over with a hard ſubſtance like lime-ſtone, to the thickneſs of ſeveral inches, which being broken with irons contrived for that purpoſe, the ruſty pieces of eight tumbled out in prodigious quantities. Beſides theſe things they found vaſt treaſures of gold, pearls, jewels, and every thing that a Spaniſh galleon uſed to be laden with. There was one ADDERLEY of Providence, who had been with Captain PHIPS in his former voyage to this place, and promiſed to aſſiſt him again if ever he ſhould make a ſecond adventure, who met him with a ſmall veſſel at port De la Plata, and with the few hands he had on board took up ſix ton of ſilver for themſelves. They both ſtaid till their proviſion was ſpent, and then the Captain obliging ADDERLEY and his men not to diſcover the place of the wreck, nor come to it himſelf till next year; they weighed anchor and returned. The reaſon of this obligation was, becauſe the laſt day of their fiſhing the divers brought up ſeveral ſows of ſilver, which made the Captain imagine that there was a great deal of treaſure yet behind, tho' it afterwards appeared that they had in a manner quite cleared the ſhip of her bullion before they left her. The Captain ſteered directly away for England without calling at any port by the way, and arrived the latter end of the year, with about three hundred thouſand Pounds ſterling, ſixteen thouſand of which, after all charges paid, and gratuities to the ſailors, came to his own ſhare: Beſides which, the Duke of Albemarle made his wife a preſent of a golden cup of a thouſand Pounds value.

The value of 300,000l. ſterling fiſhed up.

Some of King JAMES's courtiers would have perſuaded him to have ſeized the ſhip and its cargo, under pretence that the Captain had not rightly informed him of the nature of his project when he was graciouſly pleaſed to grant him his patent; but the King replied, that PHIPS was an honeſt man, and that it was his council's fault that he had not employed him himſelf, and therefore he would give him no diſturbance in what he had got; but as a mark of his royal favour conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. But to proceed in the hiſtory.

I left Sir WILLIAM embarking his forces in New-England, for the reduction of Acadia, who ſailing from Nantaſcot on the 20th of April *1690*, came before Port-Royal (now Annapolis) the capital of Nova Scotia, on the 11th of May; and the place being then but poorly fortified, the garriſon made ſcarce any defence, but ſurrendered upon condition of being conducted to Canada. Moſt of the French inhabitants chooſing to remain in the town, took the oaths to King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, over whom Sir WILLIAM having appointed a Governor returned to Boſton on the 30th of the ſame month, having reduced another French ſettlement at the mouth of St. John's River, in the bay of Fundi, by the way: And the Engliſh kept poſſeſſion of this country till the peace of Ryſwick, anno 1697, when King WILLIAM thought fit to reſign it to the French. But Queen ANNE being better appriſed of the importance of this country to the Engliſh, obliged the French to yield up their pretenſions to Nova Scotia and Acadia at the peace of Utrecht, anno 1712, the town of Port-Royal now bearing the name of Annapolis in honour of that Queen. But to proceed.

Port-Royal taken.

And St. John's.

Reſign'd to the French by King WILLIAM.

Recovered by Queen ANNE.

Port Royal now called Annapolis.

The ſucceſs Sir WILLIAM PHIPS met with in the reduction of Nova Scotia encouraged him to attempt the conqueſt of Canada, which would have rendered the Engliſh maſters of all the north-eaſt part of America; and to ſupport him in this enterpriſe, the people of New-England fitted out a fleet of two and thirty ſail, putting on board of it two thouſand men under his command: And it was concerted with the weſtern colonies, that a thouſand Engliſh and fifteen hundred Indians ſhould march over land from Connecticut and New-York at the ſame time, and attack the fortreſs of Montreal, ſituate above Quebeck, on the river St. Lawrence, that the French might be obliged to divide their forces.

The reduction of Canada attempted.

The fleet ſet ſail from the town of Hull, on the 9th of Auguſt, but contrary winds prevented their coming before Quebeck till the 5th of October; and the detachment which marched over land not meeting with the canoes or boats the Indians had promiſed to provide to tranſport them over the lakes, they were obliged to return home, which gave Count FRONTENAC, the Governor of Canada, an opportunity to unite all his forces in the defence of Quebeck; and when Sir WILLIAM

LIAM ſent him a ſummons to ſurrender, he did not only ſlight the ſummons, but threatned to hang up the Officer who brought it, telling him they were a pack of pyrates, having no commiſſion from the true King of England.

Sir WILLIAM PHIPS hereupon landed fourteen hundred men, giving the command of them to Colonel WHALLEY, with orders to attack the town on the land-ſide, while he battered it with his ſhips from the river: But WHALLEY making his deſcent a league and a half from the town, to which the way lay through a wood that the French had fortified, he was twice repulſed and could never penetrate it. Whereupon Sir WILLIAM PHIPS ordered his men to embark again, reſolving to land them cloſe to the town; but a ſtorm aroſe in the night which diſperſed the fleet, and at the ſame time it grew ſo extreme cold that many of their men fell ſick. Whereupon it was thought adviſeable to return home: And before they reached Boſton, they loſt a thouſand men by the rigour of the ſeaſon.

The enterprize defeated.

Mr. DUMMER alſo obſerves that their troops did not fall by the ſword of the enemy, but the loſſes they ſuſtained were occaſioned by famine and various diſaſters in their return home, and chiefly by the early approach of a ſevere winter, which made it impracticable for proviſions to follow them. Certain it is they were very unfortunate in being detained ſo long by contrary winds, that the ſummer was ſpent before they could enter upon action. It had been much better after this accident to have deferred the expedition till another year. In that cold climate it is ſcarce ever practicable to make a winter's campaign; and the ſtorms, fogs, and difficulty of the navigation in the river Canada, or St. Lawrence, after the autumnal equinox, make that voyage extremely hazardous. Whoever therefore ſhall attempt Quebeck hereafter, will do well to begin the enterprize before midſummer, or they muſt never hope for ſucceſs. But to return.

During this expedition of Sir WILLIAM PHIPS to the weſtward, the war was carried on very briskly in the eaſt. Four or five hundred French and Indians croſſed the bay of Caſco in canoes, and ſurpriſed the town of Caſco, making the inhabitants priſoners of war. Whereupon all the ſmaller garriſons thereabouts abandoned their forts, and retired to Saco: And three hundred men being detached under Major CHURCH, to make head againſt the enemy on the frontiers, the Major did not only recover the town of Caſco, but forced the enemy to retire to the woods, and the Indians ſoon after deſired a truce; which was agreed to at the fortreſs of Saghedoc, on the 29th of November, to continue till May, 1691.

A truce with the eaſtern Indians.

Still Sir WILLIAM PHIPS had his heart fixed upon the conqueſt of Canada, an enterprize of the laſt conſequence to the britiſh plantations, and embarked for England in the beginning of the year 1691, to ſollicit the court of England for a ſupply of troops from thence; but King WILLIAM wanted all his forces to make head againſt the French in Europe, and could not ſpare him any: When Sir WILLIAM found it in vain therefore to continue his application on that head, he employed his intereſt with the New-England agents to obtain a reſtoration of the Maſſachuſet charter: And tho' they did not ſucceed in this, they procured another with ample privileges, which the New-England people were not ſo well pleaſed with however as the old patent, becauſe by the new patent the appointment of a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Secretary, was reſerved to the crown, and the power of the militia veſted in the Governor, as Captain-General; whereas, by their former patent, the Governor and all Officers, civil and military, were appointed by the general aſſembly. However, his Majeſty was pleaſed to indulge the New-England agents ſo far as to ſuffer them to name their firſt Governor by the new charter, and they thereupon deſired Sir WILLIAM PHIPS might be the man; which the King granted, and Sir WILLIAM PHIPS was appointed Captain-General and Governor in chief of the Maſſachuſet Bay in New-England.

A new charter granted to New-England.

Sir WILLIAM PHIPS Governor.

In the mean time the truce of Saghedoc being expired, the war was revived in New-England, and carried on with various ſucceſs. The Engliſh defended their garriſon towns in the province of Maine pretty well; but the open places and their plantations were generally plundered and deſtroyed, and great cruelties exerciſed on ſuch of the Engliſh as were made priſoners.

The war commences again.

Sir WILLIAM PHIPS arriving at New-England with the charter he had obtained, about this time, the people appeared diſcontented that their privileges were abridged in ſo many particulars: However, the general court appointed a day of thankſgiving for the ſafe arrival of their Governor, and tranſmitted an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty for granting them a new charter. And now Sir WILLIAM applied himſelf with his uſual diligence to carry on the war againſt the Indians on the north-eaſt; who ſtill continued to harraſs and plunder the Engliſh ſettlements and maſſacre the inhabitants; and marching with a body of four hundred and fifty men over the river Kennebeck, after he had repulſed the ſavages, he cauſed a fort to be erected near the mouth of the river Pemaquid, which he named William-Henry Fort, for the defence of the frontiers, being one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt regular fortifications that has been ſeen in that part of the world; and proved an excellent barrier againſt the incurſions of the Indians; who being now weary of the war ſent an ambaſſador to Pemaquid to make propoſals of peace; and a treaty being thereupon agreed to, the following articles were concluded on the 11th of Auguſt, 1693.

Pemaquid Fort built.

1. That all the Indians on the north-eaſt of Merimack River ſhould acknowledge themſelves ſubject to the crown of England, and promiſe to abandon the French intereſt. 2. That they ſhould ſet all the Engliſh priſoners at liberty without ranſom. 3. They agreed that the Engliſh ſhould quietly enjoy all their plantations in this country; and 4. That trade ſhould be under ſuch regulations as the government of New-England ſhould preſcribe. And for the performance of theſe articles they delivered to Sir WILLIAM PHIPS the Governor ſeveral hoſtages, as pledges of their fidelity: And the Governor, on the other hand, promiſed them his protection.

Peace concluded with the Indians.

Towards the end of this war the people of New-England appeared perfectly diſtracted with apprehenſions of their being over-run with witches and evil ſpirits, one neighbour proſecuting another capitally for witchcraft with the utmoſt violence; in which they were ſo much encouraged by their preachers, and countenanced by their Magiſtrates, that no man's life was ſafe. Strange were the miſtakes, ſays my author (Mr. NEAL) which ſome of the wiſeſt and beſt men in the country

New-England bewitched.

CHAP. V.

try committed on this occaſion; And it muſt have proved fatal to the whole province if God had not mercifully interpoſed.

Paris, a preacher, the prime author of the deluſion.

Mr. Paris a preacher at Salem, began the tragedy the latter end of the year 1691, under pretence his daughter and niece were under an ill tongue (the former of them being nine, and the latter eleven years of age;) and what was thought an evidence of their being afflicted by witches, was their creeping into holes and corners, and lying under chairs and ſtools. They had alſo, it is ſaid, ſomething like convulſion fits, and complained of their being bitten and pinched by inviſible agents; and Mr. Paris ſuſpecting an Indian woman in his houſe named Tituba, and two others whom the children cryed out tormented them in their fits, to be the witches, they were examined before a Magiſtrate; and Tituba, frighted out of her wits at the charge, confeſſed that ſhe and the two other women had afflicted the children: But upon her enlargement (for they never put any to death that confeſs themſelves witches,) ſhe declared that her maſter had beaten and abuſed her to make her confeſs and accuſe ſuch as he called witches; and that whatever ſhe had ſaid by way of confeſſion and accuſing others, was the effect of ſuch uſage.

The witneſſes threatned, to extort a confeſſion.

The form of the indictment againſt Burroughs.

The form of their indictments may be ſeen in that preferred againſt one of their preachers, viz. Mr. George Burroughs, Miniſter of Falmouth.

Wherein they charge, that the ſaid George Burroughs, on the ninth of May, in the fourth year of King William and Queen Mary, and divers other days and times before and after, certain deteſtable acts, called witchcrafts and ſorceries, had wickedly and feloniouſly uſed, practiſed, and exerciſed, within the town of Salem, in the county of Eſſex, in and upon Mary Walcot of Salem, ſingle woman; by which ſaid wicked acts, the ſaid Mary Walcot, on the ninth of May aforeſaid, and divers other days and times, was tortured, afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted, and tormented, againſt the King and Queen's peace, &c.

Upon this and three indictments more for bewitching three other women, Mr. Burroughs was brought to his trial, on the fifth of Auguſt, 1692.

The evidence againſt him.

The witneſſes againſt him were five women, who pretended to be bewitched by him, and eight confeſſing witches; the latter ſwearing he was the principal actor in their nightly revels, and was promiſed to be made King of Satan's kingdom, then about to be erected: And the bewitched perſons unanimouſly depoſed, that a ſpectre, reſembling the priſoner, but inviſible to others, tormented them in their fits. One of the witneſſes teſtifyed, that the priſoner preſſed her to ſet her hand to a book, and inflicted cruel pains on her when ſhe refuſed. Others depoſed he ſounded a trumpet for the witches to rendezvous at a ſacrament, and tempted thoſe he tormented to partake with them. Another ſaid, he carried her to the top of a high mountain, and ſhewed her glorious kingdoms, telling her he would give them all to her if ſhe would ſign his book.

The confeſſing witches teſtified, he gave them puppets, and thorns to ſtick into the puppets, for afflicting other people; exhorting them to bewitch all the people of Salem, but to do it gradually.

Some people of credit depoſed, that he had the ſtrength of a giant, and inſtanced in his lifting great weights; but he ſhewed that an Indian in court had done the ſame.

Others teſtified, he had been a cruel man to his wives; who often complained to the neighbours his houſe was troubled with evil ſpirits.

The priſoner convicted.

The priſoner denied the whole charge, and declared it to be his opinion, that never any perſon made a formal contract with the devil, or could ſend the devil to torment other people at a diſtance. However, he was convicted, and ſentence of death paſſed on him.

His execution.

Being brought to his execution, he made ſolemn proteſtations of his innocence, and concluding his prayer with the Lord's prayer, expreſſed ſo much devotion and reſignation, that the people were moved to pity him; and it was expected the Magiſtrates who attended him would have reſpited his execution: But his accuſers cryed out he was aſſiſted by the Devil; whereupon he was turned off, and after he was cut down dragged into a hole, not being ſuffered to have a decent burial in the uſual burying-place.

Mather's account of theſe tranſactions.

Doctor Mather, giving an account of the circumſtances of ſeveral perſons ſaid to be bewitched, relates, "that their limbs were horribly diſtorted and convulſed; that they were pinched black and blue; that pins were inviſibly run into their fleſh; and that they were ſcalded until they had bliſters raiſed in them. One of them (ſays he) was aſſaulted by a ſpectre with a ſpindle in its hand, which no-body elſe in the room could ſee, until the afflicted in one of her agonies, ſnatch'd it out of the ſpectre's hand, and then all the company ſaw it. Another was haunted by a ſpectre in an inviſible ſheet; but the afflicted in one of her fits tearing a piece of it away, it became viſible: Sometimes poiſon has been forced on the afflicted by an inviſible hand, which, when they have drank, they have preſently ſwollen, and afterwards been relieved by the medicines uſually given in ſuch caſes. Sometimes they have complained of burning rags forced into their mouths, which no body elſe could ſee, yet the burns have remained on their mouths afterwards. Sometimes they have complained of irons heating in the fire to brand them, the marks of which they have carried to their graves. The ſpectres (ſays he) uſually perſonated ſome perſons whom the afflicted knew, and (which is very ſtrange if true,) when they wounded the ſpectre, the perſon whom the ſpectre repreſented was wounded too: For example, one of the afflicted ſaid, that the ſpectre that tormented her was D—H— and pointing to a certain place in the room, ſhe cryed out, there is D—H—; upon which a man with his rapier ſtruck at the place, and the afflicted told him that he had given her a ſmall prick about the eye; ſoon after which D—H— being apprehended, confeſſed herſelf a witch; and that in troubling the girl that had impeached her ſhe had received two wounds, one about the eye, which ſhe ſhewed the Magiſtrates, and another in the ſide. If the accuſed caſt their eyes on the afflicted, the afflicted, tho' their faces were turned another way, would fall into a ſwoon, and continue in it until the hands of the accuſed came to touch them; and it was often found that the fleſh of the afflicted was bitten, ſo that the print of teeth was very viſible;

“and there would appear juſt ſuch a ſet of teeth, as was in the accuſed, even ſuch as might be clearly diſtinguiſhed from other people's. In a word, the afflicted (as the Doctor obſerves) in a few days time arrived to ſuch a refining alteration upon their eyes, that they could ſee their tormentors: They ſaw a Devil of a little ſtature, and of a tawny colour, attended with ſpectres, that appeared in more human circumſtances: Theſe tormentors uſed to tender the afflicted a book, requiring them to ſign, or touch it at leaſt, in token of their conſenting to be liſted in the Devil's ſervice; which, if they refuſed, the ſpectres under the command of the black man tortured them with prodigious moleſtations.”

The Doctor's account exploded.

But Mr. CALEF of Boſton, in his book entitled, More wonders of the inviſible world, has endeavoured to invalidate the Doctor's account of things: He declares that the ſtory of the ſheet was a known forgery, it having been provided by the afflicted perſon the day before: And he does not doubt but the ſpindle was ſo too. He adds, that the print of the ſet of teeth was nothing but the afflicted's biting themſelves; and that ſometimes inſtead of finding a ſet of teeth, the accuſed have not had a tooth in their heads.

And to ſhew yet farther the wickedneſs of theſe afflicted perſons, he mentions an accident at the tryal of SARAH GOOD, which, if true, ought alone to have invalidated their evidence for the future. The ſtory is this: While SARAH GOOD was upon her tryal, one of the afflicted fell into a fit, and cryed out that the priſoner's ſpectre was ſtabbing her with a knife, but had broke it in her body; and to confirm the truth of her relation, ſhe plucked a piece of the blade out of her breaſt, and ſhewed it in court. But there was a young man preſent, who, ſeeing the blade, had the honeſty and courage to claim it for his, and to declare before the Judges, that he broke his knife but the day before, and threw away that part of the blade in the preſence of the afflicted perſon; but that he had the handle with the other part of the blade in his pocket, which he delivered into court: And upon comparing them together, they were found to be parts of the ſame knife; upon which the Judge only reprimanded her, and bid her tell no more lies.

'Tis certain that theſe ſuſpected wizards and witches were convicted on very ſlender evidence; for the court allowed the witneſſes to tell ſtories of twenty or thirty years ſtanding, about over-ſetting of carts, the death of cattle, unkindneſs of relations, or unexpected accidents befalling them after ſome quarrel; all that was alledged againſt them, to the purpoſe, being either from the diſtempered perſons themſelves, or from thoſe who had been frighted into a confeſſion of their being witches by the threatnings of the Magiſtrates, or encouraged to it by the hopes of mercy.

The evidence againſt all of them incompetent and ridiculous.

Great part of the evidence given againſt theſe unhappy people alſo appears exceeding ridiculous. One teſtified, he bought a Sow of the priſoner which was troubled with fits ſoon after. Another, that the priſoner's ſpectre ſo oppreſſed him in his bed that he was not able to ſtir; but on calling for help it vaniſhed. Another, that twelve years before the trial the priſoner often came to his houſe, and ſoon after his child was troubled with ſtrange fits. Another depoſed, that having a controverſy with the priſoner about her fowls, he was grievouſly oppreſſed by ſomething in her likeneſs the night following. Another time he was troubled with a black Pig; but going to kick it the Pig vaniſhed. A millar depoſed, that going to receive ſome money of the priſoner, he had not gone three rods from her before he loſt it: And at another time, having been diſcourſing with her, he had parted from her but a very little time before one of the wheels of his cart ſunk into the earth in very plain ground, and he was forced to call for aſſiſtance to get it out, but going to view the hole afterwards there was no ſign of it.

Two other men depoſed, that being employed to repair one of the priſoner's collars, they found ſeveral puppets made of rags and Hogs briſtles with headleſs pins in them; and a jury of women being impanell'd to ſearch her, found a preternatural teat on her body, but upon a ſecond ſearch, three or four hours after, there was none to be found.

JOHN ALLEN teſtified againſt another priſoner, that refuſing to carry ſome pipe-ſtaves for her, ſhe told him, he had as good, or his Oxen ſhould not do him much ſervice; and he replying, do you threaten me, you old witch? I will throw you into the brook. She ran away, but his Oxen afterwards run mad into the ſea, and were all drowned except one.

Another depoſed, that as he lay in his bed one night, the priſoner jumped in at a window, took hold of his feet, and drawing his body into a heap, lay upon him two hours, ſo that he could neither ſpeak or ſtir; but at laſt he caught hold of her hands, and bit three of her fingers to the bone, whereupon ſhe went down ſtairs and out of doors.

One KEMBAL teſtified that, upon ſome diſguſt, one of the priſoners told him his Cow ſhould do him no good, and it died next morning: And another time, refuſing to buy one of the priſoner's Puppies, he was frighted with a black Dog as he came out of the woods, which flew upon him, and he thought would have torn his throat out; but upon naming the name of CHRIST it vaniſhed away: Which he ſuppoſed to be a piece of the priſoner's black art, to revenge himſelf on him for not buying his Puppy.

SARAH ATKINSON depoſed, that the priſoner came on foot from Ameſbury to her houſe at Newbury in an extraordinary wet ſeaſon, when it was not fit to travel, and yet the ſoles of her ſhoes were hardly wet; which laſt piece of evidence, Dr. MATHER obſerves, put the priſoner into great confuſion.

NEAL's remarks on Dr. MATHER's relation.

And here, ſays Mr. NEAL (who was far from being an enemy of the Doctor,) I can't forbear making one remark upon theſe as well as upon all the trials that Dr. COTTON MATHER has publiſhed to the world on this occaſion; that when he has given us the depoſitions of the witneſſes againſt the priſoners at large, he paſſes over their defence in ſuch general words as theſe, they ſaid nothing worth conſidering; their diſcourſe was full of tergiverſations and contradictions; they were confounded, and their countenances fell, &c. whereby his reader is left in the dark, and rendered incapable of judging of the merits of the cauſe. If the defence of the priſoners were ſo weak and confuſed as the Doctor repreſents, it had been for the advantage of the court to have expoſed it at large to the world; but if not, it is very hard that it ſhould be ſmothered.

But upon ſuch evidence as this, twenty-eight perſons received ſentence of death, of which nineteen were executed, and one (namely) GILES CORY, was preſſed to death, all of them dying with ſtrong proteſtations of their innocence. GEORGE JACOBS, ſen. being condemned, the Sheriff's officers came and ſeized all he had, even to his wife's wedding-ring. Hard was the caſe of this old man! who was convicted by the evidence of his grand-daughter, who, to ſave her own life, confeſſed herſelf a witch, and was forced to appear againſt her own grandfather and Mr. BURROUGHS. On the day before their executions ſhe came to Mr. BURROUGHS, acknowledged her guilt, and begged his pardon on her knees; who not only forgave her, but alſo prayed with and for her. The day after their executions ſhe wrote the following letter to her father.

Honoured father,

“ After my humble duty remembered to you, hoping in the LORD of your good health, as bleſſed be GOD I enjoy, though in abundance of affliction, being cloſe confined here, in a loathſome dungeon, the LORD look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how ſoon I ſhall be put to death, by means of the afflicted perſons, my grand-father having ſuffered already, and all his eſtate ſeized for the King. The reaſon of my confinement is this, I having through the Magiſtrates threatnings, and my own vile and wretched heart, confeſſed ſeveral things contrary to my conſcience and knowledge, though to the wounding of my own ſoul; the LORD pardon me for it, but oh! the terrors of a wounded conſcience who can bear! But bleſſed be the LORD, he would not let me go on in my ſins, but in mercy I hope to my ſoul would not ſuffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confeſs the truth of all before the Magiſtrates, who would not believe me; but it is their pleaſure to put me here, and GOD knows how ſoon I ſhall be put to death. Dear father, let me beg your prayers to the LORD on my behalf, and ſend us a joyful and happy meeting in heaven. My mother, poor woman, is very crazy, and remembers her kind love to you, and to uncle, viz. D—A—, ſo leaving you to the protection of the LORD, I reſt your dutiful daughter,

From the dungeon
in Salem-priſon,
Aug. 20, 1692.

MARGARET JACOBS.

There were eight more condemned beſides thoſe that were pardoned, but on account of their becoming evidences they were firſt reprieved, and then pardoned; and between three and four hundred more were impriſoned or accuſed: Indeed, the whole country (ſays Mr. NEAL) was in confuſion, every one being jealous of his neighbour.

Mrs. CARY of Charles-Town being committed to Cambridge priſon and laid in irons, her huſband attended the trials of ſome others, and obſerving that the ſpectral evidence was received, together with idle and malicious ſtories againſt peoples lives, contrived his wife's eſcape, and fled with her to Rhode-Iſland, and afterwards to New-York, where they ſtaid till the ſtorm was over.

Mr. PHILIP ENGLISH and his wife alſo fled, whoſe eſtate Mr. CORWIN the Sheriff ſeized, to the value of 1500 l. which was wholly loſt, except about 300 l. which was afterwards reſtored.

Mr. DUDLEY BRADSTREET, a Juſtice of peace in Andover, having granted out warrants againſt thirty or forty for ſuppoſed witchcraft; and ſeeing cauſe at length to refuſe granting any more, was with his wife accuſed of killing nine perſons by witchcraft, and forced to fly the country.

Mr. JOHN BRADSTREET, brother to the Juſtice, being accuſed of afflicting a poor Dog, and riding upon him through the air to witch-meetings, was forced to fly for his life into Piſcataqua government; but the Dog was put to death.

Captain JOHN ALDIN, a man of good reputation and eſteem, being examined at Salem, and committed to Boſton Goal, May 31, after fifteen weeks impriſonment made his eſcape. And afterwards returning again, ſurrendered himſelf to the ſuperior court at Boſton, none of his former accuſers appearing againſt him.

Another gentleman of Boſton, being accuſed by the afflicted at Andover, ventured to ſtand his ground, and ſent a writ by ſome particular friends to arreſt his accuſers in 1000 l. action for defamation, with inſtruction to inform themſelves of the certainty of the proof; which ſo frighted the poor creatures, that from that time the accuſations at Andover generally ceaſed.

Things were indeed come to a wretched paſs, no man being ſure of his life or fortune for an hour; and no wonder, conſidering the infamous methods that were made uſe of to bring people into the ſnare: There was a ſociety of gentlemen at Salem, like that for the reformation of manners in London, who engaged to find out and proſecute all ſuſpected perſons; and many were impriſoned by their means.

Mr. JOSEPH BALLARD's wife of Andover falling ſick of a malignant fever, of which ſhe died, her huſband fancied her bewitched, and ſent horſe and man forty miles to Salem to fetch ſome of theſe diſtempered wretches that pretended to the ſpectral ſight, to tell who it was that afflicted her: When they came they fell into their fits, and accuſed one perſon as ſitting on the head, and another on the lower parts of the afflicted. No ſooner was the ſcene opened but the whole town was alarmed, and more than fifty were complained of for afflicting their neighbours in a few weeks; here it was that many were made to accuſe themſelves of riding upon poles through the air to witch-meetings; many parents believed their children to be witches, and huſbands their wives.

Things went on in the old channel till the afflicted over-acted their parts ſo far as to accuſe ſome of the neareſt relations of Dr. INCREASE MATHER, and of the Governor himſelf; it was time then to make a ſtand: Accordingly we find the very next ſeſſions, which was January 3, 1692-3, when fifty-ſix bills were preferred againſt perſons for witchcraft, the grand jury brought in thirty ignoramus; and of the remaining twenty-ſix, the petty jury convicted but three, whom the Governor pardoned: Nay, the people's eyes were ſo far opened by this time, that they would not convict people upon their own confeſſions; for when MARY WATT's confeſſion was produced as evidence againſt her, the grand jury would not accept it, but looking upon her as a diſtemper'd perſon, brought in the bill ignoramus; and though the court ſent them out a ſecond time, they returned again with the ſame verdict.

And indeed all the confeſſions that were made ſeem to me either the effects of a diſtempered brain, or extorted from perſons to ſave their lives.

Hence it was, that the huſbands and children of ſome upon their bended knees have prevailed with them to confeſs every thing that was laid to their charge: * Others have been wearied out with long and tedious examinations before private perſons for many hours together, till they yielded to any thing; the queſtion being then aſked, were you at ſuch a witch-meeting? Or have you ſigned the Devil's book? If they replied yes, the whole was drawn out into the form of a confeſſion. That this was really the caſe, will appear by the following certificate, ſigned by the hands of half a dozen honeſt women, whoſe conſciences would not ſuffer them to diſguiſe the truth any longer.

"We whoſe names are under-written, inhabitants of Andover: Whereas that horrible and tremendous judgment beginning at Salem-Village in the year 1692, by ſome called witchcraft, firſt breaking forth at Mr. Paris's houſe, ſeveral young perſons being ſeemingly afflicted did accuſe ſeveral perſons for afflicting them, and many there believing it to be ſo, we being informed, that if a perſon were ſick, the afflicted perſons could tell what or who was the cauſe of that ſickneſs; Joseph Ballard (of Andover)'s wife being ſick at the ſame time, he either from himſelf, or the advice of others, fetched two of the perſons called the afflicted perſons from Salem-Village to Andover, which was the beginning of that dreadful calamity that befel us in Andover; and the authority in Andover believing the ſaid accuſations to be true, ſent for the ſaid perſons to come together to the meeting-houſe in Andover (the afflicted perſons being there;) after Mr. Ballard had been at prayer, we were blind-folded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted perſons, they being in their fits, and falling into theſe fits at our coming into their preſence, as they ſaid ſome led us, and laid our hands on them, and then they ſaid they were well, and that we were guilty of afflicting them: Whereupon we were all ſeized as priſoners by a warrant from the juſtice of the peace, and forthwith carried to Salem; and by reaſon of that ſudden ſurprizal, we knowing ourſelves altogether innocent of that crime, we were all exceedingly aſtoniſhed and amazed, and conſternated and affrighted out of our reaſon; and our deareſt relations ſeeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehending that there was no other way to ſave our lives, as the caſe was then circumſtantiated, but by confeſſing ourſelves to be ſuch and ſuch perſons, as the afflicted repreſented us to be: They out of tender love and pity perſuaded us to confeſs what we did confeſs, and indeed that confeſſion, that is ſaid we made, was no other than what was ſuggeſted to us by ſome gentlemen, they telling us that we were witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it, which made us think that we were ſo; and our underſtanding and our reaſon, and our faculties being almoſt gone, we were not capable of judging of our condition; as alſo the hard meaſures they uſed with us rendered us incapable of making our defence, but we ſaid any thing, and every thing they deſired, and moſt of what we ſaid was but in effect a conſenting to what they ſaid. Some time after when we were better compoſed, they telling us of what we had confeſſed, we did profeſs that we were innocent and ignorant of ſuch things; and we hearing that Samuel Wardwell, who had renounced his confeſſion, was condemned and executed, ſome of us were told that we were going after Wardwell.

Mary Osgood, Abigail Baker,
Mary Tiler, Sarah Wilson,
Deliverance Dane, Hannah Tiler.

One executed for denying his confeſſion.

If this confeſſion had been made a little ſooner, while the ſpectral evidence was in repute, it had coſt the confeſſioners their lives; for it is impoſſible to expreſs the blind fury and zeal of the people againſt the priſoners, who believed every thing the afflicted ſaid, and diſbelieved every thing the accuſed offered in their own vindication.

When neither promiſes nor threatnings could bring perſons to confeſſion, they ſometimes made uſe of violence and force, as appears by the moving letter that Mr. Proctor ſent to the Miniſters of Boſton a few days before his trial; which becauſe it gives a clear account of this matter, I will tranſcribe in his own words.

To the reverend Mr. Mather, Moody, Baily, Allen, Willald.

Reverend gentlemen,

"The innocence of our caſe, with the enmity of our accuſers, and our judges and juries, whom nothing but our innocent blood will ſerve their turn, having condemned us already before our trials, being ſo much incenſed and inraged againſt us by the Devil, makes us bold to beg and implore your favourable aſſiſtance of this our humble petition to his excellency. That if it be poſſible our innocent blood may be ſpared, which undoubtedly otherwiſe will be ſhed if the Lord does not mercifully ſtep in, the Magiſtrates, Miniſters, Juries, and all the people in general being ſo much incenſed and enraged againſt us by the deluſion of the Devil, which we can term no other, by reaſon we know in our conſciences we are all innocent perſons; here are five perſons who have lately confeſſed themſelves to be witches, and accuſe ſome of us of being along with them at a ſacrament ſince we were committed to cloſe priſon, which we know to be lies. Two of the five are carriers ſons, young men who would not confeſs any thing till they tied them neck and heels, till blood was ready to come out of their noſes; and 'tis credibly believed and reported, that this was the occaſion of making them confeſs that they never did; by reaſon they ſaid one had been a witch a month, another five weeks, and that their mother had made them ſo, who had been confined here theſe nine weeks. My ſon William Proctor, becauſe he would not confeſs when he was examined that he was guilty, they tied him neck and heels, till the blood guſhed out of his noſe, and would have kept him ſo twenty-four hours, if one more merciful than the reſt had not taken pity on him, and cauſed him to be unbound. Theſe accuſations are very like the popiſh cruelties; they have already undone us in our eſtates, and that will not ſerve their turns without our innocent blood. If it can't be granted that we may have our trials at Boſton, we humbly beg that you would endeavour to have theſe Magiſtrates changed, and others put in their room; begging alſo and beſeeching, that you would

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* They were never executed if they confeſſed, unleſs they recanted their confeſſion.

“ pleaſe to be here, ſome of you, if not all, at our trials, hoping thereby you may be the means of ſaving our innocent bloods; deſiring your prayers to the LORD on our behalf, we reſt your poor afflicted ſervants,

JOHN PROCTOR, &c.

But this Letter had no effect, PROCTOR and his fellow priſoners being convicted and executed a little after. Such methods as theſe being made uſe of, it is no wonder that the number of confeſſing witches amounted to fifty, not one of whom were put to the trial whether they would abide by their confeſſions when they came to die: Unhappy creatures! who were forced to do the drudgery of taking away the lives of their neighbours to ſave their own. But upon the afflicted's over acting their part, as I obſerved before, the tide of the people's affections began to turn, and they who a little before were in danger of being torn in pieces by the mob, were now univerſally lamented and pitied. All further proſecutions were now ſtopped, the accuſations of the afflicted were entirely diſregarded, the priſon doors were ſet open to all that were under confinement by the accuſations of the afflicted, and Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, after ſome time, pardoned all that were under ſentence of condemnation.

But beſides the blood that was ſpilt upon this occaſion, ſeveral perſons and families were ruined in their eſtates and reputations, partly by long impriſonment, and partly by the avarice of the Officers who took poſſeſſion of their houſes in their abſence; and tho' I am fully ſatisfied that the zeal of the government in this affair proceeded from their regard to the glory of GOD (continues Mr. NEAL) yet I muſt ſay, that the Magiſtrates were too partial in their behaviour towards the accuſed; and that Sir WILLIAM PHIPS himſelf treated them with too much ſeverity, by ordering them to be laid in irons, and countenancing the popular cry againſt them.

The whole country were by degrees made ſenſible of their miſtake, and moſt of the actors in this tragedy repented the ſhare they had in it. One of the honourable judges that ſat on the bench at theſe trials on a faſt day, in a full aſſembly at the ſouth meeting in Boſton, delivered in a paper to be read to all the people, acknowledging his having fallen into ſome errors in the trials at Salem, and begging the prayers of the congregation that the guilt of ſuch miſcarriages might not be imputed to the country in general, or to him and his family in particular. And while this paper was reading, he ſtood up in view of the whole aſſembly.

The jury likewiſe publiſhed a paper ſigned with their own hands in the following Words:

“ We whoſe names are under-written, being in the year 1692, called to ſerve as Jurors in court at Salem, on trial of many who were by ſome ſuſpected of doing acts of witchcraft upon the bodies of ſundry perſons, do confeſs that we ourſelves were not capable to underſtand, nor able to withſtand the myſterious deluſions of the powers of darkneſs and prince of the air, but were, for want of knowledge in ourſelves, and better information from others, prevailed with to take up with ſuch evidence againſt the accuſed, as on further conſideration, and further informations, we juſtly fear was inſufficient for the touching the lives of any, Deut. xvii. 6. Whereby we fear we have been inſtrumental with others, though ignorantly and unwillingly, to bring upon our ſelves, and theſe people of the LORD, the guilt of innocent blood, which ſin the LORD ſaith in ſcripture he would not pardon, 2 Kings xxiv. 4. That is, we ſuppoſe, in regard to his temporal judgments; we do therefore hereby ſignify to all in general, and to the ſurviving ſufferers in eſpecial, our deep ſenſe of, and ſorrow for our errors in acting on ſuch evidence to the condemning of any perſon.

“ And do hereby acknowledge that we juſtly fear that we are very ſadly deluded and miſtaken, for which we are much diſquieted and diſtreſſed in our minds, and do therefore humbly beg forgiveneſs firſt of GOD for CHRIST's ſake for this our error, and pray that GOD would not impute the guilt of it to our ſelves, nor others; and we alſo pray that we may be conſidered candidly and aright by the living ſufferers, as being then under the power of a ſtrong and general deluſion, utterly unacquainted with, and not experienced in matters of that nature.

“ We do heartily aſk forgiveneſs of you all, whom we have juſtly offended; and declare, according to our preſent minds, we would none of us do ſuch things again for the whole world; praying you to accept of this in way of ſatisfaction for our offence; and that you would bleſs the inheritance of the LORD, that he may be intreated for the land.

THOMAS FISK, foreman.
WILLIAM FISK,
JOHN BATCHELER,
THOMAS FISK, jun.
JOHN DANE,
JOSEPH EVELITH,

THOMAS PERLEY, ſen.
JOHN PEHODY,
THOMAS PERKINS,
SAMUEL SAYER,
ANDREW ELLIOT,
HENRY HERRICK. ſen.

Dr. MATHER confeſſes his errors.

And Dr. COTTON MATHER, who writ the forementioned trials, has ſince declared it as his opinion, that things were carried too far, as appeared to him: 1. From the great number of perſons accuſed. 2. From the quality of the perſons accuſed, ſome of whom were perſons of blameleſs and holy lives. 3. From the number of the afflicted, which encreaſed to about fifty. This (ſays he) gave juſt ground to ſuſpect ſome miſtake. 4. From the execution of the priſoners, not one of which confeſſed their guilt at their death, tho' ſeveral of them were perſons of good knowledge and ſober lives, and dyed in a ſerious and affecting manner. And as for the confeſſors (ſays he) we had no experience whether they would abide by their confeſſions when they came to die; they being all reprieved and pardoned. 5. Becauſe, when the proſecutions ceaſed, the afflicted grew preſently well. The accuſed are generally quiet, and we have had no diſturbance ſince that time for theſe five years.

NEAL's remarks on theſe proſecutions.

I have often wondred that no publick notice was ever taken either of the afflicted perſons or confeſſing witches. If the agitations of the afflicted were voluntary and artful, the blood of the innocent certainly lay at their doors; but if not, they ſhould have been treated as lunaticks, or as perſons, who, being poſſeſſed by an evil ſpirit, had been the unhappy inſtruments of taking away the lives of their honeſt neighbours. The confeſſing witches may poſſibly deſerve a little more compaſſion if their confeſſions were extorted by violence, or aroſe from the pure neceſſity of ſaving their lives this way and no other (as I believe was the caſe of moſt of them;) but yet their bearing falſe witneſs againſt their neighbours, and dipping their hands in their innocent blood, ought not to have been paſſed over in ſilence.

Mr. Paris indeed, in whoſe houſe this tragedy began, and who had himſelf been a witneſs, and a zealous proſecutor of the accuſed, felt the effects of the people's reſentment ſome time after; for his people not only withdrew from his communion, but preſented ſeveral petitions and remonſtrances to the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of Boſton to obtain his removal: They declared, "That Mr. Paris's believing the Devil's accuſations, and readily departing from all charity to perſons of blameleſs lives and converſations upon ſuch ſuggeſtions; his promoting accuſations, and his partiality therein; his ſtifling ſome and encouraging others; his going to Mary Walut and Abigail Williams, to know who afflicted the people in their illneſſes, and his taking an oath that the priſoners by their looks knocked down the pretended ſufferers, tho' it is certain he knew nothing of the matter;" obliged them to refuſe him for their Miniſter. The Miniſters of Boſton did every thing they could to make up the difference; and Mr. Paris himſelf, in the year 1694, made a publick acknowledgement of his error, begging pardon both of God and man; but the people inſiſting that they neither could nor would ſit under the miniſtry of a man who had been an inſtrument of the miſery and ruin of ſo many of their relations and friends, he was was at laſt removed.

The Indians proſelytes to the Jeſuites.

The confuſion occaſioned by theſe proſecutions were no ſmall hindrance to the cultivating a good correſpondence with the Indians on the concluſion of the Peace of Pemaquid, in the year 1693. However, Sir William Phips, the Governor, did not entirely neglect it. He aſſembled the Sachems on the frontiers, made them preſents and opened a free trade with their tribes. He propoſed alſo the leaving among them ſome converted Indians, to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian religion, and they thereupon made great proteſtations of their fidelity and future friendſhip; but as to religion they deſired to be excuſed, and would not ſuffer any preachers or miſſionaries to remain amongſt them; for the French jeſuites and Popiſh prieſts had already proſelyted this people, and indeed created in them an abhorrence of the religion of the Engliſh; ſuggeſting that their anceſtors were the crucifiers of our Saviour, and themſelves the perſecutors of all good catholicks.

Sir William Phips impeached and ſent for to England.

He dies.

Sir William was no leſs unfortunate in his adminiſtration at home than in his attempts to convert the Indians; for his government was not only diſturbed by people who pretended to be poſſeſſed and bewitched, but a ſtrong faction was formed againſt him, that aſcribed all their grievances to his conduct: To him they imputed it, that their privileges were abridged by the new charter, and that their taxes were ſo high, occaſioned by the needleſs expences he had put them upon, of building fort Pemaquid, and other fortreſſes on their frontier: And they proceeded ſo far as to exhibit articles againſt him to the privy-council of England; whereupon he was recalled to defend himſelf; but carrying over with him an addreſs from the general aſſembly in his favour, he was not only acquitted, but promiſed to be reſtored to his poſt: However he fell ill of a fever in London, and dyed there on the 18th of February, 1694-5, in the 45th year of his age.

The war breaks out again.

Fort Pemaquid ſurpriſed by the French and demoliſhed.

In the mean time the French ſpirited up the Indians of Canada and Nova Scotia to break the peace with the Engliſh within a year after it was made; and the Savages falling upon the plantations and open towns on the frontiers, maſſacred great numbers of the inhabitants, and carryed more into captivity: And the French joining their forces with the Indians, in the year 1696, ſurpriſed the important fortreſs of Pemaquid and demoliſhed it.

The peace of Reſwick.

In the year 1697, the French and their Indian allies made preparations to invade New-England by ſea and land; but Lieutenant Stoughton detaching five hundred men to the north-eaſt, under the command of Major March, the enemy was repulſed on that ſide, and obliged to fly into the woods; and the French fleet at the ſame time being ſhattered by a tempeſt, thought fit to return to the river Canada without attempting to make a deſcent. There were afterwards ſome ſmall ſkirmiſhes upon the frontiers, but no conſiderable action; and in December 1698, advice arrived of the concluſion of the peace of Reſwick; whereupon the Sieur Frontenac, Governor of Canada, adviſed his Indian allies to releaſe their priſoners, and make the beſt terms they could with the Engliſh; for his maſter being now at peace with that nation, he could no longer ſupport them; and the Indians taking his advice, made their ſubmiſſion at Caſco, on the 7th of January, 1698-9 promiſing to perform the articles they had agreed to in the year 1693, and declared they had never broke them, if they had not been incited to it by the French jeſuites.

The war renewed.

The Engliſh take Port-Royal again.

The Earl of Bellamont was about this time made Governor of New-England and New-York, but reſided chiefly at the latter, leaving the adminiſtration of the Government of New-England to Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton; and a war commencing in Europe between the confederates and the French, in the year 1702, New-England was ſoon involved in it. In this war the New-England people made another effort for the recovery of Port-Royal in Acadia, but were not ſucceſsful in their firſt attempt. However, being aſſiſted the next year with five hundred regular troops, commanded by Colonel Nicholson, they carried the place.

Another expedition againſt Canada, an. 1711.

Admiral Walker and General Hill arrive at Boſton.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the miniſtry in Old-England propoſed the attacking of Canada once again; and the colonies of New-England and New-York readily came into it, and actually made conſiderable levies of men and money to aſſiſt and ſupport that enterprize, being in daily expectation of a ſquadron of men of war, and a body of land forces from Great-Britain, to enter upon action; but our Generals on this ſide being unwilling to ſpare any troops from Flanders, the enterprize was laid aſide until the year 1711: When the Generals as well as the miniſtry, being changed, that important expedition was revived, and Admiral Walker was commanded for New-England with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, ſix ſtore ſhips, and forty tranſports; on board whereof were five thouſand veteran troops, under the command of Brigadier-General Hill. All manner of warlike ſtores, and forty horſes, for the uſe of the artillery, alſo were put on board; and with theſe the Admiral arrived at Boſton on the 25th of June 1711, having been ſeven weeks and three days in his paſſage from Plymouth. Whereupon the land forces were ſet on ſhore on Nodd's Iſland, in the Maſſachuſet Bay, to refreſh themſelves, and wait until all things were in readineſs to beſiege Quebeck, the capital of Canada. Here the forces lay waiting for proviſions until the 20th of July, when they were reimbarked, and on the 25th two New-England regiments alſo were added to them, and embarked on board the fleet, by the command of Governor DUDLEY.

In the mean time General NICHOLSON, Governor of New-York, aſſembled a body of two thouſand Engliſh and thirteen hundred Indians, who were ordered to embark on the rivers which fall into the lake of Ontario, uſually called the lake of Canada, or Frontenac, and ſo get into the river of St. Lawrence, and attack the fortreſs of Montreal, ſituated in an iſland of that river in order to make a diverſion, and divide the French forces, while Admiral WALKER and General HILL ſhould attack Quebeck. But our unfortunate fleet never reached that city; for arriving in the mouth of the river Canada, there fell ſo thick a fog that their pilots were at a loſs which way to ſteer, having no ſoundings to direct them; and it afterwards blowing hard, they were driven upon the north ſhore among the rocks, where they loſt eight of their tranſports with eight hundred men on board, and the whole fleet was in danger of being ſhipwrecked. Whereupon they made the beſt of their way to the eaſt-ward, and coming to Spaniſh-River-Bay, they held a council of war, on the 4th of September, wherein it being conſidered that they had but ten weeks proviſion for the fleet and army, and that the navigation was ſo bad at this time of the year in thoſe parts that they could not depend on ſupplies of proviſion from New-England, it was unanimouſly reſolved to return home; and ſetting ſail accordingly (after they had detached ſome ſhips and forces to Boſton and Annapolis) the fleet arrived at Portſmouth on the 9th of October following; where, to complete their miſfortune, the Edgar, the Admiral's ſhip was blown up, and ſeven hundred people periſhed, including the ſailors wives and thoſe that came to welcome their friends home: But the Captain and moſt of the Officers being then on ſhore, eſcaped the terrible blow.

Part of the tranſports caſt away.

The Admiral and General return to England.

As for General NICHOLSON, and the forces that were deſigned to make a diverſion by beſieging Montreal, an expreſs being ſent after them with the advice of the loſs of the tranſports in the river Canada, they returned to New-York without attempting any thing. And thus unhappily ended an expedition, which if it had ſucceeded, would have made us maſters of the beſt part of North-America, and driven the French entirely from that continent: And as people are apt to blame one another where they fail of ſucceſs, we find the Admiral and General complaining that their being detained at Boſton for want of the proviſions and reinforcements the government of New-England had promiſed, until the ſummer was ſpent, and then not being furniſhed with good pilots there, were the occaſions of their misfortune. The New-England people, on the other hand, alledged, that it was not too late in the year but they might have ſucceeded, if the General and Admiral had been hearty in the enterprize.

But perhaps neither of them were much to blame. We may rather aſcribe the ill ſucceſs they met with to the want of a good underſtanding between Old and New-England, and to the wind and weather, which the wiſeſt and braveſt commanders cannot provide againſt.

An enterprize of this nature had been concerted in Old-England ſome time before, as has been obſerved already, and the New-England people had made great preparations to ſecond it; but when they had put themſelves to a very great expence, our Generals in Flanders would ſpare no troops for this ſervice; whereby all the trouble and charges they had been at were loſt. When this project therefore was revived, the New-England people determined to wait till the fleet and army ſhould arrive at Boſton before they began their preparations, and the rather becauſe there had been a change of the miniſtry; for they were jealous that the new miniſtry had but little friendſhip for them. When the fleet and army therefore came into the bay, they were forced to wait a whole month for the forces and proviſions they were to take in there. The colony indeed urge in their defence, that no port in Great-Britain could have furniſhed ſuch a fleet and army with proviſions ſooner; which I agree to be true, and that they were very hearty in the enterprize after they ſaw the forces arrive; for nothing could be of more importance to them than the conqueſt of Canada. But they ought to have had their forces and proviſions ready on the arrival of the Britiſh ſquadron, when they had notice of their coming; for that month's delay, in the fineſt ſeaſon of the year, was certainly a vaſt diſadvantage to the enterprize: And whatever ſome malicious and envious ſpirits in Old-England might ſuggeſt to the contrary then, and have repeated ſince the diſaſter happened, it is very evident that all imaginable encouragement was given to the undertaking in England, and that the Officers employed uſed the utmoſt diligence and circumſpection in the execution of their orders: For the ſquadron and land forces actually ſailed from Plymouth the beginning of May, and arrived at Boſton on the 25th of June, the beſt ſeaſon in the world to execute the ſcheme that had been laid, if the New-England people had been in a readineſs to join them, and furniſhed them with good pilots; in both which articles they were apparently defective: And to theſe, and the croſs winds and fogs, and the badneſs of the navigation in the river Canada the latter end of the year, as has been intimated already, the ill ſucceſs of this enterprize is principally to be imputed, and not to want of zeal or conduct in the Admiral or General; for they were ſo intent upon the enterprize, that they avoided engaging a ſquadron of French men of war, under the command of DE GUY TROEN, rather than the deſign upon Canada ſhould be defeated; and for this they were ſeverely cenſured by ſome who did not conſider the importance of the enterprize they were going upon: And the preſſing orders they had to uſe all imaginable diſpatch while the fair ſeaſon laſted, an expedition of the like kind having miſcarried once before, when the government of New-England had the ſole management of it, purely by its being undertaken too late in the year; and more men were loſt in that expedition, than there were in this.

The delay in furniſhing proviſions the occaſion of the ill ſucceſs in the expedition againſt Quebeck.

The year following, anno 1712, was concluded the peace of Utretcht, in which New-England was included; and as Nova-Scotia and Acadia were yielded to Britain by that treaty, the fiſheries on thoſe coaſts and in the bay of Fundi, which are equal, if not preferable to the fiſheries of Newfoundland) became ſolely veſted in the ſubjects of Great-Britain.

Nova-Scotia and its fiſheries yielded to Great-Britain by the peace of Utrecht.

The trade of New-England interferes with that of Great-Britain.

There have not been many tranſactions of any great moment in New-England ſince the peace of Utrecht, unleſs it be their falling into ſome manufactures and foreign trades, which interfere with the manufactures and trade of Great-Britain, as has been touched upon already, and will be conſidered further when I come to treat of the diſputes between the ſugar iſlands and the northern colonies.

They refuſe to allow the Governor a fixed ſalary.

The aſſembly of New-England have alſo had a long conteſt with the court of Great-Britain about ſettling a fixed ſalary on their Govenor, which they refuſing to comply with, that matter was propoſed to have been laid before the parliament; and the people of New-England beginning to apprehend their charter in ſome danger, employed Mr Dummer, one of their Agents, to appear in print as their Advocate; a gentleman the beſt qualified for that office of any writer I have met with; for he evidently acts the part of an advocate, concealing or mitigating their errors in government, and ſetting their beſt actions in the moſt advantageous light: Which brings me to enquire into the conſtitution of the reſpective colonies, which are comprehended under the name of New-England; and firſt of that of the Maſſachuſets.

The conſtitution of the Maſſachuſet Colony.

It is obſerved by Mr. Dummer, already mentioned, that by the new charter granted to the Maſſachuſets (the moſt conſiderable of the New-England Colonies) that the appointment of a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary, and all the Officers of the admiralty, is veſted in the crown: That the power of the militia is wholly in the hands of the Governor, as Captain-General: That all Judges, Juſtices and Sheriffs, to whom the execution of the law is intruſted, are nominated by the Governor, with the advice of the council; and that the Governor has a negative on the choice of counſellors peremptory and unlimited; and that he is not obliged to give a reaſon for what he does in this particular, or reſtrained to any number: That all laws enacted by the general aſſembly, are to be ſent to the court of England for the royal approbation; and that no laws, ordinances, elections (of Magiſtrates I preſume he means) or acts of government whatſoever are valid without the Governor's conſent in writing.

By theſe reſervations (in the opinion of this gentleman) the prerogative of the crown and the dependance of this colony are effectually ſecured: Whereas we find the Lords Commiſſioners of trade and plantations, in their repreſentation to the houſe of commons, anno 1732, obſerving that notwithſtanding the power ſeems to be divided between the King and the people in the Maſſachuſet Colony, the people have much the greateſt ſhare; for they do not only chuſe the aſſembly of repreſentatives, but this aſſembly chuſe the council (equivalent to our houſe of lords) and the Governor depends upon the aſſembly for his annual ſupport, which has frequently laid the Governor of this province under the temptation of giving up the prerogatives of the crown, and the intereſt of Great-Britain: That this colony as well as others ought to tranſmit to Great-Britain authentick copies of the ſeveral acts paſſed by them; but they ſometimes neglect it, and paſs temporary laws which have their full effect before the government here can have due notice of them: And if the laws of this colony are not repeaed within three years after their being preſented, they are not repealable by the crown after that time.

And here it may be proper to mention ſome obſervations of Mr. Dummer and other New-England writers in relation to the adminiſtration of the Governors and Officers of our plantations, as well as on the government itſelf.

Obſervations on the adminiſtration of the plantation Governors.

That Governors are apt to abuſe their power, and grow rich by oppreſſion, experience ſhews us, (ſays Mr. Dummer.) We have ſeen, not many years ſince, ſome Governors ſeized by their injured people, and ſent priſoners to Whitehall, there to anſwer for their offences. Others have fallen victims on the ſpot, not to the fury of a faction or a rabble, but to the reſentment of the whole body of the people, riſing as one man to revenge their wrongs. Others, after being recalled, have been proſecuted at the King's-bench Bar, purſuant to an act of parliament made in the reign of the late King William, whereby it is provided, that Governors ſhall be impleadable at home for any injuries done in their governments abroad. We have had more than one flagrant inſtance of this very lately, where Governors have been convicted and cenſured, not ſo properly for oppreſſing, as for a direct plundering their people, and ſuch other acts of miſ-rule and lawleſs power, as one would not have thought it poſſible they ſhould have committed, if experience had not ſhewn it to be more than poſſible.

I do not, however, intend by what is here ſaid to reproach our own nation, as if we were greater ſinners than others, or to reflect on the preſent times, as if they were worſe than the former. I know that the ſame abuſes have been practiſed in every age as well as this, and in foreign colonies as well as our own. The ancient Romans were as brave and as virtuous a people as any in the world; and yet their Pro-Conſuls and Governors were very guilty in this reſpect: Their corruption was ſo notorious as to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of crimen repetundarum, a phraſe not uſed in any other meaning, and derived from the obligation which the Roman ſenate laid on their Governors to make reſtitution.

Nor have the modern governors in the French and Spaniſh plantations been leſs criminal. It is a famous ſtory of a great miniſter at the court of Madrid, who writ to his friend the vice-roy of Peru, that great complaints were made againſt him for having extorted immenſe ſums of money from the people in his government; which (ſays he) I wiſh may be true, or elſe you are undone. It ſeems the ſame thing that wounded him was neceſſary to heal him; what put him out of favour was the only thing could reſtore him.

Indeed it can hardly be expected but theſe corruptions muſt happen, when one conſiders that few gentlemen will croſs the ſeas for a government whoſe circumſtances are not a little ſtrait at home; and that they know by how ſlight and uncertain a tenure they hold their commiſſions; from whence they wiſely conclude that no time is to be loſt: And then for the account to be rendered at home, that is not thought of at ſo great a diſtance; for procul a Jove, procul a fulmine.

Of the government of the plantations immediately ſubject to the crown.

To inlarge then the power of Governors, is to give them greater power to oppreſs; and to vacate the charters, is to inlarge their power, the government in that caſe of courſe devolving upon them, as we ſee in thoſe plantations which never had any charters, but are immediately dependent on the crown. There they have in a manner the intire legiſlative and executive powers, or at leaſt, ſo great an influence on the conſtituent parts of the former, as leaves them little more than nominal ſharers, ſerving rather as ſcreens to the Governor, than a defence to the people. The militia is abſolutely veſted in the Governors, which influences all elections of repreſentatives: They appoint Judges, Juſtices, Sheriffs, and other civil Officers with the conſent, it is ſaid indeed, of the council; but that ſuch conſent, voluntary or involuntary, will ever be refuſed, ſeems too much to be expected, if we conſider, that altho' the Governors do not indeed appoint the council, yet they recommend proper perſons to the King; and it may be ſuppoſed, that a gentleman who is intruſted with the chief command of a province, and is actually on the ſpot, will be thought the beſt judge who are fit to ſerve, and therefore his recommendations will almoſt always prevail. Beſides, if there be a turn to ſerve, or an emergency real or imaginary, and any of the members ſhould be ſo refractory as not to give into his meaſures with an implicit faith, the Governor can ſuſpend as many of them as he pleaſes; and when he has reduced the board under a number limited in his inſtructions, he can then fill it up to that number, Inſtanter, with whom he pleaſes; and who will they be, may we preſume, but ſuch as are paſſively obedient to his will? And too many ſuch there are to be found in all colonies, ſo conſtituted, who are content to be ſaddled themſelves, provided they may ride others under the chief rider. I muſt farther obſerve, that where there are no charters, there are courts of equity eſtabliſhed, in which the Governor is always Chancellor, and for the moſt part chief Juſtice and Ordinary at the ſame time; which puts the eſtates, lives, and liberties of the inhabitants, ſaving the liberty of an appeal at home, intirely in his diſpoſal; and even an appeal in all caſes under a conſiderable ſum, in all caſes of the ordinary juriſdiction, and in all caſes capital, is either diſallowed by his inſtructions, or wholly in the Governor's breaſt to allow or not.

The ſum of my argument is, that the benefit which Great-Britain receives from the plantations ariſes from their commerce: That oppreſſion is the moſt oppoſite thing in the world to commerce, and the moſt deſtructive enemy it can have: That Governors have in all times, and in all countries, been too much inclined to oppreſs. And conſequently, it cannot be the intereſt of the nation to increaſe their power, and leſſen the liberties of the people.

The ſame writer obſerves, that all the Officers of the revenue in the plantations are appointed by the crown; and all breaches of the acts of trade and plantations are tryed by Judges commiſſioned by the broad ſeal, or by warrants from the admiralty of England. That the laws of the country are not pleaded in theſe courts, but acts of the Britiſh parliament; and where they are ſilent, the civil and maritime laws take place, and the forms of proceeding are regulated after the manner practiſed in Doctors-Commons. That neither the Judge, nor any of the inferior Officers of the admiralty have ſalaries, or other dependence, than upon what they get by their fees, and are therefore ſtrongly tempted to receive all buſineſs that comes before them however improper for their cognizance.

That the Officers of the revenue are multiplied of late years in the plantations, and guilty of great oppreſſions: The Merchants complain, that by their violent practices, they have driven away all veſſels from ſome parts of the country, inſomuch that they have no ſloops left to carry their produce to market.

Of the independency of New-England on the crown.

In anſwer to that prevailing opinion, that the increaſing numbers and wealth of this and the reſt of the charter colonies, joined to their great diſtance from Britain, will give them an opportunity in the courſe of ſome years to throw off their dependance on this nation, and declare themſelves free ſtates, if not checked in time, by being made entirely ſubject to the crown. He anſwers, that thoſe gentlemen are but little acquainted with theſe, or any of the northern colonies, who do not know and confeſs that their poverty and the declining ſtate of their trade is ſo great at preſent, that there is far more danger of their ſinking, without ſome extraordinary ſupport from the crown, than of their revolting from it; beſides, they are ſo diſtinct from one another in their forms of government, in their religious rites, in their emulation of trade, and conſequently in their affections, that they can never be ſuppoſed to unite in ſo dangerous an enterprize: It is for this reaſon I have often wondered to hear ſome great men profeſs their belief of the feaſibleneſs of it, and the probability that it will ſome time or other actually come to paſs, and yet at the ſame time adviſe, that all the governments on the continent be formed into one, by being brought under one Vice-roy, and into one aſſembly; for if they in earneſt believed that there was, or would be hereafter, a diſpoſition in the provinces to rebel and declare themſelves independent, it would be good policy to keep them diſunited; becauſe, if it were poſſible they could contrive ſo wild and raſh an undertaking, yet they would not be hardy enough to put it in execution, unleſs they could firſt ſtrengthen themſelves by a confederacy of all the parts. On the other hand, another writer is of opinion, that our colonies can never defend themſelves againſt the invaſions and outrages of the French and their Indian allies, but by uniting them under one Vice-roy or Generaliſſimo: He obſerves, that all Princes and ſtates who have planted colonies, or ſubdued nations, have given the command of them to particular Governors in ſubordination to others, who have preſided over the whole, for preventing and ſuppreſſing ſedition; and that each particular government might be ſtrengthened and ſupported by the reſt againſt the attacks of their common enemies: That in the Roman empire, which contained one hundred and twenty provinces, and near three hundred colonies, there were only four Prefects or chief Governors under the Emperor; and over theſe extenſive countries the Spaniards poſſeſs in north and ſouth America, there are but two Vice-roys: In Canada and Louiſania, equal in extent to all the Britiſh Colonies, the French have but one Govenor in chief, or Generaliſſimo, who can unite the whole force of the French in that part of the world againſt any one of the Britiſh Colonies he pleaſes to attack. While the countries in America poſſeſſed by the Engliſh ſeem to be in much the ſame ſtate that Britain was, on the invaſion of the Romans, divided under ſeveral chiefs, and conſequently eaſily ſubdued one after another by the united forces of their enemies. Dum ſinguli pugnabant Univerſi vincebantur; while they fought in ſingle bodies the whole iſland was conquered (ſay the Roman hiſtorians

Of uniting the colonies under one Vice-roy.

hiſtorians:) So in this country, to draw the parallel, we have at leaſt thirteen colonies governed by their reſpective Commanders, according to their peculiar laws and conſtitutions; whereof there is ſcarce one that can expect relief from one another in the moſt imminent danger, as experience has often ſhewn.

Of making all the colonies immediately dependent on the crown.

This gentleman alſo obſerves, that the colonies depending immediately on the crown, ſuch as Virginia and New-York, have been much leſs harraſſed by the Indians, and much better prepared to defend their reſpective countries when attacked, than the charter governments of New-England; either ſays he, the latter have not authority enough to prevent the unfair uſage the Indians frequently complain of there, or they neglect to give them ſatisfaction when they are injured, and the frontier plantations are ruined before they can agree to march to their defence.

Of unqualified and corrupt Governors.

Another thing that has expoſed our colonies to great dangers, he obſerves, has been the unſkilfulneſs, or corrupt views, of ſome Governors, and Officers there, who have been left to truſt to providence and their own ingenuity for their ſubſiſtance: I will not ſay, that all that go thither are like thoſe in David's camp, in debt or diſtreſs, and conſequently unqualified to promote the publick weal; but there have been thoſe, who in time of war have ſupplied their Indian enemies with powder and ſhot, the French with proviſions, and the Spaniards with naval ſtores: And by keeping up parties and factions, and oppreſſing the people under colour of their authority, of flouriſhing colonies, have made very poor ones; but to return to the Maſſachuſets.

The laws of New-England, and their adminiſtration.

The laws of the greateſt conſequence in this colony, and the adminiſtration of them, are thus ſummed up by my author Mr. DUMMER: He ſays, there is in every county an office, where all conveyances of land are entered at large, after the granters have firſt acknowledged them before a Juſtice of peace; by which means, much fraud is prevented, no perſon being able to ſell his eſtate twice, or take up more money upon it than it is worth. Proviſion has likewiſe been made for the ſecurity of the life and property of the ſubject in the matter of juries, who are not returned by the Sheriff of the county, but are choſen by the inhabitants of the ſeveral towns, a convenient time before the ſitting of the courts. And this election is under the moſt exact regulation, in order to prevent corruption ſo far as human prudence can do it. It muſt be noted, that Sheriffs in the plantations are comparatively but little Officers; and therefore not to be truſted as here, where they are men of ample fortunes. And yet even here ſuch flagrant corruptions have been found in returning juries by Sheriffs, that the houſe of commons thought it neceſſary lately to amend the law in this point, and paſſed a bill for chuſing them by ballot.

Redreſs in their courts of law is eaſy, quick, and cheap. All proceſſes are in Engliſh, and no ſpecial pleadings or demurrers are admitted, but the general iſſue is always given, and ſpecial matters brought in evidence, which ſaves time and expence; and in this caſe a man is not liable to looſe his eſtate for a defect in form; nor is the merit of the cauſe made to depend on the niceties of clerkſhip. By a law of the country, no writ may be abated for a circumſtantial error, ſuch as a ſlight miſ-nomer, or any informality. And by another law, it is enacted, that every Attorney taking out a writ from the Clerk's office, ſhall endorſe his ſirname upon it, and be liable to pay to the adverſe party his coſts and charges in caſe of non-proſecution or diſcontinuance, or that the plantiff be non-ſuited, or judgment paſs againſt him. And it is provided in the ſame act, that if the plantiff ſhall ſuffer a non-ſuit by the Attorney's miſ-laying the action, he ſhall be obliged to draw a new writ without a fee, in caſe the party ſhall ſee fit to revive the ſuit. I cannot but think that every body, except gentlemen of the long robe, and the Attornies, will think this a wholeſome law, and well calculated for the benefit of the ſubject. For the quicker diſpatch of cauſes, declarations are made parts of the writ, in which the caſe is fully and particularly ſet forth. If it be matter of accompt, the accompt is annexed to the writ, and copies of both left with the defendant; which being done, fourteen days before the ſitting of the court, he is obliged to plead directly, and the iſſue is then tryed. Whereas by the practice of the court of King's-Bench, three or four months time is often loſt after the writ is ſerved, before the cauſe is brought to iſſue.

Nor are the people of New-England oppreſſed with the infinite delays and expence that attend the proceedings in Chancery; where both parties are often ruined by the charge and length of the ſuit. But as in all other countries, England only excepted, Jus & Equum are held the ſame, and never divided, ſo it is there: A power of Chancery being veſted in the Judges of the courts of common law, as to ſome particular caſes; and they make equitable conſtructions in others. I muſt add, that the fees of Officers of all ſorts are ſettled by acts of aſſembly at moderate prizes for the eaſe of the ſubject.

To theſe laws give me leave to add ſome others.

If a man commit adultery with a married woman, or maid, or woman eſpouſed, both the man and woman are to be put to death.

The puniſhment for robbery on the highway, or burglary, for the firſt offence, is only branding on the forehead; for the ſecond offence, branding again and whipping; and the third offence, death.

Blaſphemy is puniſhed with death.

Cruel puniſhment or correction of ſervants or children are prohibited; nor ſhall any court of Juſtice condemn any offender to receive more than forty ſtripes.

No man condemned to die ſhall be executed within four days after condemnation.

Maſters of families are to inſtruct their children and apprentices in the penal laws.

A child upwards of ſixteen years of age ſtriking or curſing his parent, to be put to death.

If any parent or guardian ſhall deny a child timely and convenient marriage, upon complaint to authority, a redreſs may be had.

No orphan ſhall be diſpoſed of by a guardian without the conſent of ſome court.

The minority of women in caſe of marriage is declared to be under ſixteen years of age.

Any Magiſtrate may hear and determine civil cauſes in his county where the debt or damages do not exceed forty Shillings; and no ſuch cauſes ſhall be brought before a court.

Falſe witneſſes, forſwearing themſelves with a deſign to take away another's life, ſhall ſuffer death.

Fornication is puniſhed either by compelling marriage, fining the parties, corporal puniſhment, disfranchiſement, or all of theſe, as the court ſhall direct.

No man ſhall be admitted a freeman but a member of ſome church in the colony.

No man who is a member of a church ſhall be exempted from offices.

All Engliſhmen orthodox in religion, not ſcandalous in life, who are freeholders of the country and rateable in one ſingle rate at ten Shillings, and twenty four years of age, ſhall be admitted to the freedom of the common-wealth. Made anno 1664.

Hereſy.

During the uſurpation, anno 1646, they paſſed a law againſt hereticks, wherein they recite, that notwithſtanding no human power is lord over the faith and conſciences of men, yet to avoid damnable hereſies tending to the ſubverting the chriſtian faith, ſpreading among the inhabitants of this juriſdiction, 'tis enacted, that if any perſon within this juriſdiction ſhall broach and maintain any damnable hereſies, as denying the immortality of the ſoul, or the reſurrection of the body, or any ſin to be repented of in the regenerate, or any evil to be done by the outward man to be accounted ſin, or ſhall deny that CHRIST gave himſelf a ranſom for our ſins, or ſhall affirm that we are not juſtified by his death and righteouſneſs but by our own merit, or ſhall deny the morality of the fourth commandment, or ſhall openly condemn or oppoſe the baptizing of infants, or ſhall purpoſely depart the congregation at the adminiſtration of the ordinance of baptiſm, or ſhall deny the ordinance of magiſtracy or their lawful authority to make war and peace, and to puniſh the outward breaches of the firſt table, or ſhall endeavour to ſeduce others to any of theſe opinions, every ſuch perſon lawfully convicted ſhall be baniſhed this juriſdiction.

Whoever ſhall revile the office or perſon of a Magiſtrate or Miniſter (Clergyman) ſhall be ſeverely whipped, and pay the penalty of five Pounds.

Whoever ſhall publiſh any heterodox opinions in religion, ſhall be cenſured by the county court.

Raw hides, ſkins, or leather unwrought, ſhall not be exported, on pain of forfeiture. Anno 1646.

No Horſe ſhall be ſold or diſpoſed of to any Indian, on pain of one hundred Pounds.

No Stone-Horſe to run in the woods, unleſs he be well made, and fourteen hands high.

Jurymen ſhall be choſen by the freemen of each county, a convenient time before the ſitting of the court.

No popiſh prieſt or jeſuit, ſhall come to, or abide within this juriſdiction, but ſhall be baniſhed, or otherwiſe proceeded againſt as the court of aſſiſtants ſhall direct; and if he return from baniſhment, he ſhall be put to death.

No Indians ſhall be depoſſeſſed of their lands or fiſhing grounds; and any Indians deſiring to live among the Engliſh, ſhall have allotments of land.

No man ſhall ſell or diſpoſe of arms or ammunition to the Indians.

No perſon ſhall give or ſell brandy, rum, or other ſtrong liquors to the Indians.

No perſon ſhall ſell or diſpoſe of any boat or other veſſel to an Indian.

Damage done to the Indians in their Corn or cattle, ſhall be recompenſed.

The civilized Indians, who live under this government, ſhall have Indian Commiſſioners in their ſeveral plantations, to hear and determine ſuch differences as a ſingle Magiſtrate may determine among the Engliſh, and ſhall have Marſhals and Conſtables to execute warrants and orders. They ſhall alſo have courts equivalent to county courts among themſelves, provided the Engliſh Magiſtrate appoint the fines, and give his conſent to the judgments paſſed; and matters of a higher nature ſhall be determined by the court of aſſiſtants.

No perſon ſhall be permitted to pawaw, or perform their idolatrous worſhip; nor ſhall the Indians profane the LORD's day.

Strong liquors found in the poſſeſſion of Indians ſhall be ſeized.

Indians found drunk ſhall be committed till they confeſs where they had their liquor; and ſhall pay ten Shillings for being drunk, or receive ten ſtripes.

Perſons allowed to trade with the Indians for ſkins, may ſell them arms and ammunition on paying certain duties to the government, provided ſuch Indians are in amity with the Engliſh. This act was made anno 1668.

No perſon ſhall be ſuffered to ſit tippling in a publick houſe above half an hour, except ſtrangers; or to drink above half a pint of wine at a ſitting.

No private perſon to permit people to ſit tippling in his houſe, on pain of twenty Shillings for the firſt offence, and five Pounds for the ſecond.

All perſons prohibited ſinging in a publick houſe, or to go into one on a Sunday or lecture-day.

No victualler to ſuffer a drunken fellow, who has been admoniſhed of his offence by the ſelect men, to come into his houſe.

The ſtealing of men is made capital.

No man ſhall ſtrike his wife, or woman her huſband, on pain of ten Pounds, or corporal puniſhment, at the diſcretion of the county court.

No man ſhall make a motion of marriage to any maid, without the conſent of her parents or governors, or in their abſence, of the next Magiſtrate; on pain of five Pounds for the firſt offence, and ten for the ſecond.

Married people ſhall not live ſeparately without ſhewing good cauſe to the court of aſſiſtants.

None ſhall marry any perſon but a Magiſtrate, or thoſe that are authorized by the court of aſſiſtants, and that after banns three times publiſhed in their churches.

The freemen of every town are impowered to ſettle the wages of ſervants and labourers there.

If any maim or disfigure his ſervant, he ſhall be disfranchiſed.

The mint ſhall coin money, Two-pence in the Shilling leſs in value than Engliſh money: The exportation of money prohibited.

Convicted criminals refuſing to diſcover their accomplices may be put to the torture.

Playing in the ſtreets or fields, walking, drinking, viſiting, ſporting, and travelling on the Sabbath-day prohibited.

No violence ſhall be offered to any that ſuffer ſhipwreck upon the coaſt, or to their goods; but both ſhall be harboured and preſerved in ſafety.

Government of Connecticut and Rhode-Iſland.

As to the two colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Iſland, which I comprehend under the title of New-England, theſe, as has been obſerved already, are diſtinct governments, and indulged at preſent with higher privileges than the Maſſachuſet Colony; for theſe, by their reſpective charters, are authorized annually to elect their own Governors, Deputy-Governors, council and aſſembly, with the reſt of their Magiſtrates and Officers, civil and military; and to make laws for the government of the colony, provided they are not repugnant to the laws of England; and the people of Connecticut, in their religion, laws and cuſtoms, copy pretty cloſely after their mother colony, that of the Maſſachuſets.

State of religion there.

As to the ſtate of religion in Rhode-Iſland Colony, a gentleman of conſiderable intereſt there gives me this account of it. He ſays, they are a very free people in that reſpect. They conſiſt of epiſcopalians, preſbyterians, anabaptiſts and quakers; but the quakers are now the moſt conſiderable, their preſent Governor, JOHN WANTON, Eſq; being a quaker, as are alſo ſeveral of the council and houſe of repreſentatives; and as they are principled for a free miniſtry of the goſpel, ſo conſequently there is no forced maintenance in the colony for the miniſtry of any perſuaſion, but every different ſociety that is for maintaining a preacher does it voluntarily by a contribution or ſubſcription.

Of New Hampſhire.

The fourth and laſt colony comprehended under the name of New-England, is that of New-Hampſhire; which is immediately dependent on the crown, and conſequently the King appoints their Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Council, Magiſtrates and Officers, civil and military; but the freemen ſtill elect their repreſentatives, as the free-holders in England do with us. The conſtitution of this, and all other colonies immediately depended on the crown therefore reſembles nearly that of Old-England; but in the reſt, called charter governments, the diffuſive body of the people ſeem to be veſted with the ſovereign power, having the election of their Governors, Council, and Magiſtrates annually, and their laws being made by themſelves without the King's concurrence. However their laws are liable to be repealed, and their conſtitution entirely altered by the King and parliament; which, one would think, ſhould render them extremely cautious in making laws that may prove diſadvantagious to their mother country, or promote ſuch trades and manufactures as may interfere with thoſe of Great-Britain; for they may very well expect when this ſhall be done to any great degree, the parliament will keep a ſevere hand over them, and perhaps deprive them of their moſt darling privileges. It may be found expedient hereafter alſo, even for their own defence and ſecurity, to appoint a Vice-roy, or at leaſt a Generaliſſimo in time of war, who, by the advice of his Council, may aſſemble and unite the whole force of the plantations againſt the encroachments and invaſions of the French, and aſſign every province and colony their reſpective quotas of troops to oppoſe this formidable rival: Or at leaſt it may be found neceſſary to make all the colonies immediately dependent on the crown, as Virginia, Carolina, and New-York are; for the charter governments are not to be depended on in ſuch exigencies: They may refuſe their aſſiſtance, or it will probably come too late to be of any ſervice upon a ſudden invaſion. Half the country may be deſtroyed before they come to an effectual reſolution to raiſe forces; or at leaſt before they put their reſolutions in execution. Nor can it ever be expected that the charter colonies ſhould agree about their reſpective quotas and ſupplies of men and money, or indeed know what is neceſſary for the defence of the whole, ſo well as the Vice-roy or Generaliſſimo may, who attentively conſiders the ſeveral colonies and their reſpective circumſtances with an impartial eye. All the difficulty lies in finding a gentleman of probity and capacity equal to ſo great a truſt, or in putting ſuch checks and reſtraints upon him as may prevent the abuſe of ſuch a power without prejudice to the ſervice.

The difference between the charter governments and thoſe immediately depending on the crown.

Money of New-England.

As to the money of New-England, according to Mr. NEAL, they have none at preſent, neither Silver nor Gold. About fifty or ſixty years ago there was money coined in the country, but there is hardly enough left now for the retail buſineſs, all their payments among themſelves being made in province bills made legal by act of the general aſſembly, which deſcend as low as half-a-Crown; ſo that the gentlemen of New-England carry all their money in their pocket-books: Hence it is that the courſe of exchange runs ſo much to the diſadvantage of the country, that 100 l. to be paid in London is ſometimes worth 220 and 225 l. paid in New-England; ſo that if a Merchant of Boſton ſhould remit his eſtate to London it would not be worth half ſo much as it is there; but on the other hand, if a Merchant in London worth a 1000 l. ſhould have a mind to ſettle in New-England, and carry his effects along with him, he might be worth 3000 l. on his arrival there, and live as well upon it as upon 3000 l. here.

Exchange.

A gentleman of Connecticut Colony informs me that they are not allowed the privilege of coining any money there; the Silver and Gold that is among them is what they import from other parts in return for the commodities they export, and paſſes all by weight, and ſerves only as merchandize, which for the moſt part, one way or other is ſent home to Great-Britain, to pay for goods imported into New-England from thence; what ſerves as a medium of trade is their bills of credit from 5 s. to 5 l. bills, of which they have ſome quantities iſſued by their government.

Indian money.

The Indians have a ſort of money among them, which they call Wampam, and is a parcel of little beads made of the ſhells which lie on the ſea-coaſt, with holes in them to ſtring upon a bracelet, whereof ſome are white, and of theſe ſix go for a Penny; ſome black or blue, and of theſe three go for a Penny.

Carriages, travelling and inns.

Beſides water-carriage, they have now waggons and Pack-horſes. There is a ſtage waggon which goes from Boſton to Newport in Rhode-Iſland, being ſeventy miles. Gentlemen alſo have coaches and chaiſes, but they travel moſt commonly on horſeback. And there are inns on the roads as well provided for the entertainment of travellers as thoſe of Old-England.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
NOVA-SCOTIA.

CHAP. VI.

Of Nova-Scotia or New-Scotland, and Acadia.

CHAP. VI.

New-Scotland. The ſituation and extent.

NEW-SCOTLAND, in which I comprehend Acadia, is bounded by the bay and river of St. Lawrence on the north-eaſt and north-weſt, by the Atlantick-Ocean on the eaſt, by the ſame ocean and the bay of Fundi on the ſouth, and by part of Canada and part of New-England on the weſt, lying between 43 and 51 degrees of north latitude, and between 63 and 70 degrees of weſtern longitude; being about five hundred miles in length from north to ſouth, viz. from Cape Sable to Cape Gaſpe, at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence; and about three hundred miles in breadth from eaſt to weſt, viz. from Cape Canſo to the river Penobſcot, which divides New-England from New-Scotland, as I apprehend.

Chief towns.

This country yet remains undivided into counties or leſſer diſtricts, and is ſtill uncultivated, unleſs in two or three places near the ſea-coaſts; the reſt is all foreſt: Yet where it has been ſettled or planted, either by the French or Engliſh, the ſoil appears to be fruitful. The only towns the Engliſh have in Nova-Scotia are that of Port-Royal, or Annapolis, ſituate in the bay of Fundi, and that of Canſo in the eaſt, over-againſt the iſland of Cape-Breton.

Annapolis.

The town or city of Annapolis lies upon an excellent harbour on the eaſt ſide of Fundi Bay, capable of receiving a fleet of a thouſand ſhips, and at the entrance of it has ſixteen or eighteen fathoms water on one ſide, and ſix or ſeven on the other. The town is pretty well fortified; and here the Governor reſides with a garriſon of five hundred Engliſh. Canſo, ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of Acadia, will probably in time be a very conſiderable town, on account of an excellent fiſhery near it; tho' it ſeems the Engliſh have been diſturbed, and great encroachments made on their territories and fiſheries in Nova-Scotia by the French ſince the peace of Utrecht.

Canſo. The country of Acadia ſtill uncultivated.

CHAP. VI.

The French encroachments there.

An Engliſh gentleman, who wrote of this country in the year 1720, ſays it muſt be acknowledged that ever ſince the peace of Utrecht no care has been wanting to provide this province with Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and other inferior Officers both civil and military, and alſo with a conſiderable number of regular forces; but with great ſubmiſſion, I think the Orator's queſtion may very pertinently be repeated here, Cui bono? And indeed what great ſervice can be expected from a ſingle garriſon whoſe command reaches no farther than their guns, whilſt the whole country is abandoned to the French, who make ſettlements, and erect forts by order of the Governor of Canada, on all the principal rivers, particularly St. John's, Paſſamaquady and Penobſcot, and have poſſeſſed themſelves of our fiſhery at Canſo, which is perhaps the beſt in the world: For tho', according to the true meaning of the 11th article of the treaty of Utrecht, they can claim no more liberty to fiſh there than on any other part of that coaſt; yet finding that their new plantations on Cape Breton were ſcarce habitable, they not only managed their fiſhery on our ground, and in our harbours, but by the aſſiſtance of the Indians pulled down our ſtages, deſtroyed our veſſels, and proceeded ſo far as to ſuffer none of his Majeſty's ſubjects to catch or cure fiſh at the iſland of Canſo without firſt paying for a licence from the Governor of Cape Breton; tho' the French have no manner of right to theſe iſlands and harbours: If they had it would be an unpardonable crime in that Governor to allow the Engliſh to trade or fiſh there on any account whatſoever. And the reaſon is becauſe all Governors in America, whether Engliſh or French receive expreſs inſtructions from their reſpective maſters, to put in execution the articles of the treaty of neutrality in America, between King JAMES II. and the late King of France; wherein it is ſtipulated, that none of the ſubjects of either King ſhall trade or fiſh in the bays, &c. belonging to the other, under the penalty of the veſſel ſo trading or fiſhing, and lading, being confiſcated.

But, as I am informed, the people of New-England have of late aſſerted their right to thoſe fiſheries, and built and peopled the town of Canſo, and manage the fiſhery there to great advantage:

However, the reſt of the country ſtill remains unplanted. The greateſt part of the European inhabitants are French, who have taken the oaths to the crown of England, and the Indians are for the moſt part proſelytes to the French jeſuites; ſo that if a war ſhould break out again between Great-Britain and France, the French would ſoon become maſters of Acadia and all Nova-Scotia again, in the opinion of ſome. They have 'tis ſaid, always fifteen hundred regular forces in the neighbouring iſland of Cape Breton, and would be joined by a French ſquadron and land forces from Europe in caſe of a rupture, which, with the aſſiſtance of the natives, would enable them, ſay theſe gentlemen, to reduce Acadia under their power in a ſingle campaign, ruin the Britiſh fiſheries here and at Newfoundland, deſtroy the foreign trade of our northern Colonies, and cut off all communication between them and Europe.

Whereas if this country were peopled and planted by the Engliſh, it would not only yield us all manner of naval ſtores, great plenty of rich Furs and ſkins, but preſerve to us the fineſt fiſheries in the world, ſecure Acadia againſt any attacks from Cape Breton, and with the help of an Engliſh ſquadron in time of war protect the trade of the northern Colonies.

Port-Royal, while it was in the hands of the French laſt war, was juſtly ſtyled the Dunkirk of that part of the world, continually harbouring fleets of privateers, and French cruizers, to the ruin of the fiſheries and foreign trade of the northern Colonies: And this will probably be the caſe again if we do not plant this country, and make proviſion againſt the attempts of the French while the peace continues; and when this is done, ſtill Cape Breton will remain a thorn in our ſides, and probably occaſion perpetual ſkirmiſhes between the ſubjects of Great-Britain and France, till either we reduce that iſland, or the French make a conqueſt not only of Nova-Scotia, but of New-England itſelf, and all our northern colonies: And as we have no great reaſon to fear the French will ever be able to effect the latter, at leaſt in this age, ſo we muſt expect they will uſe their utmoſt efforts for the preſervation of the iſland of Cape Breton; for whenever this falls into the hands of the Engliſh, the French trade to Canada and North-America muſt infallibly be loſt and fall to the ſhare of Great-Britain; and all their hopeful ſchemes of uniting Canada or New-France to Louiſania, or South Florida, muſt vaniſh; for Cape Breton and Newfoundland (already in our poſſeſſion) lie before the bay of St. Lawrence, and with the aſſiſtance of a ſquadron of men of war ſtationed there might eaſily cut off all communication with that river, by which alone Canada or New-France can be approached.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
NEW-BRITAIN.

CHAP. VII.

Of New-Britain, or Terra de Labarador, and Hudſon's Bay.

CHAP. VII.

New Britain and Hudſon's Bay. The ſituation and extent.

NEW-BRITAIN, or Terra de Labarador, in which I comprehend Hudſon's Bay and Streights, is ſeparated from Nova-Scotia by the river of St. Lawrence and part of Canada, and extends from 49 to 64 degrees north latitude, lying between 60 and 90 degrees of weſtern longitude.

Produce of the country.

This cold inhoſpitable country is but thinly peopled with Indians, and the only part of it that was ever thought worth the planting by any Europeans was the bottom and the weſt ſide of Hudſon's Bay, where the Engliſh have four or five little forts and factories, the chief of which is fort Albany. The Hudſon's Bay company trade thither for furrs and ſkins, to the value of fifteen or twenty thouſand Pounds prime coſt annually, of which three fourths are Beaver Skins.

The firſt diſcovery of it by CABOT.

The eaſtern ſhores of this country were diſcovered by SEBASTIAN CABOT, for HENRY VII, King of England, about the year 1498. They were afterwards viſited by DAVIS and others in their attempts to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to China; but Captain HENRY HUDSON, who has communicated his name to the bay and ſtreights, ſurrounded almoſt the whole coaſt going on ſhore in ſeveral places.

Hudson's diſcovery.

Mr. Hudson made four voyages to the north upon diſcovery, the firſt in the year 1607, when he ſet ſail from England in the month of May; and having made the coaſt of Greenland, ſailed as far as 81 degrees 30 minutes, and returned to England on the 15th of September the ſame year.

In the year 1608, he endeavoured to diſcover a north-eaſt paſſage to China, but coming into 75 degrees 30 minutes north latitude on the 9th of June, he found his way ſo blocked up by mountains of ice that he returned home.

The year following, anno 1609, he made another attempt to find a way to China, by the north-eaſt, but was again prevented by fields of ice near Nova Zembla.

The following year, 1610, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, Mr. Wostenholme, and other adventurers, fitted out Mr. Hudson again, with orders to endeavour to find a paſſage through Davis's Streights to the South-Sea or Pacifick Ocean. Accordingly Mr. Hudson ſet ſail from England in April, and on the 4th of June arrived upon the coaſt of Greenland, from whence he ſailed to the Iſland of Deſolation; then he ſteered almoſt due weſt till he diſcovered a point of land, being part of Terra de Labarador, in the latitude of 60, which is called Deſire Provokes, being near the mouth of thoſe ſtreights which afterwards obtained the name of Hudſon's Streights: Theſe he entered ſoon after, and ſailing through fields of ice to the north-weſt for upwards of three hundred leagues by computation, he came to a ſmall ſtreight two leagues over and very deep water, through which he paſſed between two promontories, calling that to the ſouthward Cape Woſtenholme, and that to the north-weſt Digges's Iſland, the latter lying in 64 degrees 44 minutes north latitude: And now coming into a ſpacious ſea, wherein he ſailed an hundred leagues ſouth, he aſſured himſelf he had found the paſſage into the Pacifick-Ocean; but perceiving at length, by the ſhallow water, that he was embayed, he was extremely diſturbed, for there was a neceſſity now of remaining all winter in this frozen country, there being no poſſibility of returning through the ſtreights till next ſummer on account of the ice. He brought his veſſel therefore to an anchor in a ſmall creek on the ſouth-weſt part of the bay, where being in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, he was plentifully ſupplyed with wild fowl during the winter, and afterwards in the ſpring with fiſh; but the Captain was ſo intent upon compleating his diſcovery, that he left his men to take and ſalt up fiſh and victual the ſhip, while he ſearch'd every creek and corner of the ſhore in his ſloop for a paſſage to the South-Sea. During his abſence his men did not only neglect to catch fiſh, but entered into a conſpiracy to run away with the veſſel and leave him and the reſt of their Officers behind, which they put in execution ſoon after his return, forcing him and eight more into a boat with a very ſmall ſhare of proviſions; and they were never heard of from that day to this. The pretence of the mariners for this piece of barbarity being that the Captain had threatened to ſet part of the crew on ſhore, for not furniſhing the ſhip with fiſh when it was in their power.

Hudson's men run away with his ſhip, and leave him to periſh.

The conſpirators having left their Captain and his companions to ſhift for themſelves, brought the ſhip to Digges's Iſland, where all their proviſions being ſpent, they went on ſhore, and furniſhed themſelves with great quantities of wild fowl: But Green the Captain of the mutineers, and three or four more of the ring-leaders, were ſurpriſed by the natives and cut in pieces. Whereupon Pricket, a ſervant to Sir Dudley Digges (whoſe life the mutineers had ſpared, in hopes he would have been inſtrumental in getting their pardon,) took the charge of the ſhip upon him, and brought her home on the 6th of September, 1611, the crew being all ſo weak that they were not able to manage their ſails without the aſſiſtance of ſome fiſhermen they met with at ſea; and part of them were actually ſtarved to death in the paſſage.

The ſhip returns home.

Sir Thomas Button's voyage to the bay.

The year following, Sir Thomas Button purſued the diſcovery, and paſſing Hudſon's Streights entered the ſame bay, and leaving the ſouth part of it, which Hudson had viſited, he ſailed ſome hundreds of leagues to the weſtward, till he arrived at a large continent, which he named New-Wales; and here he loſt his ſhip, coming home in a ſloop that he built in the country.

James's voyage thither.

The next adventurer that entered Hudſon's Bay was Captain James, in the year 1631. This gentleman ſailed to the bottom of the bay, and wintered on Charlton-Iſland, in 52 degrees odd minutes north latitude, for which reaſon the ſouth part of this gulph is uſually called James's Bay. At his return he gave ſo dreadful an account of the hazards he ſuſtained in his voyage from the ice, that nobody attempted it again till the year 1667, when Captain Gillam entered the bay, ſailing to a river near the bottom of it in 51 degrees north latitude, which he judged to be a proper place for ſettling a factory, and called it Prince Rupert's River. Upon his return his owners applyed to King Charles II. for a patent to plant the country, which they obtained anno 1670, Prince Rupert being the chief proprietor: And the company have carryed on a ſmall but profitable trade thither with ſome interruptions from the French of Canada almoſt ever ſince. The Engliſh were encouraged to ſettle factories here by two Frenchmen, who had been conducted to the bay by ſome of the natives of Canada. Theſe men returning to France, and propoſing the ſettling of a colony at the bottom of the bay, the project was ſlighted by that miniſtry; whereupon the Engliſh ambaſſador at that court engaged theſe two men in the ſervice of the Engliſh, and thereupon preparations were made in England to ſend a colony to the bay.

A patent to plant the country, 1670.

The firſt Engliſh Govenor that went thither was Charles Batly, Eſq; anno 1670, who built a fort on Rupert-River, and gave it the name of Charles Fort; and ſoon after he cauſed a factory to be ſettled at port Nelſon, on the weſt ſide of the bay, in 57 degrees north latitude but the two Frenchmen (Radison and Gooseleer) ſoon after betrayed that place to the French of Canada; However, in the year 1682 they thought fit to change ſides again, and reſtored port Nelſon to the Engliſh. In the year 1684 the chief factory of the Engliſh was removed to Chickewam-River, and called Albany; and a fort was erected for its defence on the ſouth-weſt part of the bay. It was deſigned alſo to have fixed a colony on Charlton-Iſland, and to have built warehouſes there for their Furrs; but the place

Charles Fort. Port Nelſon.

Albany Fort.

New-Severn.

The French invade our factories in time of peace and take them.

place was afterwards found incommodious, and deſerted again. The company were now in poſſeſſion of five ſettlements (viz.) thoſe in Albany-River, Hayes-Iſland, Rupert-River, port Nelſon and New-Severn, between port Nelſon and Albany, and their trade in a flouriſhing condition, when the French, apprehenſive that the Engliſh would draw all the upland Indians to the bay, ſent a detachment of troops from Canada under the command of the Chevalier De Troys, who invaded our ſettlements, and made himſelf maſter of Hayes-Iſland, fort Rupert, and Albany, in July 1686, though we were then at peace with France. But the Engliſh ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of port Nelſon; and in the firſt war between the confederates and the French, in the year 1693, the Engliſh recovered the reſt of their ſettlements in the bay. During the laſt war the French reduced all our ſettlements, except Albany, under their power again, but they were yielded to Great-Britain by the peace of Utrecht, anno 1713, and we have remained in poſſeſſion of them ever ſince.

Reſtored by the peace of Utrecht.

Articles of that treaty relating to New-Britain and New-Scotland.

By the tenth article of this treaty his moſt chriſtian Majeſty obliged himſelf to reſtore to Great-Britain the bay and ſtreights of Hudſon, with all lands, ſeas, ſea-coaſts, rivers, and places ſituate on the ſaid bay and ſtreights, with the fortreſſes there erected, in the condition they then were, with all cannon and ammunition in the ſame: And it was agreed that commiſſaries on the part of Great-Britain and France ſhould determine within a year the limits to be fixed between the ſaid bay of Hudſon and the places appertaining to the French; which limits the ſubjects of Great-Britain and France are not to paſs over to each other by ſea or land. And commiſſioners did afterwards ſettle the limits by an imaginary line drawn from a promontory ſituate on the Atlantick-Ocean, in 58 degrees 30 minutes, and running from thence ſouth-weſt to the lake Miſcoſink or Miſtaſin, and from thence ſouth-weſt indefinitely to the latitude of 49; all the countries to the north being aſſigned to Great-Britain, and all on the ſouth, between that line and the river of St. Lawrence or Canada, to France.

By the eleventh article France was obliged to make ſatisfaction to the Engliſh company trading to Hudſon's Bay for all the depredations the French had committed there in time of peace; and the Engliſh were to give the like ſatisfaction to the French.

By the twelfth article of the ſame treaty, Nova-Scotia or Acadia, Port-Royal or Annapolis-Royal, with their lands and dependencies, were entirely yielded and made over to Great-Britain in ſuch ample manner that the ſubjects of France were entirely excluded from all kind of fiſheries in the ſeas, bays and coaſts of Nova-Scotia, eſpecially thoſe which lie towards the eaſt and within thirty leagues thereof, beginning from the iſland of Sable incluſive, and ſtretching thence to the ſouth-weſt (but I queſtion if this is not a miſtake, and it ought not to have been ſaid to the North-Eaſt; for Cape Sable is the moſt ſoutherly promontory of Acadia, or Nova-Scotia) however, it is poſſible this miſtake has given the French a pretence to diſturb our fiſhery at Canſo, on the north-eaſt point of Acadia.

The orders of the Admiralty to Captain Middleton, to endeavour a diſcovery of the North-weſt-paſſage.

'Whereas we have, in obedience to his Majeſty's commands, ordered the Furnace Sloop, whereof you are Commander, to be fitted out in a proper manner, to proceed on a voyage towards Hudſon's Strait, in order to attempt the diſcovery of a paſſage that way into the weſtern American ocean, and have appointed the Diſcovery Pink, William Moor, Maſter, (who is hereby required and directed to follow your orders) to attend you on that ſervice, you are hereby required and directed, ſo ſoon as the ſaid Sloop and Pink are ready for the ſea, to fall down to the Nore, and when they have been paid what is due to their companies, to proceed to Leith, and deliver the incloſed packet to Captain Holburne, commander of his Majeſty's ſhip the Dolphin, containing orders to the ſaid Captain to proceed in company with you, as far as the iſlands of Orkney,. for your better ſecurity againſt the privateers of the enemy, ſaid to be cruizing thereabout.

'You are accordingly to proceed in company with the ſaid ſhip Dolphin as far as the aforeſaid iſlands, and then to make the beſt of your way with the Sloop and Pink under your command, towards Hudſon's Strait, and after paſſing the ſame, to proceed to Carey's Swan's-neſt; and then ſteer north-weſterly, ſo as to fall in with the North-weſt land at Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, or ne ultra, near the latitude of 65 degrees North.

'You are there to make the beſt obſervations you can of the heighth, direction and courſe of the tides, bearing of the lands, debth and ſoundings of the ſea, and ſhoals, with the variation of the needle.

'When you come up with Whalebone Point in 65°, you are to try the beſt paſſage in doubling that land, whether to eaſtward or weſtward, in caſe it be an iſland; and on which ſide ſoever you meet the tide and flood, to direct your courſe ſo as to meet the tide, whether north-weſterly or ſouth-weſterly.

'If after, in doubling that cape, you find either a ſtrait or an open ſea, you are to keep on your courſe, ſtill meeting the tide of flood; and if it be ſo wide as to loſe ſight of land, then keep to the larboard or American ſhore, ſteering ſouth-weſterly, ſo as to take the bearings of the lands and ſoundings; and obſerve whether there are any inlets, bays, or rivers, to ſhelter the ſhips, in caſe bad weather, or contrary winds, oblige you to take harbour; and there make the beſt plans you can of ſuch harbours, and the charts of the coaſt.

'You muſt make no ſtay any where, whilſt wind and weather permits, (except for making obſervations for your ſafety in your return) until you get to the ſouthward of 60 degrees North; and then, if you continue to find and open ſea, make more careful obſervations of the American coaſt or iſlands, and of the head-lands, bays, and rivers, until you make the latitude of 50 degrees, or any more ſoutherly latitude, in caſe you find it convenient to winter on the weſtern ſide of America; but if you ſhould find it more convenient to return into the bay to winter, or can make your paſſage home in time, after making a diſcovery of the paſſage to the weſtern American ocean, (which is more eligible) in order to proſecute the diſcovery to advantage next ſeaſon, then you need proceed no farther ſoutherly than 50 or 60 degrees latitude, and make all proper obſervations of the tides, bays, head-lands, ſhoals, and rocks on both ſides, if the paſſage be narrow, or ‘on which ever ſide the wind and weather permits you, with the variation, or any other curious obſervations you can make.

‘If you find any inhabitants upon the coaſt, or any populous nations to the ſouthward, you are to endeavour by all proper means, to cultivate a friendſhip and alliance with them, preſenting them with ſuch trifles as they value, and ſhewing them all poſſible civility and reſpect; but to take caution, if they be numerous, not to let yourſelf be ſurprized, but to be conſtantly on your guard againſt any accidents.

‘If you find it proper to winter on the other ſide of the paſſage, get to a warm climate not more northerly than 42 degrees in ſome ſafe harbour, that may be of uſe in a future ſettlement; and rather in an iſland, if there be a good harbour, which would be ſafer than on the continent for an infant ſettlement.

‘If your place of wintering is within a proper diſtance to be ſupplied by the natives on the continent, take proper ſeeds, of fruit-trees, plants, grain and pulſe, and ſow them in the ſpring, or in caſe you find any civilized nation, who want ſuch kinds, you may preſent ſome to them, and make them ſenſible of their uſe and manner of culture.

‘In places where you meet with inhabitants, make purchaſes with their conſent, and take poſſeſſion of convenient ſituations in the country, in the name of his Majeſty of Great-Britain.

‘But when there are no inhabitants, you muſt take poſſeſſion by ſetting up proper inſcriptions as firſt diſcoverers and poſſeſſors.

‘If in your paſſage you meet with any ſhips trading to the weſtern countries, eaſtward of Japan, or any Japaneze ſhips, and you apprehend any danger from them, either from their force or number, you are to proceed no farther in the diſcovery, but immediately to return, that ſhips of ſufficient force may be ſent out next ſeaſon, to begin a trade, or make a ſettlement, without any apprehenſion of diſturbance from any powerful nation on that ſide, leſt any accident ſhould prevent your return, and diſcourage any farther attempts to be made for the future.

‘If you ſhould arrive at California without any apprehenſion of danger, and chuſe to winter in 42 degrees (where CAXTON is ſaid to have found a civilized nation and good harbour) or more ſoutherly, then endeavour to meet Captain ANSON in the month of December, before the arrival of the Manila ſhip at the Cape St. Lucas, the ſouthern Cape of California, and leave a copy of your journal with him, leſt any accident ſhould happen to you upon your return, and ſo the diſcovery be loſt, and it might prevent ſhips being ſent out to your relief in caſe of ſhipwreck.

‘But for as much as, in an undertaking of this nature, ſeveral emergencies may ariſe, not to be foreſeen, and therefore not ſo particularly to be provided for by inſtructions before-hand, you are in ſuch caſe to proceed, as upon advice with your Officers, you ſhall judge may be moſt advantageous to the ſervice on which you are employed.

‘When you return home, you are to proceed into the river Thames, and ſend our Secretary an account of your arrival and proceedings, for our information. Given under our hands the 20th of May, 1741.

To Captain MIDDLETON,
Commander of his Majeſty's Sloop the Furnace,
Deptford.

CHA. WAGER.
THO. FRANKLAND.
GLENORCHY.

By command of their Lordſhips,

THOMAS CORBETT.

By the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland, &c.

‘You are hereby required and directed during the courſe of your intended voyage, not to give any diſturbance or moleſtation to any of the ſhips or ſloops, employed in the ſervice of the Hudſon's Bay Company, but to give them all protection and aſſiſtance that lies in your power, whenever any opportunity offer of your being ſerviceable to them. Given under our hands the 29th of May, 1741.

To Captain MIDDLETON,
Commander of his Majeſty's Sloop Furnace.

CHA. WAGER.
VERE BEAUCLERK.
GLENORCHY.

By command of their Lordſhips,

THOMAS CORBETT.

Captain MIDDLETON's account of the extraordinary degrees and ſurprizing effects of Cold in Hudſon's Bay, North-america, read before the Royal Society, Oct. 28, 1742. *

I obſerved that the Hares, Rabbets, Foxes and Partridges, in September, and the beginning of October, changed their native colours to a ſnowy white; and that for ſix months, in the ſevereſt part of the winter, I never ſaw any but what were all white, except ſome Foxes of a different ſort, which were grizzled, and ſome half red, half white.

That lakes and ſtanding waters, which are not above 10 or 12 feet deep, are frozen to the ground in winter, and the fiſhes therein all periſh.

Yet in rivers near the ſea, and lakes of a greater depth than 10 or 12 feet, fiſhes are caught all the winter, by cutting holes through the ice down to the water, and therein putting lines and hooks. But if they are to be taken with nets, they cut ſeveral holes in a ſtrait line the length of the net, and paſs the net, with a ſtick faſtened to the head line, from hole to hole, till it reaches the utmoſt extent; and what fiſhes come to theſe holes for air, are thereby entangled in the net; and theſe fiſh, as ſoon as brought into the open air, are inſtantaneouſly frozen as ſtiff as ſtock-fiſh. The ſeamen likewiſe freſhen their ſalt proviſions, by cutting a large hole through the ice in the ſtream or tide of the river, which they do at the beginning of the winter, and keep it open all that ſeaſon. In this hole they put their ſalt meat, and the minute it is emerſed under water, it becomes pliable and ſoft, though before it's immerſion it was hard frozen.

Beef, Pork, Mutton, and Veniſon, that are killed at the beginning of the winter, are preſerved by the froſt, for ſix or ſeven months, intirely free from putrefaction, and prove tolerable good eating. Likewiſe Geeſe, Partridges, and other Fowl, that are killed at the ſame time, and kept with their feathers on, and guts in, require no other preſervative but the froſt to make them good wholeſome

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* Philoſophical Tranſactions, Numb. 465.

eating, as long as the winter continues. All kinds of fiſh are preſerved in the like manner.

In large lakes and rivers, the ice is ſometimes broken by impriſoned vapours; and the rocks, trees, joiſts and raftors of our buildings, are burſt with a noiſe not leſs terrible than the firing off a great many guns together. The rocks, which are ſplit by the froſt, are heaved up in great heaps, leaving large cavities behind; which I take to be cauſed by impriſoned watery vapours, that require more room, when frozen, than they occupy in their fluid ſtate. Neither do I think it unaccountable, that the froſt ſhould be able to tear up rocks and trees, and ſplit the beams of our houſes, when I conſider the great force and elaſticity thereof. If beer or water is left in mugs, cans, bottles, nay in copper-pots, though they were put by our bedſides, in a ſevere night, they are ſurely ſplit to pieces before morning, not being able to withſtand the expanſive force of the incloſed ice.

The air is filled with innumerable particles of ice, very ſharp and angular, and plainly perceptible to the naked eye. I have ſeveral times this winter tried to make obſervations of ſome celeſtial bodies, particularly the emerſions of the Satellites of Jupiter, with reflecting and refracting Teleſcopes; but the metals and glaſſes, by that time I could fix them to the object, were covered a quarter of an inch thick with ice, and thereby the object rendered indiſtinct, ſo that it is not without great difficulties that any obſervations can be taken.

Bottles of ſtrong beer, brandy, ſtrong brine, ſpirits of wine, ſet out in the open air for three or four hours, freeze to ſolid ice. I have tried to get the Sun's refraction here to every degree above the horizon, with ELTON's quadrant, but to no purpoſe, for the ſpirits froze almoſt as ſoon as brought into open air.

The froſt is never out of the ground, how deep we cannot be certain. We have dug down 10 or 12 feet, and found the earth hard frozen in the two ſummer months; and what moiſture we find five or ſix feet down, is white like ice.

The waters or rivers near the ſea, where the current of the tide flows ſtrong, do not freeze above 9 or 10 feet deep.

All the water we uſe for cooking, brewing, &c. is melted ſnow and ice; no ſpring is yet found free from freezing, though dug never ſo deep down. All waters inland are frozen faſt by the beginning of October, and continue ſo till the middle of May.

The walls of the houſe we live in are of ſtone, two feet thick, the windows very ſmall with thick wooden ſhutters, which are cloſe ſhut 18 hours every day in the winter.

There are cellars under the houſe, wherein we put our wines, brandy, ſtrong beer, butter, cheeſe, &c. Four large fires are made in great ſtoves, built on purpoſe, every day; as ſoon as the wood is burnt down to a coal, the tops of the chimneys are cloſe ſtopped with an iron cover: This keeps the heat within the houſe (though at the ſame time the ſmoke makes our heads ach, and is very offenſive and unwholeſome;) notwithſtanding which, in four or five hours after the fire is out, the inſide of the walls of our houſe and bed-places, will be two or three inches thick with ice, which is every morning cut away with a hatchet. Three or four times a day we make iron ſhot of 24 pounds weight red-hot, and hang them up in the windows of our apartments. I have a good fire in my room the major part of the 24 hours; yet all this will not preſerve my beer, wine, Ink, &c. from freezing.

For our winter dreſs we make uſe of three pair of ſocks of coarſe blanketing or duffil for the feet, with a pair of deer-ſkin ſhoes over them; two pair of thick Engliſh ſtockings, and a pair of cloth ſtockings upon them; breeches lined with flannel; two or three Engliſh jackets, and a fur or leather gown over them; a large beaver cap, double, to come over the face and ſhoulders, and a cloth of blanketing under the chin; with yarn gloves, and a large pair of beaver mittings hanging down from the ſhoulders before, to put our hands in, which reach up as high as our elbows; yet notwithſtanding this warm cloathing, almoſt every day, ſome of the men that ſtir abroad, if any wind blows from the northward, are dreadfully frozen; ſome have their arms, hands, and face bliſtered and frozen in a terrible manner, the ſkin coming off ſoon after they enter a warm houſe, and ſome have loſt their toes. Now their lying in for the cure of theſe frozen parts, brings on the ſcurvy in a lamentable manner. Many have died of it, and few are free from that diſtemper. I have procured them all the helps I could, from the diet this country affords in winter, ſuch as freſh Fiſh, Partridges, Broths, &c. and the doctors have uſed their utmoſt ſkill in vain; for I find nothing will prevent that diſtemper from being mortal, but exerciſe and ſtirring abroad.

Coronæ and Parhelia, commonly called Halo's, and Mock-ſuns, appear frequently about the Sun and Moon here. They are ſeen once or twice a week about the Sun, and once or twice a month about the Moon, for four or five months in the winter, ſeveral Coronæ of different diameters appearing at the ſame time.

I have ſeen five or ſix parallel Coronæ concentric with the Sun ſeveral times in the winter, being for the moſt part very bright, and always attended with Parhelia or Mock-ſuns. The Parhelia are always accompanied with Coronæ, if the weather is clear; and continue for ſeveral days together, from the Suns riſing to his ſetting. Theſe rings are of various colours, and about 40 or 50 degrees in diameter.

The frequent appearance of theſe Phænomena in this frozen clime ſeems to confirm DESCARTES's hypotheſis, who ſuppoſes them to proceed from ice ſuſpended in the air.

The Aurora Borealis is much oftner ſeen here than in England; ſeldom a night paſſes in the winter free from their appearance. They ſhine with a ſurprizing brightneſs, extinguiſhing all the ſtars and planets, and covering the whole hemiſphere: Their tremulous motion from all parts, their beauty and luſtre, are much the ſame as in the northern parts of Scotland, Denmark, &c.

The dreadful long winters here may almoſt be compared to the Polar parts, where the abſence of the Sun continues for ſix months; the air being perpetually chilled and frozen by the northerly winds in winter, and the cold fogs and miſts obſtructing the Sun's beams in the ſhort ſummer we have here; for notwithſtanding the ſnow and ice is then diſſolved in the low-lands and plains, yet the mountains are perpetually covered with ſnow, and incredible large bodies of ice continue in the adjacent ſeas. If the wind blows from the ſouthern parts, the air is tolerably warm, but inſufferably cold when it comes from the northward, and it ſeldom blows any otherwiſe than between the north-eaſt and the north-weſt, except in the two ſummer months, when we have, for the major part, light gales between the eaſt and the north, and calms. The northerly winds being ſo extremely cold, is owing to the neighbourhood of high mountains, whoſe tops are perpetually covered with ſnow, which exceedingly chills the air paſſing over them. The fogs and miſts that are brought here from the Polar parts, in winter, appear viſible to the naked eye in iſicles innumerable, as ſmall as fine hairs or threads, and pointed as ſharp as needles. Theſe iſicles lodge in our cloaths, and if our faces or hands be uncovered, they preſently raiſe bliſters as white as a linen cloth, and as hard as horn. Yet if we immediately turn our backs to the weather, and can bear our hand out of our mitten, and with it rub the bliſtered part for a ſmall time, we ſometimes bring the ſkin to its former ſtate: If not we make the beſt of our way to a fire, and get warm water, wherewith we bathe it, and thereby diſſipate the humours raiſed by the frozen air; otherwiſe the ſkin would be off in a ſhort time, with much hot, ſerous, watry matter coming from under along with the ſkin; and this happens to ſome almoſt every time they go abroad, for five or ſix months in the winter, ſo extreme cold is the air when the wind blows any thing ſtrong.

Now I have obſerved, that when it has been extreme hard froſt by the Thermometer, and little or no wind that day, the cold has not near ſo ſenſibly affected us, as when the Thermometer has ſhewed much leſs freezing, having a briſk gale of northerly wind at the ſame time. This difference perhaps may be occaſioned by thoſe ſharp pointed iſicles beforementioned ſtriking more forcibly on a windy day, than in calm weather, thereby penetrating the naked ſkin, or parts but thinly covered, and cauſing an acute ſenſation of pain or cold: And the ſame reaſon, I think, will hold good in other places; for ſhould the wind blow northerly any thing hard for many days together in England, the iſicles that would be brought from the Polar parts by the continuance of ſuch a wind, though imperceptible to the naked eye, would more ſenſibly affect the naked ſkin, or parts but ſlightly covered, than when the Thermometer has ſhewn a greater degree of freezing, and there has been little or no wind at the ſame time.

It is not a little ſurpriſing to many, that ſuch extreme cold ſhould be felt in theſe parts of America, more than in places of the ſame latitude on the coaſt of Norway; but the difference I take to be occaſioned by the winds blowing conſtantly here, for ſeven months in the twelve, between the north-eaſt and north-weſt, and paſſing over a large tract of land, and exceeding high mountains, &c. as beforementioned: Whereas at Drunton in Norway, as I obſerved ſome years ago in wintering there, the wind all the winter comes from the north and north north-weſt, and croſſes a great part of the ocean clear of thoſe large bodies of ice we find here perpetually. At this place we have conſtantly every year nine months froſt and ſnow, and unſufferable cold from October to the beginning of May. In the long winter, as the air becomes leſs ponderous towards the Polar parts, and nearer to an equilibrium, as it happens about one day in a week, we then have calms and light airs all round the compaſs, continuing ſometimes twenty-four hours, and then back to its old place again, in the ſame manner as it happens every night in the Weſt-Indies, near ſome of the iſlands.

The Snow that falls here is as fine as duſt, but never any Hail, except at the beginning and end of winter. Almoſt every full and change of the moon, very hard gales from the north.

The conſtant trade winds in theſe northern parts, I think, undoubtedly to proceed from the ſame principle which our learned Dr. Halley conceives to be the cauſe of the trade winds near the Equator, and their variations.

“Wind, ſays he, is moſt properly defined to be the ſtream or current of the air; and where ſuch current is perpetual and fixed in its courſe, it is neceſſary, that it proceed from a permanent and unintermitting cauſe, capable of producing a like conſtant effect, and agreeable to the known properties of air and water, and the laws of motion of fluid bodies. Such an one is, I conceive, the action of the Sun's beams upon the air and water, as he paſſes every day over the oceans, conſidered together with the nature of the ſoil and ſituation of the adjoining continents. I ſay, therefore, firſt, that according to the laws of ſtatics, the air which is leſs rarefied and expanded by heat, and conſequently more ponderous, muſt have a motion towards thoſe parts thereof which are more rarefied, and leſs ponderous, to bring it to an equilibrium, &c.”

Now, that the cold denſe air, by reaſon of its greater gravity, continually preſſes from the Polar parts towards the Equator, where the air is more rarefied, to preſerve an equilibrium or balance of the Atmoſphere, I think, is very evident from the wind in thoſe frozen regions blowing from the north and north-weſt, from the beginning of October until May; for we find, that when the Sun, at the beginning of June, has warmed thoſe countries to the northward, then the ſouth-eaſt, eaſt and variable winds continue till October again; and I do not doubt but the trade winds and hard gales may be found in the ſouthern Polar parts to blow towrrds the Equator, when the Sun is in the northern ſigns, from the ſame principle.

The limit of theſe winds from the Polar parts, towards the Equator, is ſeldom known to reach beyond the 30th degree of latitude; and the nearer they approach to that limit, the ſhorter is the continuance of thoſe winds. In New-England it blows from the North near four months in the Winter; at Canada, about five months; at the Dane's ſettlement in Streights Davis, in the 63d degree of latitude, near ſeven months; on the coaſt of Norway, in 64, not above five months and a half, by reaſon of blowing over a great part of the ocean, as was before-mentioned; for thoſe northerly winds continue a longer or ſhorter ſpace of time, according to the air's being more or leſs rarefied, which may very probably be altered ſeveral degrees, by the nature of the ſoil, and the ſituation of the adjoining continents.

The vaſt bodies of ice we meet with in our paſſage from England to Hudſon's Bay, are very ſurpriſing, not only as to their number, but magnitude. It is in truth unaccountable how they are formed of ſo great a bulk, ſome of them being immerſed 100 fathom or more under the ſurface of the ocean; and a fifth or ſixth part above, and three or four miles in circumference. Some hundreds of theſe we ſometimes ſee in our voyage here, all in ſight at once, if the weather is clear. Some of them are frequently ſeen on the coaſts and banks of Newfoundland and New-England, tho' much diminiſhed.

When I have been becalmed in Hudſon's Streights for three or four tides together, I have taken my boat, and laid cloſe to the ſide of one of them, ſounded, and found 100 fathom water all round it. The tide floweth here above four fathom; and I have obſerved, by marks upon a body of ice, the tide to riſe and fall that difference, which was a certainty of its being a-ground. Likewiſe in a harbour in the iſland of Reſolution, where I continued four days, three of theſe iſles of ice (as we call them) came a-ground. I ſounded along by the ſide of one of them, quite round it, and found 32 fathom water, and the height above the ſurface but 10 yards; another was 28 fathom under, and the perpendicular height but nine yards above the water.

I can in no other manner account for the aggregation of ſuch large bodies of ice but this: All along the coaſts of Streights Davis, both ſides of Baffin's Bay, Hudſon's Streights, Anticoſh, or Labradore, the land is very high and bold, and 100 fathoms or more cloſe to the ſhore. Theſe ſhores have many inlets or fuirs, the cavities of which are filled up with ice and ſnow, by the almoſt perpetual winters there, and frozen to the ground, increaſing for four, five, or ſeven years, till a kind of deluge or land-flood, which commonly happens in that ſpace of time throughout thoſe parts, breaks them looſe, and launches them into the Streights or Ocean, where they are driven about by the variable winds and currents, in the months of June, July and Auguſt, rather increaſing than diminiſhing in bulk, being ſurrounded (except in four or five points of the compaſs) with ſmaller ice for many hundred leagues, and land covered all the year with ſnow, the weather being extreme cold, for the moſt part, in thoſe ſummer months. The ſmaller ice that almoſt fills the Streights and Bays, and covers many leagues out into the ocean along the coaſt, is from four to ten fathom thick, and chills the air to that degree, that there is a conſtant increaſe to the large iſles by the ſea's waſhing againſt them, and the perpetual wet fogs, like ſmall rain, freezing as they ſettle upon the ice; and their being ſo deeply immerſed under water, and ſuch a ſmall part above, prevents the wind's having much power to move them; for though it blows from the north-weſt quarter near nine months in twelve, and conſequently thoſe iſles are driven towards a warmer climate, yet the progreſſive motion is ſo ſlow, that it muſt take up many years before they can get five or ſix hundred leagues to the ſouthward: I am of opinion ſome hundreds of years are required; for they cannot, I think, diſſolve before they come between the 50th and 40 degree of latitude, where the heat of the Sun conſuming the upper parts, they lighten and waſte in time: Yet there is a perpetual ſupply from the northern parts, which will ſo continue as long as it pleaſes the Author of all Beings to keep things in their preſent ſtate.

Obſervations of the longitude, latitude, and the declination of the Magnetic-Needle at Prince of Wales's Fort, Churchill River.

	H	′	″
Having obſerved the apparent time of an emerſion of Jupiter's firſt Satellite at Fort Churchill, on Saturday the 20th of March laſt, 1741-2, at	11	55	50
I find the ſame emerſion happened at London, by Mr. POUND's tables, compared with ſome emerſions actually obſerved in England near the ſame time, at	18	15	10
Whence the horary difference of meridians, between Fort Churchil and London, comes out	6	19	20

	°	′
Which converted into degrees of the equator, gives for the diſtance of the ſame meridians	94	50

Wherefore ſince the time at London was later in denomination than that at Churchill, it follows that, according to this obſervation, Churchill is 94 degrees 50 minutes in longitude weſt of London.

I took ſeveral other obſervations, which agreed one with another to leſs than a minute, but this I look upon as the moſt diſtinct and beſt.

The obſervation was made with a good 15 foot refracting Teleſcope, and a two foot Reflector of GREGORY's kind, having a good watch of Mr. GRAHAM's that I could depend upon; for I have frequent opportunities of diſcovering how much its variation amounted to, and conſtantly found its daily deviation or error to be 15 ſeconds too ſlow; by which means it was as uſeful to me for all purpoſes, as if it had gone moſt conſtantly true without any change. This watch I kept in my fob in the day, and in bed in the night, to preſerve it from the ſeverity of the weather; for I obſerved, that all other watches were ſpoiled by the extreme cold.

I have found from repeated obſervations, a method of obtaining the true time of the day at ſea, by taking eight or ten different altitudes of the Sun or Stars, when near the Prime Vertical, by Mr. SMITH's or Mr. HADLEY's quadrant, which I have practiſed theſe three or four years paſt, and never found from the calculations, that they differed one from another more than 10 or 15 ſeconds of time. This certainty of the true time at ſea is of greater uſe in the practice of navigation, than may appear at firſt ſight; for you thereby not only get the variation of the compaſs without the help of altitudes, but likewiſe the variation of the needle from the true meridian, every time the Sun or Star is ſeen to tranſit the ſame. Alſo having the true time of day or night, you may be ſure of the meridian altitude of the Sun or Star, if you get a ſight 15 or 20 minutes before or after it paſſes the meridian; and the latitude may be obtained to leſs than 5 minutes; with ſeveral other uſes in aſtronomical obſervations; as the refraction of the atmoſphere, and to allow for it, by getting the Sun's apparent riſing and ſetting, which any body is capable of doing, and from thence you will have the refraction.

If we had ſuch a Teleſcope contrived as Mr. SMITH recommends to be uſed on ſhip-board at ſea, now we can have an exact knowledge of the true time of the day or night from the above inſtruments and a good watch, we ſhould probably be able to obſerve the eclipſes of the firſt Satellite of Jupiter, or any other Phænomenon of the like kind, and thereby find the diſtance of meridians or longitude at ſea.

The variation of the magnetic-needle, or ſea-compaſs, obſerved by me at Churchill in 1725, (as in Numb. 393 of the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the months of March and April 1726,) was at that time north 21 degrees weſterly, and this winter I have carefully obſerved it at the ſame place, and find it no more than 17 degrees, ſo that it has differed about one degree in four years, for in 1738, I obſerved it here, and found its declination 18 degrees weſterly. I have carefully obſerved, and made proper allowance for the Sun's declination and refraction, and find the latitude here to be 58 degrees 56 minutes north: But in moſt parts of the world, where the latitudes are fixed by ſeamen, they are for the moſt part falſly laid down, for want of having regard to the variation of the Sun's declination, which, computed at a diſtant meridian, when the Sun is near the equator, may make a great error in the Sun's riſing and ſetting, azimuths, &c.

The foregoing relation having been given by Capt. MIDDLETON, to the late worthy Preſident of the Royal Society, Sir HANS SLOANE, Bart. he was pleaſed to communicate the ſame to the Society, and at the ſame time, as the ſurviving truſtee of the late Sir GODFREY CAPLEY, to nominate Capt. MIDDLETON to receive this year the prize Medal, given annually by the Royal Society, in conſequence of Sir GODFREY's benefaction; and the ſame was accordingly preſented to the Captain on St. Andrew's day laſt, 1742.

An abſtract of Capt. CHRISTOPHER MIDDLETON's journal, when he attempted to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage, by order of the Lords of the Admiralty, anno 1742.

I ſail'd from Churchil the firſt day of July, and continued ſailing with a fair wind till the third, when we ſaw an iſland, the two extremities bearing N. by E. and E. by N. lying in the latitude of 63 N. and longitude from Churchil 3° 40′ E. which I take to be the ſame which FOX named Brook-Cobham. On the fifth day, I ſaw a Headland on the north ſide of the Welcome, bearing N. W. by N. ſeven or eight leagues diſtance, in the latitude of 63° 20′, and longitude from Churchil 4° E. Here I tried the tides ſeveral times, and found cloſe in with the land the tide to run two miles an hour from the N. by E. which I take to be the flood; and by the ſlacks, from ſeveral trials, I found that a Weſt or a W. by N. Moon made high water, having a full Moon that day. On the 8th day ſaw the north ſide of the Welcome, with much ice in ſhore; I tried the tide and found it ſet E. N. E. two fathoms. On the ninth, continuing my courſe and ſailing through much ice, I was obliged at length to grapple to a large piece. The Tender did the ſame to keep off from the ſhore, the wind blowing us right upon it. I tried the tide frequently, and could diſcover neither flood nor ebb by my current log. Here we were faſt jamm'd up in ice, being totally ſurrounded for many miles, and the wind ſetting it right upon us, it was all ice for ten leagues to windward, and we were in great danger of being forced aſhore; but it happily falling calm, after we had lain in this condition two or three days, the pieces of ice ſeparated, or made ſmall openings, we being then within two miles of the ſhore; and with no ſmall difficulty hauled the ſhips from one piece to another, till we got amongſt what we call ſailing ice, that is, where there are ſuch intervals of water, as a ſhip by ſeveral traverſes, may get forwards towards the intended courſe. In this manner we continued till we ſaw a fair Cape, or Headland, to the northward of Whalebone Point, in the latitude of 65° 10′ N. and longitude from Churchil 8° 54′ E. This I named after my worthy friend, Cape Dobbs. I had very good ſoundings between the two ſhores of the Welcome, having 46, 48 and 49 fathoms water. At the ſame time that I ſaw Cape Dobbs, I ſaw a fair opening bearing N. by W. which, according to my inſtructions, I ſtood in for among the ſailing ice. It was juſt flood when we entered it; the tide running very ſtrong, which, by obſervation afterwards, I found to run five or ſix miles an hour: I run over ſome rocks on the north ſide of it very luckily, being juſt high water, and anchored in about 34 fathoms: But as ſoon as the tide of ebb was made, it ran ſo ſtrong, and ſuch quantities and bodies of ice came down upon us, that we were obliged to ſteer the ſhip all the time, and keep all hands upon their guard, with ice poles to ſhove off the ice; notwithſtanding which, we brought our anchor home, and taking hold again, one of the arms of the anchor was broke off.

The next day I ſent my lieutenant in the boat to ſeek out ſome ſecurer place for the ſhips, it being impoſſible to keep a float where we were: Some Uskimay Savages came off to us, but had nothing to trade; I uſed them civilly, made them ſome preſents and diſmiſſed them. As ſoon as I got the ſhips ſecured, I employed all my officers and boats, having my ſelf no little ſhare in the labour, in trying the tides, and diſcovering the courſe and nature of this opening; and after repeated trials, for three weeks ſucceſſively, I found the flood conſtantly to come from the eaſtward, and that it was a large river we were got into, but ſo full of ice there was no ſteering the ſhips with any probability of ſafety, while the ice was driving up and down with the ſtrong tides. Here I lay not a little impatient to get out; went ſeveral times in my boat towards the mouth of the river, and from a hill that overlook'd part of the Welcome, ſaw that place full of ice, ſo that I found there was no time loſt by our being in ſecurity; however, I ſent my Lieutenant and Maſter in the eight oar'd boat, to look out for a harbour near the entrance of the river, but they found none; and it was a ſmall miracle they got on board again, for they were ſo jammed up with ice, which driving the ſtrong tides, would inevitably have ſtove the boat to pieces, and all muſt have periſhed, had it not been for an opening in a large piece of ice into which they got the boat, and with it drove out of the rivers mouth; but when the tides ſlack'd the ice opened as uſual, and they rowed over to the north ſhore, ſo got in with the flood. I ſeveral times ſent the Indians on ſhore to ſee if they knew any thing of the land, but they were quite ignorant of it. In this vexatious condition I continued three weeks, reſolving to get out the firſt opportunity the river was any thing clear of ice, and make what diſcoveries I could by meeting the flood tide. This river, which by frequent trials of the lands ſoundings, tides, &c. I was able to take a draught off, I nam'd the river Wager, after the Right Hon. Sir CHARLES WAGER.

On the third of Auguſt, the river for the firſt time was a little clear of ice; and accordingly, in purſuit of our diſcovery, on the fifth by noon I got into the latitude of 66° 14′, we had then got into a new ſtreight much peſtered with ice; and on the north ſide of which we ſaw a Cape, or Headland, bearing north; we had deep water and very ſtrong tides within four or five leagues of it. I nam'd this Headland Cape Hope, as it gave us all great joy and hopes of its being the extreme north part of America, ſeeing little or no land to the northward of it. We turned, or worked round it the ſame night, and got five or ſix leagues to the N. by W. before we could perceive any otherwiſe than a fair opening; but about noon the ſixth day, after having got into the latitude of 66° 40′, found we were embayed, and by two in the afternoon, could not go above three leagues further; and having tried the tides all the forenoon, every two hours, till two o' clock in the afternoon, found neither ebb nor flood, yet deep waters. From this it was concluded that we had overſhot

overſhot the ſtreights on the north-eaſt ſhore, from whence the flood came; and as there was no proceeding above three or four leagues further, it was agreed upon by all to return back and ſearch narrowly for a ſtreight, or opening, near where we found the ſtrong tides. On the ſeventh, after we were confirmed the flood came in at the N. E. from the E. by S. I went on ſhore in the boat and found it flowed 15 feet three days after the full, and a W. by S. Moon made high water: I travelled 12 or 15 miles from hill to hill inland, till I came to a very high mountain, from whence I plainly ſaw a ſtreight, or opening, the flood came in at; and the mountain I ſtood upon being pretty near the middle of this ſtreight, I could ſee both ends of it; the whole being about 18 or 20 leagues long, and ſix or ſeven broad, and very high land on both ſides of it, having many ſmall iſlands in the middle and on the ſides of it; but it was all frozen faſt from ſide to ſide, and no appearance of its clearing this year, and near the 67th degree of latitude, and no anchoring the ſhips, being very deep water cloſe to the ſhore, and much large ice driving with the ebb and flood, and but little room if thick weather ſhould happen, which we continually expect in theſe parts. It was agreed upon in council to make the beſt of our way out of this dangerous narrow ſtreight, and to make obſervations between the 64th and 62d degree of latitude. The Frozen Streight I take to run towards that which **Bylot** named Cape Comfort, and the bay where **Fox** had named a place, Lord Weſton's Portland; it is in the latitude of 66° 40′, and 12° 49′ eaſt from Churchil.

Purſuant to the Reſolution, we bore away and tried the tides on the other ſide the Welcome, ſounding and obſerving cloſe in ſhore, but met with little encouragement. On the eleventh of Auguſt, I once more ſaw the iſland of Brook Cobham, and continued trying the tide, and ſtill finding the flood came from the eaſtward, and by coaſting along the Welcome, was certain of its being the main land, though there are ſeveral ſmall iſlands and deep bays, and ſaw ſeveral black Whales, of the right Whalebone kind. I worked off and on by Brook Cobham; ſent the northern Indians on ſhore upon the iſland, who, at their return, gave me to underſtand it was not far from their country, and deſired I would let them go home, being tired of the ſea. I kept them with aſſurances that I would act according to my promiſe, and finding no probability of a paſſage in two or three days after, I gave them a ſmall boat well fitted with ſails and oars, the uſe of which they had been taught, and loaded it with fire-arms, powder, ſhot, hatchets, and every thing deſirable to them. They took their leave of me, and I ſent another boat for water, which accompanied them on ſhore, the ſouthern Indian being with them.

The ſouthern Indian who was linguiſt for the northern ones, returned with the boat, being uſed to the Engliſh cuſtoms at the factory; and deſirous of ſeeing England, being a willing handy man, I brought him with me. And the ſame evening which was the 15th of Auguſt, I bore away for England, thinking to have tried the tide at Carey's Swan's-neſt, but could not fetch it. On the 20th ſaw Manſell's iſle. On the 21ſt Cape Diggs was in ſight. On the 26th made Cape Reſolution, and arrived at Cariſton, in Pomona, one of the iſlands of Orkney: Moſt of my men being ſo very much afflicted with the ſcurvy, and otherwiſe ſick and diſtempered, that I ſhall be obliged to leave part of them behind me, and only wait to impreſs hands to carry the ſhip ſafe to London.

The remarks of Mr. Dobbs (who projected this voyage) upon Capt. Middleton's journal, in ſeveral letters to the Captain, with Capt. Middleton's anſwers to them.

Mr. Dobbs to Captain Middleton.

Dear Sir,

'I had both yours from Orkneys, and the duplicate you wrote when you arrived in the Thames, which I immediately anſwered from Liſburn, congratulating you upon your ſafe arrival with the ſhips after ſo dangerous a diſcovery; and at the ſame time, expreſſing my concern at your not having found the paſſage, as we had reaſon to have expected it, if you had found things agreeable to the former journals. I directed for you as formerly in London-Street, near Ratcliff-croſs, but found by a letter I had from Mr. **Allan** laſt night, that you have not got my letter. Since I have not a duplicate of what I wrote, I ſhall now again mention the chief points I wrote to you before to be reſolved in, and deſire your anſwer and opinion upon the whole, and hope you will ſtill ſend me the copy of your journal, and the draught you made of what you diſcovered.

'I am convinced from the extract you have ſent me of your journal, that from the Welcome in 64°, to the latitude of 67°, there are no hopes of a paſſage on that coaſt; and if there is any, it muſt be further north, and conſequently attended with more difficulty; this ſeems to be aſcertained by your finding ſo large a river as that of Wager to the northward of Whale-bone Point, and the Cape you have honoured me with the name of; and if the freſh ſtream there is large, the continent thro' which it runs muſt be ſo much the broader in that place. I ſhould have been glad to have one of your northern ſavages underſtand the language of the Eſkimaux ſavages which came on board you, for they might then have given you ſome account of that country and neighbouring ſea, if any near it to the weſtward.

'You obſerved, that a W. by N. Moon made high water, and a W. by S. above Cape Hope in 66° 40′, conſequently the tide at the Welcome muſt flow from the other as it is later; but you not acquainting me, whether the lands to the eaſtward, or ſtarboard, as you ſailed North, were continuous iſlands, makes me at a loſs to know whether the tide there came from the eaſtward or from the north-eaſtward by Cape Hope, and the new ſtreight you diſcovered from the mountain, through which the tide came, from near Cape Comfort on Weſton's Portland, where the ſtreight you ſaw ended. Now the difficulty I find in accounting for this, makes me deſire your opinion upon it; you have confirmed that a W. by N. Moon makes high water at the Welcome, and a W. by S. above Cape Hope. **Bylot** and **Baffin** affirm, that a S. by E. Moon makes high water at Cape Comfort; if that be fact, can the tide, in ſo ſmall a way, from Cape Comfort to your bay above Cape Hope, be eight points later and only two points later in going from Cape Hope to the Welcome, ſince you were there as near Cape Comfort as the Welcome, and therefore as the ſtreight you ſaw was made up of broken lands, or iſlands to the north-eaſtward, whether around theſe iſlands a northern tide might not have ſet about ſome of theſe Head-Lands, as well as a ſouth-eaſtern tide from Hudſon's ſtreight?

‘ I alſo deſire your opinion, whether the great quantity of ice you found near the Welcome, not mentioned by Fox or Scroggs, was cauſed by the winter's having been more ſevere there than uſual, or whether you imagine it was the uſual quantity which is there every year; and ſince you ſaw black Whales at the Welcome, from whence do you imagine they came, ſince none have ever been mentioned to have been ſeen paſſing or repaſſing Hudſon's ſtreight?

‘ Theſe were the chief things I would have had your opinion upon. But as upon the whole, I apprehend it would be in vain to puſh it any farther that way; I think the only ſafe way now, is by the rivers of Nelſon, or Churchill, by going up to their end, from thence deſcending ſuch rivers as fall from thence into the weſtern ocean. This can only be done by laying open the trade, and diſſolving the company for ſo far, and then making proper ſettlements higher up upon theſe rivers to the ſouth-weſtward in a more temperate climate; and therefore I deſired your aſſiſtance, if you approved of it, to inform me as much as you could of theſe rivers and inland countries, with their climates, and what advantages we might have by making ſettlements up thoſe rivers, in the bottom and weſtern ſide of the bay, which muſt enlarge our trade, and ſecure our ſettlements there from the French, and regain the trade which has been loſt to them by the monopoly of the company.

‘ As this, ſince the other has failed, would be a publick benefit, I have been preparing all I can to inforce it, and ſhould be glad to have what further accounts or materials you can furniſh me with, from any journals you have had, or accounts of theſe climates, countries and trade, and then I ſhall make no doubt of engaging the merchants to join us in opening that trade, and ſettling thoſe countries.

‘ Leſt this ſhould miſcarry, as well as my laſt, I have incloſed it to Mr. Allan to deliver it to you, and hope to have your anſwer as ſoon as you can conveniently, with your journals and draught.

‘ I wiſh you health and proſperity in all your undertakings, and am, with great eſteem,

Dear Sir,
your moſt obedient
humble ſervant

Dublin, November
19, 1742.
A. Dobbs.

Captain Middleton to Mr. Dobbs.

London, November
27, 1742.

SIR,

‘ I had the favour of yours of the 20th ult. which happened to lie ſome days at my former habitation, before it was forwarded to me; and I ſhall tranſmit you the chart, together with the journal, and other obſervations, by the firſt convenient opportunity. In the mean time, I ſhall give you the beſt ſatisfaction I am able, with relation to the difficulties that have occurred to you. And firſt, it is to be noted, that all the land along the eaſt ſide of the Welcome, from 64° of latitude to the Frozen Streights, is one continued level land, ſomewhat like Dungeneſs, low and ſhingly, the great tides you mention, which flow up the river Wager, and off Cape Dobbs, come all from the Frozen Streights, E. by N. by compaſs, according to the courſe of the new Streight, that we paſſed between Cape Dobbs and Cape Hope, the mean variation between the ſaid Capes 40° weſterly, and makes the true courſe of this ſtreight neareſt N. 40° eaſterly; the ſaid ſtreight ends to the weſtward of Cape Hope, in a bay 20 leagues deep, and 15 leagues broad, which lies W. N. W. by the true bearings; and we carefully ſurrounded it, ſailing up to the very bottom within 2 or 3 leagues, and found no appearance of a paſſage for either tide or veſſels. All the way as I ſailed from Cape Hope, quite down to the bottom of this bay, I tried the tide; and all round I found neither ebb nor flood, which muſt have appeared had there been any. The land was all very high and bold, aſcending into the country to a vaſt height, without any breaks, ſo that had there been a paſſage here we could not have miſſed of it.

‘ With regard to the tide, which you think would have been obſtructed from flowing ſo rapidly to Wager river, if the ſtreight was froze faſt from ſide to ſide.

‘ I need only obſerve to you, that at Churchill, all the winter, the tide ebbs and flows up the river in the ſame manner as if there was no ice, being lifted every tide of flood from 12 to 18 feet, all except what is faſt to the ground, and falls again upon the ebb, though 8 or 9 feet thick. Now cloſe to the north end of the Frozen Streights is 100 fathoms of water or more, and probably that depth may continue the whole length; and then there is paſſage free for the flood and ebb to paſs without lifting; but I obſerved this ice was all cracked round the ſhores, and on the iſland at Churchill.

‘ You ſeem to be at a loſs how to account for the black Whales getting to Brook Cobham, if they do not paſs and repaſs by Hudſon's Streights. Now, 'tis true, I never ſaw any above 20 leagues up Hudſons Streights; but I have traded with Indians off Nottingham and Diggs, for Whalebone juſt freſh taken; for my own part, I cannot think theſe Whales come round Cary's Swan's-Neſt, but thro' the Frozen Streights under the ice; for we ſaw many of them in Wager river, and in 63° latitude, and theſe may not come thro' Hudſon's Streights, but to the northward, as all the north ſide of Hudſon's Streights appear to be the broken land and iſlands; and Cumberland Bay, Baffin's Bay, and Streigths Davis may have a communication with this new Frozen Streights, and Whales, &c. may come from thence.

‘ It is hardly poſſible to account for the difficulties about the tides; for though it flows E. S. E. at Reſolution, and S. by E. at Cape Diggs, which makes five points in running 130 leagues; yet it is but one point in going down to Albony and Mooſe river, for there it flows ſouth, and the diſtance 250 leagues.

‘ So from Humber to Cromer, on the Lincolnſhire coaſt (as I mentioned formerly) is but 14 leagues; at one place it flows W. by S. at the other N. W. Likewiſe from the Frozen Streights to Churchil is but two points difference, or one hour and half of time, in the diſtance of 200 leagues; ſo that I think no rule can be fix'd, where tides flow into deep bays, obſtructed by iſlands or counter tides.

'The ice I met with in the Welcome, was moſt of it to the northward of all the parts before diſcovered; ſo that none who went before me could have ſeen it; for moſt of it lay to the north of Whalebone-Point; and every year is not alike, with reſpect to wind bringing it to the ſouthward; and it is intirely directed by the winds here, as well as in all other ports of the bay. In our way to Churchill, there was leſs ice than uſually happens; and it was alſo ſooner clear in the ſpring, by 15 days than common.

'Undoubtedly there is no hope of a paſſage to encourage any further trial between Churchill and ſo far as we have gone; and if there be any further to the northward, it muſt be impoſſible for the ice, and the narrowneſs of any ſuch outlet, in 67 or 68° of latitude, it cannot be clear of ice one week in a year, and many years, as I apprehend, not clear at all.

'In any other attempts, I ſhall be glad to give you all the aſſiſtance I can, and furniſh you with any other informations that you may think needful to promote your deſign; but I hope never to venture myſelf that way again.

'My friends being out of the Admiralty, I find there will be a great deal of difficulty to get any thing done for me in the Navy at preſent; or to procure any other recompenſe for my loſs theſe two ſummers in leaving the Hudſon's-bay ſervice, where I ſhould have 1400 l. in the time that I have acquired but 160 l. in the Government's. I remain, with great ſincerity and reſpect,

Sir,
your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
C. Middleton.

P. S. 'The Eſkimaux, and the northern Indians I had with me, were utter ſtrangers to each other, in manners and language; neither could I make theſe Eſkimaux underſtand me by the Vocabulary I had of the language of thoſe in Hudſon's Streights.

Mr. Dobbs to Captain Middleton.

Dear Sir,

'I have your laſt favour of the 27th of October, in anſwer to the difficulties I ſtarted, which you have fully anſwered; ſo that I am fully convinced there can be no paſſage N. W. by Sea, as we ſeemed to have had reaſon to expect; and therefore it would be very wrong to think of attempting it for the future. But I am ſtill of opinion, that the publick may have a great advantage by the Hudſon's Bay trade; if it be laid open, and the country ſettled higher up upon theſe great rivers, which run into the bay, by Mooſe, Albony, the Severn, the Nelſon river; and theſe ſettlements, as the rivers come from great lakes to the ſouth-weſtward of the bay, would be in a much more temperate climate, than at the mouths of the rivers, among the ſwamps, where they and the bay continue a much longer time frozen, than farther into the country; ſo that whoever would ſettle higher up, might have very comfortable and beneficial ſettlements, and not only ſecure all the country and trade weſt-ward of Mooſe river from the French of Canada, but alſo by making a ſettlement near the lake Errice, weſtward of Penſylvania, above the great fall of Magara, ſecure all the navigation of the lakes, and cut off their communication with the Miſſiſippi, and alſo ſecure a great deal of the trade to the north-eaſtward of theſe lakes, to Rupert's river, and the Eaſt Main. To ſhew this to more advantage, I ſhould want a better deſcription of the rivers and lakes to the weſtward of the bay; I have extracted from Monſieur Jeremie, all the knowledge the French acquired, whilſt they poſſeſſed Fort Bourbon upon Nelſon river, who was himſelf ſome hundred leagues up among the lakes which fall into Nelſon river, which are in a temperate climate, and run through rich countries. Now if you concur in this ſcheme, we might, by joining in this ſcheme, and adding what further you have obſerved, or have collected from ſuch of the company's factors or ſervants, who may have been curious to ſearch into theſe rivers, give a much greater light in the deſcription of thoſe countries and rivers, as well as charts of the bay, and account of the ſeveral climates, as may fully convince the publick of the benefit to be made of theſe countries by opening the trade, and ſettling upon the Rivers. I have already ſketched out from what I have read, and the journals you gave me from Albany, and the nature of their trade, what may ſhew the advantage may be made of that trade, but it will be much more complete, from what you are capable to furniſh; and if you have no thoughts of publiſhing ſomething of this nature from yourſelf, I ſhall be glad of your joining with me in this attempt; I know Lord Carteret, Winchelsea, and ſeveral others, who will ſupport it, if a proper plan be laid before them; and probably, by the heads of theſe rivers we might gain a communication with the nations upon the weſtern ſea, which may be of advantage, though nothing ſo great, as if the diſcovery had been made by ſea.

'I ſhall be glad to have your thoughts upon this, and what materials you think you could furniſh towards it; and if we can prepare a reaſonable plan, I ſhall go over and puſh it with all my friends.

'I have a letter from Mr. Samuel Smith yeſterday, that he has forwarded to me your laſt journal, and that you will ſend me your draught as ſoon as you have got it copied, for which I am very much obliged to you.

'I ſhould be very glad to hear that you were employed in ſome way ſatisfactory to you by the publick, which you have ſo juſt a right to, after having quitted the company's ſervice in order to ſerve the publick; and wiſh it was in my power to contribute to it, I ſhould do it with great pleaſure, and would go over upon that very account, if it could be of advantage: In the mean time, I wiſh you all happineſs, and hope to hear from you, being with great eſteem,

Dear Sir,
your moſt obliged, and
obedient humble ſervant,

Dublin, Decemb.
14, 1741.

A. Dobbs.

Captain MIDDLETON to Mr. DOBBS.

Sir,

'I was duly favoured with yours of the 14th of December; and am ſorry that I could not return my anſwer ſooner, but the ill ſtate of health that I laboured under, prevented me in this as well as many other of my affairs.

'It gives me much ſatisfaction to find, that you approve of the ſolutions I ſent, in regard to the difficulties you propoſed, and that you are convinced I have done all that was neceſſary to put the impaſſibility through thoſe ſeas to the weſtward out of queſtion; in ſuch manner as to render any attempt needleſs for the future: But on the contrary, I ſhould have been infinitely pleaſed, had our expedition ſucceeded according to the reaſonableneſs of your expectation.

'I have ſeriouſly conſidered your propoſition of laying open the Hudſon's Bay trade, and ſettling the country higher up, upon thoſe great rivers which run into the bay; and though I may agree with you in the great advantage the publick would reap from ſuch a ſettlement, (could it be made) in the obſtruction it would give to the French, both as to their trade, and the cutting off the communication with the Miſſiſippi, yet I muſt declare my opinion, that it is altogether impracticable upon many accounts; for I cannot ſee where we could find people enough that would be willing, or able to undergo the fatigue of travelling thoſe frozen climates, or what encouragements would be ſufficient to make them attempt it, with ſuch dangerous enemies on every ſide; no Europeans could undergo ſuch hardſhips as thoſe French that intercept the Engliſh trade, who are inured to it, and are called by us Wood-runners, (or Coureurs de Bois) for they indure fatigues juſt the ſame as the native Indians, with whom they have been mixed and intermarried for two, three, or more generations.

'As to the rivers you mention, none of them are navigable with any thing but Canoes, ſo ſmall, that they carry but two men, and they are forced to make uſe of land carriages near the fourth part of the way, by reaſon of water falls during that little ſummer they enjoy.

'Out of 120 men and officers the company have in the bay, not five are capable of venturing in one of thoſe Canoes, they are ſo apt to overturn and drown them. Many of our people have been twenty years and upwards there, and yet are not dextrous enough to manage a Canoe; ſo there would be no tranſporting people that way.

'Should there happen a French war, the beſt ſtep we could take towards rooting them out of America, would be, in the firſt place, to take Canada; which I make no queſtion might be done, if attempted in a proper manner, and at a right ſeaſon of the year.

'Had Sir HOVENDEN WALKER ſucceeded when he was ſent upon that expedition, it would undoubtedly have been of great advantage to us; for at that time the French were not one tenth part ſo numerous as now, that they have intermarried with the natives, and over-run the whole country, ſo that it is become a matter of infinite difficulty to root them quite out of their poſſeſſions and trade in America.

'I look upon Sir HOVENDEN WALKER's miſcarriage in his expedition, to be owing to this; that he did not arrive there till the latter end of Auguſt, at which time he ought to have been returning: And whenever a war happens again with France, ſhould it be thought proper to attempt the taking of Canada, we ought to be in the river of St. Lawrence by the firſt day of June at the fartheſt; and as to the difficulties Sir HOVENDEN complained of, from the uncertainty of the currents, fogs, &c. they are ſuch as we now make no account of conquering in Hudſon's Bay and Streights, where they are certainly greater. I can ſet the currents and tides in any weather, even under a mainſail in a ſtorm of wind, ſo as to diſcover both how faſt, and upon what point of the compaſs it ſets; and then as to obſerving the latitude in foggy ſeaſons, I have ſeldom miſs'd two days together, if it be tolerable ſmooth water, as you will find in our journals. Now I apprehend that the navigation in the river St. Lawrence muſt be attended with much fewer inconveniencies than in Hudſon's Streights, and thoſe coaſts where we have no ſoundings, much ice, great fogs, with ſtrong tides, and various currents.

'This is the principal matter that I can think of at preſent; had not my indiſpoſition prevented me, I ſhould, before this time, have drawn up ſome further account of our voyage, but I have nothing material worth imparting to you further, except a chart of the whole Bay and the Streights, which will be engraved in a little time, for you already have my journals and obſervations, as well as the accounts of thoſe that attempted the diſcovery before me.

'I am very much obliged to you for your kind wiſhes, and all the favours you have conferred on me, and am as yet quite uncertain as to what their Lordſhips intend to do for me; they treat me with great reſpect, and ſuch as I have the honour to know, to wit, my Lord WINCHELSEA, Lord BALTIMORE, and Admiral CAVENDISH, have all promiſed me their favours. I am,

Sir,
your moſt obedient,
January 1742-3. humble ſervant,

To A. DOBBS, Eſq.
C. MIDDLETON.

Mr. DOBBS to Captain MIDDLETON.

'Dear Sir,

'In my laſt to SAMUEL SMITH, I incloſed one for Lord CARTERET, open for your peruſal, upon our ſcheme of opening a trade to the bay, to which I refer you; and in SAM's letter hinted at what I diſcovered from your journal at large; that you have made a much greater progreſs in the diſcovery of the paſſage, than you imagined when there; and that from the lights I have got from your journal, I can almoſt prove that you were in the paſſage, and that Wager river is properly Wager Streight, and not a freſh water River; and that the way you entered it was one, though not the greateſt and eaſieſt, way into the Streight: I only want your chart of the whole new diſcovered coaſt, to eſtabliſh or contradict my judgment of it, which I am informed is come to Dublin, but not yet ſent to me.

‘However, I cannot delay imparting my preſent thoughts of it, and my reaſons from your journal, to ſhew you were in the Streight, but not in a freſh river; and that the chief cauſe of your taking it for a river was from the quantity of ice, the ſtraitneſs of the tide, and its following you from the eaſtward, and not meeting the flood from the weſtward, which was one of the greateſt proofs we went upon, before you left us. Now this laſt objection is anſwered; that had the ocean flowed in near Whalebone Point, as we at firſt expected, we muſt then have expected to have thereabouts met the tide of flood from the weſtward; but ſince we find the communication is by a ſtreight, or paſſages through iſlands and broken lands, as in the Magellanic Streights; there the tide continues to riſe, until it meets the tide from the other ocean, and the flood is not to be expected to meet us until we have at leaſt got thro' half the length of the ſtreight; and if you will look into NARBOROUGH's account of the Magellanic Streights, you will find that a parallel inſtance. Thoſe Streights are no where above four leagues wide, in moſt places not above two leagues, and in the narrow, at the eaſt entrance, not above a a league wide; and yet he went about fifty leagues into the Streights, before he met the weſtern tide. Now you have full ſtronger reaſons for Wager's river being a Streight; it was but ſix or ſeven miles wide at the entrance on the eaſt-ſide, and but from 16 to 44 fathom deep; as you went up, it increaſed to four, five, ſix, and ſeven leagues wide; Deer Sound, ſeven miles wide, goes off from it, and probably others not mentioned in the journal; ſince the Lieutenant, when he was laſt up 12 leagues above it, ſays, he tried every other inlet, to try if he could meet a contrary tide or other paſſage out, and the depth increaſed to 70 and 80 fathoms; your mentioning alſo the height and craggineſs of the coaſt, and not mentioning their being covered with ſnow, though you mention that Brook Cobham was, makes me conclude that they were not covered with ſnow; and there being neither trees nor graſs, ſtill confirms me that the whole was a Streight of ſalt water, and that you were not come into freſh water; but the number of Whales and fiſh, ſeen as high as he went, and none being ſeen below, nor where the ſhips lay, in Savage Cove and Sound, is a demonſtration to me, not only that it was ſalt water, but alſo that they came in from the weſtwad, and that you would have found leſs ice the higher you went; becauſe the Whales could not come there, without a paſſage tolerably free from ice, otherwiſe they would have come as far as where your ſhips lay, but did not becauſe of the ice; and that muſt be the reaſon why you did not ſee them, when you went up to Deer Sound, becauſe the ice was not then broke up where you were, as it was afterwards when the Lieutenant went up, and probably was much ſooner up to the weſt-ward; from the Whales alſo, which you ſaw in the bay or inlet between 63° and 64°, and thoſe ſeen by FOX in the ſame place, and by SCROGGS in 64° 8', and towards Whalebone Point, where they had no ice, though you met a great deal there; I conclude, there has been more ice thrown in there this year, than uſually is; and that all that coaſt is a broken coaſt with iſlands, and inlets, as Cape Fullerton was, as mentioned by SCROGGS; and conſequently conclude, that the Whales came into the corner of the bay, from the upper end of the Streight you were in; and that you happened into the moſt northerly and narrow entrance into that Streight, and conſequently moſt peſtered with ice, and that the moſt eaſy and largeſt inlet is to the ſouth-ward of Whalebone Point, betwixt that and the head-land near Brook Cobham in 63° 20'.

‘My reaſoning upon your journal I would have you conſider of; for I really think you have proved the paſſage, though you were not at once able to perfect it.——What is only neceſſary to fix or alter my judgment, would be an account of the Lieutenant's and Maſter's obſervations, the laſt time they went up the Streight; what depths they had upon ſounding, what breadth the channel continued, which way it was directed, what ſounds went off from it on either ſide; a great deal depends upon their recollection of theſe things, as well as whether they met with more or leſs ice, whether ſnow upon the land or not; for as to the tides following them in a Streight it is no objection.

‘If their accounts confirm the others I have taken from the journal, I think I may congratulate you upon your having found the ſo-much-wiſh'd-for paſſage; and if it be one, am convinced the more ſoutherly entrance, through which the Whales come into the bay, will be free from ice.——I beg to have your ſentiments upon this, as ſoon as you can conſider it, and have an anſwer from your Officers, for the preſumption will be a great inducement to open the trade to the bay; and in a further diſcovery, there needs no wintering in the bay, only getting there in the middle of July, and puſhing as far in the Streight as can be done in the month of Auguſt, and then returning in September home, which is better than wintering at Churchill, until the paſſage through leads them to a warmer climate on the other ſide.

‘I ſhall add no more, but that I am with great Eſteem,

Dear Sir,
your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
A. DOBBS.

Liſburn, January
22, 1742-3.

Your anſwer and Lord CARTERET's will determy going over next month.

Captain MIDDLETON to Mr. DOBBS.

Sir,

‘Yours I received of the 22d of January. And I alſo ſaw yours to Mr. SMITH, with the incloſed to my Lord CARTERET, upon opening the trade to the bay.

‘You ſay, I have made a much greater progreſs in the diſcovery of the paſſage, than I imagined when there; and that from the light you have got from my journal, you can almoſt prove that I was in the paſſage; and that Wager River is properly Wager Streight, and not a freſh water river; and that the way I entered it was one, tho' not the greateſt and eaſieſt way into the Streight.

‘You alſo obſerve, if there be a communication between the bay and the weſtern American ocean, or a paſſage through iſlands and broken land as in the Magellanic Streights, the tide will continue to riſe until we have got half-way through, and then meet the ocean tide. This I thought of when there, and made ſeveral trials of, and alſo ordered my Officers to obſerve the courſe, direction and height of the tides at the fartheſt they went up, as you will find in the incloſed order. Now, as it flowed at Savages Sound 15 feet, the ſame day and tide that it flowed but 10 feet at Deer Sound, and 15 leagues above Deer Sound on the weſt-ſide but ſix feet, the tides kept their regular courſe as high up as I was myſelf, which was five leagues above Deer Sound, that is about ſeven hours ebb, and five hours flood, 20 leagues up; whereas if there had been a tide from the weſtward to have met this, it muſt have raiſed the tide higher the further we went up, as you ſay it does by **Narborough**'s account of the fore-mentioned Streights, and the flood would have run not above two hours, as he found it there. All theſe obſervations confirmed me, that it could not be a Streight as you ſeem to think.

‘ You ſpeak of many Whales that we ſaw on the coaſts, and in Wager River, ſome of which certainly came in at where our ſhips entered; for I ſaw ſeveral in the Welcome, and ſome off Cape Dobbs, after we came out, and before we went in. The high land and deep water gave me great hopes, before I tried the above-mentioned tides. Brook Cobham was covered with Snow when we went out; but in our return home, there was none upon it; the ſnow on the land in the River Wager, was much waſted before we got out of it upon the tops of the mountains, but in the vallies it lay very thick, and hard enough to bear waggons and horſes.

‘ As to any paſſage or broken lands between River Wager and 62° 40′, I am certain I ſearched that coaſt very narrowly all the way, and ſtood into every bay ſo near, that the Indians I had on board knew all the coaſt, and would have had me ſet them on ſhore at Cape Fullerton; for they knew the way to Churchill, and had travelled that way ſeveral times in the ſummer; which they could not have done if that Cape were an iſland, or any large river there, for they have no canoes, neither is there any wood there to raft over with, as to the ſouthward.

‘ The copy of the Lieutenant and Maſter's report, I have here incloſed; but what is wanting there, I ſhall mention here; the river five leagues above Deer Sound, is eight or nine leagues broad; the channel is 70 or 80 fathoms deep in the middle, and lieth near N. W. by true chart; as far as they went up, they met with as much ice or more than below, where the ſhips lay; when I was up, I could go no further for ice than I did, and could not get over to the weſt-ſhore but once for ice all the time we were in the river; ſo my real opinion is, that this river cannot be above one week or two, at moſt, clear of ice in a year, and many years not clear at all.

‘ For the reaſons I mention in my obſervations on the effects of cold, when the winds blow from the N. W. quarter, there muſt certainly be much land to the weſtward, covered with perpetual ſnow, and the land from the water's ſide aſcends gradually up into the country, and is very high, as I ſaw from off the high land above Deer Sound. This is all I have time to think upon at preſent. I am, with great reſpect,

your moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

C. **Middleton**.

A ſummary ſtate of Mr. **Dobbs**'s Objections, and Capt. **Middleton**'s Anſwers.

The only places where Mr. D—— preſumes there may be a paſſage from Hudſon's-Bay to the weſtern ocean of America, are on the coaſt, betwixt Brook Cobham, in latitude 63°, or through Wager River, by him ſuppoſed to be a Streight.

From Brook Cobham to Whalebone-Point, has been ſo frequently and ſo carefully coaſted and ſearched, that all hopes of meeting with any inlet, that may lead to a paſſage any where throughout all that extent, has been given up for at leaſt an hundred years paſt. However, Captain **Middleton**, in his return back from the Frozen Streight to Brook Cobham, very carefully re-examined all this ſhore, keeping as cloſe into it as the iſlands and rocks would permit him with ſafety; and ſaw all the main land, and bottoms of the bays, as is explained in the log-book, which ſhews the coaſt and diſtance ſailed every hour, in halling off or on to deepen or ſhoalden the water, which his journal expreſſes leſs particularly, eſpecially from Whalebone-Point to Brook Cobham, (for the reſt of that courſe northward he had traverſed outward bound.) He had very little hazy weather, except in the night, and then he lay by till day-light, and halled in as near the ſhore as he durſt; ſo that it was impoſſible for him to miſs any inlets, where there could be any hopes of a paſſage. Off Cape Fullerton, he met with rocks and broken ground five leagues diſtant, which forced him to hall further off to deepen his water, and lay to for moderate clear weather between the ſhores. But when it cleared up, he ſtood in N. and N. by W. into 40 odd fathoms: If he came within that depth, he fell into broken ground, ſudden ſhoaldings, riplings and over-falls. Between latitude 64° and 63°, he had better ſoundings, and came near the land, though at night he was obliged to keep a league or two further out, and drive, ſtanding in ſhore again by day. He was never more than four or five leagues from ſhore but once, and that was towards morning in expectation of day-light. In moſt other places, he was not above two or three leagues from land, and in nine fathom water off the head-land in 63° 20′. He obſerved all the north-ſide of the Welcome to be high land, and it appeared very near at four or five leagues diſtance, as far as Brook Cobham. The reaſon why he did not ſend his boat a ſhore to try the tides, was becauſe moſt of his men had loſt the uſe of their limbs, or were otherwiſe ſo ſick, that if he had mann'd the boat, the remaining hands would have been inſufficient to have worked the ſhip, and handed the ſails. However, the tides were ſo far from being neglected by him, that he tried them frequently, and almoſt every hour; as alſo the currents, which he could do as well on board, or in a boat near the ſhip, in the channel, and much better than within head-lands, or near iſlands, which by forming eddies produce an irregularity in them.

This account of Captain **Middleton**'s examination of the aforeſaid coaſt, does not only appear from the log-book to be true, but is further circumſtantially confirm'd as to particulars by the Maſter, in his anſwer to queries 12 and 13, and by the affidavits of T. **Towns**, V. **Von Sobriek**, and G. **Grant**, though it be contradicted by Mr. **Dobbs**'s three evidences; one of which, viz. the

the Lieutenant, acknowledges it all in his journal.

Now it is juſt to remark, that though Mr. Dobbs had himſelf the drawing up of Captain Middleton's inſtructions, yet they do not mention a ſingle word about looking for a paſſage, or examining the tides all along this coaſt. Is it not then a ſtrong argument, that Captain Middleton had the diſcovery very much at heart, that, at a time, when, on account of the very ſick and helpleſs condition of moſt of the hands, it had otherwiſe been both deſirable and prudent for him to have made home-wards as faſt as he could, he ſhould, as appears from the Council held the eighth day of Auguſt, himſelf propoſe a re-ſearch of this coaſt for a paſſage, which had been ſo often attempted in vain by others, and perform it ſo carefully too as is ſet forth above, when he was not otherwiſe in point of duty held to it at all.

This point being diſcuſs'd, it remains now only to examine, whether a paſſage may be reaſonably preſumed upon through Wager River or not?

Mr. Dobbs's Reaſons that Wager River is a Streight, and no freſh water river.

REASON I.

From its increaſe and depth in advancing from its entrance.

ANSWERED.

This is frequent in freſh Water Rivers, as all thoſe, eſpecially, know, who are acquainted with the Swediſh and Norwegian coaſts, where the freſh rivers, or ferries, as they call them, are often not above ten or twelve fathoms at the entrance, and yet they extend to vaſt breadths, and diſcover no ground even with lines of two or three hundred fathoms.

REASON II.

From the height of the neighbouring lands.

ANSWERED.

The lands about the aforeſaid ferries are full as high as any Captain Middleton ſaw near Wager River.

REASON III.

From the want of trees and ſhrubs on any lands near it, though ſuch are always found in the ſame or more northerly latitudes upon freſh water rivers.

ANSWERED.

All thoſe who have travelled this country between latitude 58° and 66° 30′ by land, agree, that higher than 61° they ſaw neither tree nor ſhrub, but only moſs; even among freſh rivers and lakes.

REASON IV.

From its being full of black Whales, Seals and Sea-horſes, at twenty leagues above the entrance, with numbers of Whales at the weſt-end, where none were ſeen below Deer Sound, or without the mouth of the river, or in any part of Hudſon's Streight or Bay, except about Brook Cobham, being an indication that they all came out of the ſea from the weſtward.

ANSWERED.

It does not appear from any journals, reports, or anſwers, that one Whale was ſeen higher than Deer Sound, which is but fifteen leagues up; whereas the weſtward is above 30 leagues; or that one Sea-horſe or Seal was ſeen in any part of the river. But that ſeveral were ſeen juſt without the mouth of the river in the Welcome, is atteſted by the log-book, and by the affidavits of Towns, Von Sobriek, and Grant. And Captain Middleton has traded freſh Whalebone in all parts of the Bay and Streights, where the Eſkimaux frequent; which could not be, if the Whales, from whence they get it, where not killed there; becauſe, in ten or twelve days after they are dead, the bone all drops from their mouths; all which amounts together to almoſt a demonſtration, that the Whales, both in the Bay and Wager River, come from the north-eaſt, which is alſo ſomewhat confirmed from the great number of Indian ſtore-houſes of oil, finn, and blubber, not above eight leagues up, on the north-eaſt coaſt of the river; whereas their proper habitations are on the main, on the other ſide the river. Moreover, if theſe Whales came out of any ſea from the weſtward, they would have been ſeen in plenty the higher they had gone up, which was not ſo. However, concluſions drawn from Whales being ſeen in any place, are at the beſt but very precarious.

REASON V.

From broken lands north-weſtwards, and a great collection of waters ſeen at a diſtance, full of iſlands, on the ſouth-weſt-ſide.

ANSWERED.

It is moſt likely, that theſe watery ſpaces ſeen at a diſtance, are the ſame ſort of lakes of melted ſnow from the mountains, as were every where ſeen from the eminencies they aſcended in that country, to overſpread the vallies. But be that as it will, there was no coming near them for the rapidity of the water-falls, that hindered the boat from going higher up than ſhe did, and the immenſe quantities of ice along the ſouth-weſt ſhore.

Captain Middleton's reaſons why Wager River has no communication with the ſea weſtward.

REASON I.

Becauſe the tide of flood comes in at its mouth from the eaſtward.

REASON II.

Becauſe it flowed eighteen feet at the entrance; but thirteen at Deer Sound; and the higheſt the boat could go for water-falls, no more than five or ſix feet.

REASON III.

Becauſe the water was found to be ſo freſh in the mid-channel above Deer Sound, that the men freely drank it along-ſide the boat inſtead of beer; and the higher they went they found it the freſher.

REASON IV.

Becauſe no Whales were ſeen there but at the entrance of the river, and at Deer Sound, this being an argument that they came not from any ſea to the weſtward; but entered by ſome inlet from the north-eaſt.

REASON V.

Becauſe travellers, which have gone from Churchhill by land, as high as the Arctic circle, affirm, that they met with neither ſalt water river, nor ſea, in any part of their journey.

Further objections of Captain MIDDLETON to a north-weſt paſſage.

If there were any paſſage between Churchill and Whalebone Point, near latitude 65°, it would have been long enough ago found out, by one or another of all thoſe who have been that way; ſome of them ſeveral years together; as Sir THOMAS BUTTON and FOX; Governor KELSEY, three or four voyages, the laſt in my memory; NAPPER, HANDCOCK, Governor KNIGHT, VAUGHAN, and SCROGGS; who went to trade and make diſcoveries in all the bays, coves, and creeks along ſhore, ſeveral of whom harboured every night; and Governor KELSEY exchanged two of his own Indians for two Eskimaux, kept them at Fort York a whole year, learned them ſome Engliſh and then returned them to their friends. Afterwards, as he went along that coaſt, he ſaw and ſpoke with them ſeveral times, but could get no intelligence from them which afforded him the leaſt probability of a paſſage.

All the Indians I have ever converſed with, who were at the Copper-mine, agree in this; that they were two ſummers going thither, pointing towards the north-weſt and Sun-ſetting, when at Churchill; and that where this Mine is, the Sun, at a ceratin ſeaſon of the year, keeps running round the Horizon ſeveral times together, without ſetting. Now we know from the principles of Coſmography, that this cannot be true of any place, whoſe latitude is leſs than 67 or 68 degrees, even allowing for the effects of refraction; and if the credibility of the teſtimony of theſe ſimple Indians be called in queſtion, I can mention that of Mr. NORTON, who was Governor at Churchill above twenty years, and had travelled almoſt a year north-weſtward by land with his country Indians. This Gentleman has often affirmed the ſame thing of the Sun; and that in his whole journey he met with no ſalt river, nor tree, nor ſhrub, but only moſs; and that he and his retinue were reduced to ſuch extremity as to eat moſs ſeveral days; having nothing elſe that could ſerve them for ſuſtenance, but their leather breeches, which they eat up alſo. Now it will appear, from a juſt trigonometrical computation, that Churchill being in latitude 59°, and the Mine in latitude 67°, and the bearing N. W. the difference of longitude between Churchill and the Mine is 17°, 45′. But Wager river's entrance being in latitude 65°. 20′, and 10 degrees of longitude eaſt of Churchill, the difference of longitude between the mouth of the river and the Mine is 27° 45′, and their diſtance in the arch of a great circle, or their neareſt diſtance, no leſs than 700 miles. From what I have here made out concerning this Mine, and the way to it, upon the report of the Indians and of Governor NORTON, it follows, even to demonſtration,

1ſt. That neither Wager river, nor any other river or ſea does extend ſo far weſtward, from any part of Hudſon's bay, in leſs than latitude 65°, as to croſs the rout that lies between Wager river and the Mine. And, 2dly, that if there be any paſſage at all, it muſt run up ſo high northward, as to croſs the parallel of 67°, on the eaſt ſide the Mine, and conſequently muſt be frozen up, and abſolutely unnavigable the whole year.

Many years we cannot paſs the ſtreight outward-bound before the latter end of Auguſt, and then with incredible fatigue and perpetual danger of loſing lives and ſhips. Two out of three were loſt within theſe ſixteen years. After paſſing the ſtreight, there is ſtill the bay to croſs, in which I was detained no leſs than ſix weeks in ice, the laſt voyage I undertook for the company. I never was able to arrive at the factory above five or ſix times before the 20th of Auguſt, in three and twenty voyages I have made thither: And it is a ſtanding order not to attempt to come back the ſame year, unleſs we can ſail from the forts by the tenth of September. Till a little above twenty years ago, a voyage was ſeldom made without wintering.

Now ſuppoſing there were another ſtreight on the weſtern coaſt of Hudſon's ſtreights, or between latitude 61° and 63°, and that this ſtreight were about as long and as wide as that.

In the firſt place, there could be no entering it before the latter end of Auguſt for ice, whether from England or your wintering place in the bay: For though we got at Churchill river by the firſt day of July laſt year, yet the like has not been known theſe twenty years, by a fortnight at leaſt. But notwithſtanding ſo favourable a winter, and early a ſpring, had we not worked night and day tides, from the beginning of April to the middle of June with infinite labour in cutting out our ſhips, which were bedded twenty three feet in the ice and hard frozen ſnow, as may be ſeen in the journals, we ſhould not have got out ſo ſoon by a month. After all, this was of no ſervice in forwarding us; for being got into a bay, we found all the ſhores lined with ice for many leagues, ſo that no opening could be entered; and the great rivers and ſtreights, beyond 61 degrees, are full of it until the middle or latter end of Auguſt, and many years not clear at all. I have been faſt my ſelf in Hudſon's ſtreights for ſome days in September, till a north-weſt wind happened to ſet me and the ice a going together. Of all the ſloops in my time which the company have ſent, almoſt every year along the coaſt towards the Welcome, either upon trade or diſcovery, none but Scroggs could ever get beyond latitude 64 for ice; and ſince the year 1718 they have loſt two ſloops and a ſhip that way. Many of them could not get beyond 62° 20′. Now all this well weighed, what chance have ſhips for paſſing ſuch a ſtreight as we have ſuppoſed.

But grant there was no ice to prevent a ſhip's paſſing about the latter end of Auguſt, yet at that ſeaſon the winter begins to ſet in here, with hard gales and ſuch quantities of drifting ſnow, that it is out of all human power to handle a ſail, or keep the deck.

Of all this I furniſhed Mr. DOBBS with the moſt exact and particular account I was able to give him ſeveral years ago: But no matters of fact have power to convince him; and his ſcheme reſts entirely upon preſumptions, which all obſervations and experience directly contradict. I have peruſed all the company's journals about this diſcovery, as well as all others I was able to procure, whether in print or manuſcript, from the year 1615 down to the preſent time. My inclination has led me that way theſe many years, as much or more than his, or almoſt any man's living, as all my acquaintance, and himſelf too, know very well. I wintered at Churchill for this purpoſe in 1721, and made all poſſible enquiry then, as well as the laſt year, among all the Indians and Engliſh who had travelled inland to the northward; and I am thoroughly ſatisfied that any further ſearch muſt be fruitleſs, either by ſea or land.

Mr. Dobbs's deſcription of Hudſon's bay, with the advantages that would accrue to Great-Britain, by encreaſing and ſtrengthening our colonies and ſettlements on that coaſt, and the probability there ſtill is of diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage through the bay.

Hudſon's bay is ſituate between 51 and 65 degrees north latitude, and from 78 to 95 weſt longitude from London, being in length from Nodway and Mooſe rivers, in the bottom of the bay, to Whalebone point, 14 degrees; which, at 69 Engliſh miles to a degree, is about 970 miles; and in breadth to Diggs's iſle, the eaſt entrance of the bay, to the land weſtward of Churchill-river, 200 leagues, of 20 to a degree, 690 miles, ſurrounded by a great continent, except the opening of Hudſon's ſtreight, and the north-weſt ſide of the bay, which appears to be all broken land, the ſurrounding coaſt being above 3000 Engliſh miles.

Theſe countries, though moſt of them are in cold climates, yet in the coldeſt parts, even north of the polar circle, are inhabited by the Eſkimaux Indians; and by the Whalebone and oil, ſkins and furs got their at preſent, are of conſiderable advantage to thoſe who are concerned in that trade; and if the trade was laid open, would be of vaſtly greater benefit to Britain, by affording a conſiderable market for our coarſe woollen and iron manufactures; and by forming proper ſettlements in healthy and ſheltered ſituations, out of the ſwampy grounds, there might be comfortable ſettlements made in moſt places, and very tolerable, even in the worſt and coldeſt parts of that continent, which are the north-eaſt and north-weſt ſides of the bay; but in the ſouthern and weſtern ſides of the bay, there might be made as comfortable ſettlements as any in Sweden, Livonia, or the ſouth ſide of the Baltick; and farther into the country ſouth-weſt, the climate is as good as the ſouthern part of Poland, and north part of Germany and Holland, nothing being wanted to make it ſo, but the building convenient houſes with ſtoves, ſuch as are uſed in the ſame climates in Europe.

The coaſt, from Hudſon's ſtreight to 57°, is peſtered with ice in the beginning of ſummer, occaſioned by the quantity which comes out from the ſeveral inlets there, as well as that which comes from Hudſon's and Davis's ſtreights; theſe iſlands of ice being frequently carried as far as the banks of Newfoundland, before they are diſſolved; but the reſt of the coaſt to the ſouthward, from 57 to 52°, is free from ice.

Along that coaſt a very fine fiſhery might be carried on, there being as fine and large fiſh there as any upon the coaſt of Newfoundland, and at the ſame time a trade for furs might be introduced with the natives, the furs upon the eaſt main being as fine as any in America, and richer than thoſe to the ſouthward. The French from Canada get the moſt of theſe at preſent, there being none to interfere with them in that trade, it being too far from the factories in the bay, and at preſent it is open to any who ſhould go there to trade or fiſh; and it would prevent the natives, by getting a market nearer home, from going ſo far to trade with the French; our goods alſo could be afforded cheaper than the French goods from Canada.

Nelſon river, called by the French the river Bourbon, lies in 57 degrees north latitude. In Hays iſland upon this river, is York Fort: The winter, which begins about Michaelmas and ends in May here, is very cold, but they ſeldom want proviſion, for the ſportſmen kill as many hares and partridges as they pleaſe: One year when the French had eighty men in garriſon, they killed ninety thouſand Partridges and twenty five thouſand Hares.

At the end of April, the Geeſe, Buſtards, and Ducks, return in ſuch numbers, that they kill as many as they pleaſe; they alſo take great numbers of Cariboux or Rain-Deer, in March and April they come from the north to the ſouth, and extend then along the river 60 leagues; they go again northward in July and Auguſt; the roads they make in the ſnow are as well padded, and croſs each other as often as the ſtreets in Paris; the natives make hedges with branches of trees, and leave openings in which they fix ſnares, and thus take numbers of them. When they ſwim the rivers in returning northwards, the natives kill them in canoes with lances, as many as they pleaſe. In ſummer they have the pleaſure of fiſhing, and with nets take Pike, Trout, and Carp, and a white fiſh ſomething like a Herring, by much the beſt fiſh in the world; they preſerve thoſe for their winter proviſion, by putting them in ſnow, or freezing them, as alſo the fleſh they would preſerve: They keep thus alſo Geeſe, Ducks, and Buſtards, which they roaſt with the Hares and Partridges they kill in winter.

The country about fort Nelſon is very low, it is filled with woods of ſmall trees, and is very marſhy. The natives live by hunting and fiſhing; Seals abound there, which are larger than thoſe of Canada; they ſell the oil extracted from them at the fort, which is better and clearer than nut oil. They have Buſtards and wild Geeſe in great numbers, and ſell the feathers at the fort. The white Partridges are as large as Capons. They have white Foxes and Martin Zebelins fairer than thoſe in Muſcovy.

There comes down generally to port Nelſon annually to trade with the Engliſh, about one thouſand Indian men and ſome women, in about ſix hundred canoes.

There are eight kinds of Beavers received at the Farmer's office

The firſt is the fat winter Beaver, killed in winter, which is worth 5 s. 6 d. per pound.

The ſecond is the fat ſummer Beaver killed in ſummer, and is worth 2 s. 9 d. per pound.

The third is the dry winter Beaver, and fourth the Bordeau, is much the ſame, and are worth 3 s. and 6 d. per pound.

The fifth the dry ſummer Beaver, is worth very little, about 1 s. 9 d. per pound.

The ſixth is the coat Beaver, which is worn till it is half greaſed, and is worth 4 s. 6 d. per pound

The ſeventh the Muſcovite dry Beaver, of a fine ſkin, covered over with a ſilky hair; they wear it in Ruſſia, and comb away all the ſhort down, which they make into ſtuffs and other works, leaving nothing but the ſilky hair; this is worth 4 s. 6 d. per pound.

The eighth is the Mittain Beaver, cut out for that purpoſe, to make Mittains to preſerve them from the cold, and are greaſed by being uſed, and are worth 1 s. 9 d. per pound.

Mr. Burnet, when he was appointed Governor of New-York in 1727, finding that the French in Canada were in poſſeſſion of all the Indian fur trade, through all the countries adjoining to the Canadeſe lakes, except what trade the Engliſh carried on with the ſix Iroqueſe nations, (the Tuſkeruro nation now united to the others, making the 6th tribe) and knowing that the chief ſupport of the colony at Canada was the benefit they made by their Indian fur trade, thought it of great moment to gain that trade to our colony of New-York from the French; upon enquiring into the nature of that trade, and manner of carrying it on, he found, that the French at Quebeck and Monreal, were chiefly ſupplied with European goods from the merchants at New-York, where they had them at much eaſier terms than they could have them from France; by which he found we could trade upon much better terms directly with the Indians, than with the French, and would by that means make all the Indians our friends; and conſequently by our giving them our goods cheaper at the firſt hand, we might gain moſt of that trade from the French, and by that means weaken their colony at Canada, whoſe chief ſupport is from that trade; accordingly, he prohibited the trade from New-York to Canada, by an act he got paſſed in the aſſembly there; and being oppoſed in it by the merchants trading to Quebeck, who appealed againſt it to the council in England, at laſt got the act confirmed by the council; by this means a trade was opened directly with the weſtern Indians through the Iroqueſe country, and an intercourſe and familiarity, of conſequence, betwixt all theſe nations and our colonies; the aſſembly was at the expence to build and fortify a trading houſe at Oſwega, on the Cadarakui or Frontenac lake, in the neighbourhood of the Iroqueſe, near the Onontagues, and have from that time maintained a garriſon there; by this means they have gained a conſiderable part of the trade which the French formerly had with the weſtern Indians, and all the allies of the Iroqueſe now trade with us, as well as thoſe on the Illeneſe lake, Miſſilimakinae, and Saut St. Mary. Before that time a very inconſiderable number were employed in that trade; now above 300 are employed at the trading houſe at Oſmega alone, and the Indian trade ſince that time has ſo much increaſed, that ſeveral Indian nations come now each year to trade there, whoſe names before were not ſo much as known to the Engliſh.

The Indians in their voyages being obliged to go aſhore every day to hunt for proviſions, delays them very much; for their canoes are ſo ſmall, holding only two men and a pack of 100 Beaver's skins, that they can't carry proviſions with them for any time; if they had larger canoes they could make their voyages ſhorter, and carry many more Beavers to market, at leaſt four times as many, beſides other skins of value, which are too heavy for their preſent canoes; this, and the high price ſet upon the European goods by the company in exchange, diſcourages the natives ſo much, that if it were not that they are under a neceſſity of having guns, powder and ſhot, hatchets, and other iron tools for their hunting, and tobacco, brandy, and ſome paint for luxury, they would not go down to the factory with what they now carry; at preſent they leave great numbers of furs and skins behind them. A good hunter among the Indians can kill 600 Beavers in a ſeaſon, and can carry down but 100, the reſt he uſes at home, or hangs them upon branches of trees, upon the death of their children as an an offering to them, or uſe them for bedding and coverings; they ſometimes burn off the fur, and roaſt the Beavers like pigs, upon any entertainments, and they often let them rot, having no further uſe of them. The Beavers, (according to La France) are of three colours; the brown reddiſh colour, the black, and the white; the firſt is the cheapeſt, the black is moſt valued by the company, and in England; the white, though moſt valued in Canada, giving 18 ſhillings, when others gave 5 or 6 ſhillings, is blown upon by the company's factors at the bay, they not allowing ſo much for theſe as for the others; and therefore the Indians uſe them at home, or burn off the hair, when they roaſt the Beavers like Pigs, at an entertainment when they feaſt together; he ſays theſe skins are extremely white, and have a fine luſtre, no ſnow being whiter, and have a fine long furr or hair; he has ſeen fifteen taken of that colour out of one lodge or pond. The Beavers have three enemies, Man, Otters, and the Carcajon, or Queequehatch, which prey upon them when they take them at an advantage; the laſt is as large as a very great Dog, it has a ſhort tail like a Deer or Hare, and has a good furr, valued at a Beaver and half in exchange. The Beaver's chiefeſt food is the Poplar or Tremble, but they alſo eat Sallows, Alders, and moſt other trees not having a reſinous juice; the middle bark is their food; in May, when the wood is not plenty, they live upon a large root which grows in the marſhes, a fathom long, and as thick as a Man's leg, the French call it Volet; but the Beavers are not ſo good food as when they feed upon trees. They will cut down trees above two fathoms in girth with their teeth, and one of them obſerves when it is ready to fall, and gives a great cry, and runs the contrary way, to give notice to the reſt to get out of the way; they then cut off all the top twigs and ſmaller branches two or three fathoms in length, and draw them to their houſes which they have built in their ponds, after having raiſed or repaired their pond head, and made it ſtaunch, and thruſt one end into the clay or mud, that they may lie under water all the winter, to preſerve the bark green and tender for their winter proviſion; after cutting off the ſmall branches, they cut and carry away the larger, until they come to the bole of the tree. The Beavers are delicious food, but the tongue and tail the moſt delicious parts of the whole; they are very fat from November until the end of March; they have their young in the beginning of ſummer, at which time the females are lean by ſuckling their young, and the males are lean the whole ſummer, when they are making or repairing their ponds and houſes, and cutting down and providing timber and branches for their winter ſtore. They breed once in a year, and have from ten to fifteen at a litter, which grow up in one ſeaſon; ſo that they multiply very faſt, and if they can empty a pond, and take the whole lodge, they generally leave a pair to breed, ſo that they are fully ſtocked again in two or three years.

The Loup Cervier, or Lynx, is of the Cat kind, but as large as a great Dog; it preys upon all beaſts it can conquer; as does the Tyger, which is the only beaſt in that country that won't fly from a man.

The American Oxen, or Beeves, have a large bunch upon their backs, which is by far the moſt delicious part of them for food, it being all as ſweet as marrow, juicy and rich, and weighs ſeveral pounds.

The Indians weſt of the bay, living an erratic life, can have no benefit by tame fowl or cattle; they ſeldom ſtay above a fortnight in a place, unleſs they find plenty of game. When they remove, after having built their hut, they diſperſe to get game for their food, and meet again at night, after having killed enough to maintain them for that day; they don't go above a league or two from their hut. When they find ſcarcity of game, they remove a league or two farther, and thus they traverſe through theſe woody countries and bogs, ſcarce miſſing one day, winter or ſummer, fair or foul, in the greateſt ſtorms of ſnow, but what they are employed in ſome kind of chace. The ſmaller game, got by traps or ſnares, are generally the employment of the women and children, ſuch as the Martins, Squirrels, Cats, Ermins, &c. The Elks, Stags, Rain-Deer, Bears, Tygers, wild Beeves, Wolves, Foxes, Beavers, Otters, Corcajeu, &c. are the employment of the men. The Indians, when they kill any game for food, leave it where they kill it, and ſend their wives next day to carry it home. They go home in a direct line, never miſſing their way, by obſervations they make of the courſe they take upon their going out; and ſo judge upon what point their huts are, and can thus direct themſelves upon any point of the compaſs. The trees all bend towards the ſouth, and the branches on that ſide are larger and ſtronger than on the north ſide, as alſo the Moſs upon the trees. To let their wives know how to come at the killed game, they from place to place break off branches, and lay them in the road, pointing them the way they ſhould go, and ſometimes Moſs, ſo that they never miſs finding it.

In winter, when they go abroad, which they muſt do in all weathers, to hunt and ſhoot for their daily food, before they dreſs they rub themſelves all over with Bears greaſe, or oil of Beavers, which does not freeze, and alſo rub all the fur of their Beaver coats, and then put them on; they have alſo a kind of boots or ſtockings of Beaver's ſkins well oiled, with the fur inwards, and above them they have an oiled ſkin laced about their feet, which keeps out the cold, and alſo water, when there is no ice or ſnow; and by this means they never freeze, nor ſuffer any thing by cold. In ſummer alſo when they go naked, they rub themſelves with theſe oils or greaſe, and expoſe themſelves to the Sun, without being ſcorched, their ſkins always being kept ſoft and ſupple by it; nor do any Flies, Bugs, or Muſketoes, or any noxious inſect ever moleſt them. When they want to get rid of it, they go into the water, and rub themſelves all over with mud or clay, and let it dry upon them, and then rub it off; but whenever they are free from the oil, the Flies and Muſketoes immediately attack them, and oblige them again to anoint themſelves.

The Indians make no uſe of honey; he ſaw no bees there but the wild Humble Bee; but they are ſo much afraid of being ſtung with them, they going naked in Summer, that they avoid them as much as they can; nor did he ſee any of the Maple they uſe in Canada to make ſugar of, but only the Birch, whoſe juice they uſe for the ſame purpoſe, boiling it until it is black and dry, and then uſing it with their meat. They uſe no milk from the time they are weaned, and they all hate to taſte cheeſe, having taken up an opinion that it is made of dead men's fat. They love Pruins and Raiſins, and will give a Beaver ſkin for twelve of them to carry to their children, and alſo for a Trump or Jew's-Harp. He ſays the women have all fine voices, but have never heard any muſical inſtrument. They are very fond of all kind of pictures or prints, giving a Beaver for the leaſt print, and all toys are like jewels to them.

When he got to the natives, ſouthward of Pachegoia, he had about thirty Cowries left, and a few ſmall bells leſs than Hawk's bells; when he ſhewed one of them, they gave him a Beaver ſkin for one, and they were ſo fond of them, that ſome gave him two ſkins, or three Martin's ſkins for one, to give their wives to make them fine. The Martins they take in traps, for if they ſhoot them, their ſkins would be ſpoiled; they have generally five or ſix at a litter.

He ſays the natives are ſo diſcouraged in their trade with the company, that no Peltry is worth the carriage, and the fineſt furrs are ſold for very little. When they came to the factory in June 1742, the prices they took for the European goods were much higher than the ſettled prices fixed by the company, which the Governors fix ſo, to ſhew the company how zealous they are to improve their trade, and ſell their goods to advantage. He ſays, they gave but a pound of gunpowder for four Beavers, a fathom of tobacco for ſeven Beavers, a pound of ſhot for one, and ell of coarſe cloth for fifteen, a blanket for twelve, two fiſh-hooks, or three flints for one, a gun for twenty-five, a piſtol for ten, a common hat with white lace for ſeven, an ax for four, a bill-hook for one, a gallon of brandy for four, a check ſhirt for ſeven; all which are ſold at a monſtrous profit, even to 2000 per cent. Notwithſtanding this diſcouragement, the two fleets which went down with him, and parted at the great Fork, carried down 200 packs, of 100 each, 20000 Beavers; and the other Indians who arrived that year, he computed carried down 300 packs of 200 each, 30000, in all 50000 Beavers, and above 9000 Martins.

The furrs there are much more valuable than the furrs upon the Canada lakes, ſold at New-York; for theſe will give five or ſix ſhillings per pound, when the others ſell at three ſhillings and ſix-pence. He ſays, that if a fort was built at the great Fork, ſixty leagues above York Fort, and a factory with European goods were fixed there, and a reaſonable price was put upon European goods, that the trade would be wonderfully increaſed; for the natives from the ſouthward of Pachegoia, could make at leaſt two returns in a ſummer, and thoſe at greater diſtances could make one, who can't now come at all; and above double the number would be employed in hunting, and many more ſkins would be brought to market, that they can't now afford to bring for the expence and low price given for them. The ſtream is ſo gentle from the Fork to York Fort, on either branch, that large veſſels and ſhallops may be built there, and carry down bulky goods, and alſo return again againſt the ſtream; and the climate is good, and fit to produce grain, pulſe, &c. and very good graſs and hay for horſes and cattle.

As to the trade at Churchill, it is increaſing, it being at too great a diſtance from the French for them to interfere in the trade. In the year 1742 it amounted to 20000 Beavers: There were about 100 Upland Indians came in their canoes to trade, and about 200 northern Indians, who brought their furrs and peltry upon ſledges; ſome of them came down the river of Seals, 15 leagues northward of Churchill, in canoes, and brought their furrs from thence by land. They have no Beavers to northward of Churchill, they not having there ſuch ponds or woods as they chooſe or feed upon, but they have great numbers of Martins, Foxes, Bears, Rain-Deer, Buffaloes, Wolves, and other beaſts of rich furrs, the country being moſtly rocky, and covered with a white moſs, upon which the Rain-Deer or Cariboux feed. There is a great deal of ſmall wood of the Spruce or Fir kind near the old factory, but the wood improves as it is further up the river from the bay, where they have Juniper, Birch and Poplar, and more ſoutherly the timber is larger, and there are greater variety of trees. They are under great inconveniences at the New Fort, which is upon an elevated ſituation, upon a rock without ſhelter, cloſe by the ſhore, ſurrounded with ſnow and ice for eight months in the year, expoſed to all the winds and ſtorms that happen, where they can have no conveniency of graſs, or hay, or gardening, and yet they had four or five Horſes there, and a Bull and two Cows near the factory; but they were obliged to bring their hay from a marſhy bottom ſome miles up the river, to feed them in winter; but if a ſettlement were made higher up the river ſouthward, ſome leagues from the bay, in ſhelter, without the reach of the chilling winds, they would have graſs and hay ſufficient, and might have alſo gardens and proper greens and roots propagated there.

The ſoil and climates are vaſtly different in the ſeveral countries adjoining to the bay. The eaſt main from Slude River to Hudſon's Streight, is leaſt known, there being no factories fixed there for trade, although the beſt ſable and black Fox ſkins are got there. Here the Nodway or Eſkimaux Indians live, who are in a manner hunted and deſtroyed by the more ſoutherly Indians, being perpetually at war with each other. They ſeem not to be natives of America, but rather Europeans from Greenland. The French imagine they are deſcended from Biſcayners, they having beards up to the eyes, which the Americans have not; they are of a white complexion, not copper coloured like the other Americans, having black, ſtrong hair. They live in caves under the ſnow in winter, feeding upon Seals fleſh and dried fiſh, drinking the oil, and uſing it for their lamps, with which they alſo greaſe their bodies, which defends them from the piercing icy particles in the air. If, when travelling, a ſtorm of ſnow is too violent for them to withſtand, they dig a hole in the ſnow five or ſix feet deep, and cover the hole with ſkins or branches, and ſo lie warm under the ſtorm. Upon this coaſt, in latitude 59°, near Cape Smith, is a paſſage lately diſcovered into an inland ſea, 300 leagues in circuit, which, if a proper uſe was made of it, would open a conſiderable trade for furs into the heart of the Terra de Labarador, which the company now neglects for fear of expence, as they do all the coaſt on the eaſt main, having only a houſe with ſeven or eight ſervants, at Slude River, in latitude 52° 30'. It is near the ſouth ſide of this ſea that the rich Lead Mine has been lately diſcovered, which would alſo turn to very good account, if a ſettlement was there in about lat. 56° or 57°; it would be in as good a climate as at York Fort or New Severn, which is in a climate equal to the middle part of Sweden or Livonia, being in the latitude of Edinburgh; and if one was made in 59° near Cape Smith, it would be equal to that now at Churchill.

Rupert River, in about latitude 51° is in a very good climate, and is a fine river, well wooded, having eight feet water at the entrance, and the tide riſes eight feet; the river is a mile over, and cometh from the ſouthward of the eaſt; it is about 150 leagues from St. Margaret's River, which falleth into St. Lawrence in Canada. A little to ſouthward of Rupert's is Frenchman's and Nodway rivers; theſe run from S. E. and S. S. E. from ſources a great way up in the country; the laſt is five miles broad to the falls. Theſe, though in ſo good a climate, are all neglected by the company, upon account of the neighbourhood of the French, who have encroached upon them, and have a trading houſe upon the head of Rupert's River, by which they have engroſſed almoſt all the trade of the eaſt main. To avoid expence they will not fix a ſufficient factory there to recover ſo great a trade, nor will allow any other from Britain to ſettle there and trade, chooſing rather to give it up to the French than to their countrymen, that they may preſerve their preſent monopoly to themſelves. The factories at preſent on Mooſe River, in latitude 51° 28', and in Albany, in latitude 52° on the ſouth-weſt of the bay, are at preſent in a very tolerable climate, being the ſame with theſe already mentioned, but would be in a vaſtly better climate, if they were fixed ſome miles higher up, at ſome diſtance from the chilling winds in the bay, where it appears all ſorts of grain and pulſe would grow to perfection, and moſt kind of European fruits. Here they may have Horſes, Cows, Sheep, and all domeſtick animals, here being excellent graſs, and very good hay may be made of it, which would improve by feeding and cutting it for their uſe in winter; and all ſorts of grain may be had for their uſe, as well as for the inhabitants, wild oats or rice growing in abundance ſpontaneouſly farther up the rivers to the ſouthward, at ſome diſtance from the bay. The Mooſe River is a noble, large river, which cometh from two branches, ſouthward and ſouth-weſtward of the bay, for ſome hundred miles from the mountains above the Huron, and upper lakes, to near latitude 48°. There are ſeveral falls upon it, but above the falls it is again navigable a great way into the country, from whence the natives come down ſome hundreds of miles in their canoes to trade at the factory; yet, from the avarice of the company, they have in a manner left that ſouthern trade to the French, having allowed the French to have a trading houſe upon, or near the ſouthern branch of Mooſe River, within three days journey, not 100 miles from that factory; who, at ſo many hundred miles from Canada, underſell the company, and carry away all the valuable furs, leaving only the refuſe to them, becauſe of the exorbitant prices they take for their goods from the natives in exchange. If the trade was opened, and theſe rivers on the bottom of the bay were ſettled farther up in the country, they would have a very temperate, fine climate, with all neceſſaries for life, and even for luxury. Here are very fine woods of all kinds of large timber for ſhipping or building, where they have all ſorts of fruit and grain, tame cattle and fowl. The rivers abound with excellent fiſh, and the woods with wild-fowl, and moſt kind of wild beaſts for profit or pleaſure. Gooſeberries, Raſpberries and Strawberries, grow wild in the woods, every thing in gardens would grow with proper culture. In the country the ſnow and froſt breaks up in March, and does not begin again until about November.

Albany River is alſo very conſiderable, in latitude 52°, and cometh from W. S. W. and within land has the ſame climate and other advantages; at preſent the ſituation of the factories of Mooſe and Albany are very unhappy, being placed in the ſwamps, at the mouths of the rivers; for the company's chief aim being trade, they don't regard the ſoil, aſpect, or ſituation, where they fix them, provided they are upon navigable rivers, where their ſhips can approach them, and where the natives can come in their canoes; ſo that their factories there are placed in a low ſwampy ground, which is overflowed by the rivers upon the breaking up of the ice, which makes them much moiſter and warmer in ſummer, and colder in winter, from the quantity of ice there is in winter in the rivers and bay: If they had fixed them higher up in the country, where the thaw begins much ſooner than at the bay, they would have had a happier ſituation, and a quite different climate and ſoil. How can it be expected that any thing can thrive in their garden, or be brought to perfection? when the floods in the latter end of April leave flakes of ice ſeveral feet thick in their gardens, which are not diſſolved until the latter end of May; and yet after that time, when they dig their gardens, they have very good coleworts and turnips, green peaſe and beans, when if they had been ſituate higher up in the country from the bay, they might have had all ſorts of fruit, grain and roots in perfection, and tame cattle and fowl for their uſe; at preſent the company's ſervants depend upon the fiſh and wild-geeſe they take for their winter ſtore. They have Pike, Trout, Perch, and white Trout in great perfection in all their rivers; but the principal fiſh they take is a little larger than a Mackarel, of which 13 or 14000 are taken at Albany in a ſeaſon, which ſupplies them and their Indian friends in winter, theſe they take after the rivers are frozen over, keeping holes open in the ice in a ſtrait line, at proper diſtances, through which they thruſt their nets with poles, and the fiſh coming there to breathe, are maſh'd or entangled in the net; theſe they freeze up for winter without ſalt. The wild-geeſe come to theſe rivers from the ſouthward in the middle of April, as ſoon as the ſwamps are thawed, at which time they are lean; they ſtay until the middle of May, when they go northward to breed; they take at Albany in that ſeaſon about 1300 for preſent uſe; they return again with their young about the middle of Auguſt, and ſtay until the middle of October, when they go farther ſouthward; they ſave generally about 3000 of theſe, which they ſalt before the froſt begins, and what they take afterwards they hang up in their feathers to freeze for winter ſtore, without ſalt; the natives ſhoot them in the ſwamps. There are three kinds, one a grey Gooſe, which, without giblets, weighs from ſix to ten pounds, another which they call Whaweys, are from four to ſix pounds; they have alſo Swans, grey Plover exceeding fat, white Partridges as big as Capons in abundance, all winter and ſpring, which feed upon the buds of Spruce, Birch, and Poplars.

All the eaſtern and ſouthern trade is in a manner loſt to the French, and a conſiderable part of the ſouth-weſtern trade, they ſcarce preſerving the trade at York Fort and Churchill River to themſelves; ſo that were the trade laid open, and the ſouthern and weſtern countries ſettled, we might not only regain that trade from the French, which would probably increaſe our profit from 40,000 l. which the company gain at preſent upon their trade, to 100,000 l. but we might in a ſhort time increaſe it to 200,000 l. by ſupplying the natives with woollen-goods, iron tools, guns, powder and ſhot, at reaſonable rates; for by this treatment, and fixing factories for goods higher up the rivers, upon Rupert's, Mooſe, Albany, and Nelſon rivers; by having markets nearer them and cheaper, the number of hunters would increaſe, and would bring four times as many furs, beſides other valuable ſkins, not worth the carriage at preſent, and they would make two returns for one, and many come from greater diſtances, which don't now come at all; and we ſhould have all that now periſh and rot, and they uſe at home, by getting better and cheaper European goods in return, and a ſhorter and quicker carriage to market; this would make them more induſtrious, and would preſerve the lives of many of them, who can't ſubſiſt now without fire-arms and iron tools, having in great meaſure loſt the uſe of arrows; and inſtead of our exporting to the value of 2 or 3000 l. which is the moſt the company exports in one ſeaſon, we might export to the value of 100,000 l. in coarſe woollen and iron manufactures, powder, ſhot, ſpirits, tobacco, paint, and toys, which would afford ſubſiſtence and employment to our induſtrious poor, and yet the merchant might gain near Cent. per Cent. upon his trade. By increaſing our ſettlements to the ſouthward, in the bottom of the bay, we ſhould by this encouragement make all the natives our friends, by underſelling the French, and ſecuring the trade, and force the French out of their trade upon the eaſt main, and countries north of Huron, and the other Canada lakes, and become ſo powerful, as not to fear the French in caſe of a war; whereas at preſent, if a war ſhould commence, the company in a few weeks would looſe all their factories in the bottom of the bay; and York Fort, where they have but twenty-five men, would ſoon after fall into their hands; for they have none but the Prince of Wales's Fort at Churchill that is in a ſtate of defence, and even there they keep but twenty-eight men to defend a fort in which they have forty guns mounted. Such is the melancholy ſituation of our factories and trade in ſo extended a country at preſent, from the monopoly and covetouſneſs of the company, who have been in poſſeſſion of part of theſe countries to the ſouthward from the time of their charter in 1670, above ſeventy years; and have enjoyed the reſt uninterrupted from 1714, near thirty years; yet, though they have had the moſt extenſive powers granted to them that were ever granted to any company, the whole property and excluſive trade of all theſe countries, and all others they ſhould diſcover from thence not poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian power, with a power to make war, raiſe troops, and fit out ſhips of war to preſerve their poſſeſſions, to induce them to diſcover, plant, and improve theſe countries, and to extend the Britiſh trade, by finding out a paſſage to the weſtern ocean of America; yet they have been ſo baſe to their country, as not only to neglect it themſelves, but to prevent and diſcourage any attempt to find out ſo beneficial a paſſage, and have alſo prevented any perſons from ſettling in thoſe countries, which would have effectually ſecured all their factories, and put them out of danger of being inſulted by the French in caſe of a war; and this with a view only of keeping a monopoly and excluſive trade to themſelves from the reſt of the Britiſh merchants, which they have no right to by law, it being only granted by charter, without act of parliament. But ſuppoſing they had a legal right, they have forfeited their right by not ſettling theſe countries, and preventing any of his Majeſty's ſubjects from ſettling there; ſo that they have forfeited their right to all theſe countries except their preſent factories, upon account of their not taking in and ſettling upon thoſe lands: Beſides, they have not only neglected to find a paſſage to the weſtern ocean, but have alſo refuſed to look for it, and have diſcouraged and endeavoured to ſeduce others from finding it, by offering rewards or bribes to Captain Middleton, who was employed by the government to make that diſcovery, as he informed me; though the attempting that diſcovery was the chief prayer for their patent, and the principal motive which induced King Charles to grant them their charter, which was then given to ſome of the moſt conſiderable noblemen, gentlemen and merchants, in England; but now is confined to eight or nine private merchants, who have engroſſed nine tenth's of the company's ſtock, and by that means are perpetual directors; the ſmall proportion of ſtock which is in other hands, when ſold, being purchaſed by thoſe who have in a manner engroſſed the whole, it not being allowed to go to a publick market.

Churchill river in latitude 59° a noble river, navigable for 150 leagues, and after paſſing the falls, navigable again to far diſtant countries, abounding in mines of copper, and other rich commodities, even to the weſtern ſea; ſo that the ſouthern and weſtern parts of the bay would, in ſome time, afford an inexhauſtible fund for trade; nor is the eaſt-ſide of the bay deſpicable, about the new diſcovered inland-ſea, where there are rich furrs, and mines of lead. What an immenſe trade might be begun and carried on from theſe countries; for the natives, being numerous, and of a humane diſpoſition, inclined to trade, upon having an equitable trade with us, would be ſoon civilized, and become induſtrious, in ſuch rich and delightful climates? What a vent might be had in thoſe countries for our woollen, iron and other manufactures, may be eaſily conceived: So that by opening the trade, and ſettling theſe countries, the French in time would be confined to the rivers which fall into the river St. Lawrence, and be deprived of all their north-weſtern trade.

To the making ſuch ſettlements ſome objections have been made by the friends of the company; as the great difficulty of getting people to go to ſettle and plant in ſo cold a country, and the difficulty and danger attending the making ſettlements higher up upon the rivers, and navigating them, they being ſo full of falls and rapids, that can only be navigated by the natives in ſmall canoes made of Birch bark, which cannot contain above two men with any cargo; and in theſe they are often overſet, and in danger of being drowned, and of ſpoiling their goods; that they are often obliged to carry their canoes and cargo from place to place, which obſtructs greatly, and delays the navigation, and that ſcarce five men out of 120, which the company now have in the bay, will venture themſelves in, or can conduct ſuch canoes, without imminent danger of being drowned, and conſequently theſe hardſhips and difficulties will counterbalance the profit to be made of ſettling higher up in the country, upon the rivers in pleaſanter and warmer climates.

To this we may anſwer, that by the accounts already given here of theſe climates and countries by impartial perſons, who do not want to diſguiſe the truth, it appears that the cold is tolerable even at theſe diſadvantageous ſettlements at preſent in the bay, and that upon paſſing only five or ſix leagues up the rivers into the country, the climate is ſo altered, as to be equal to thoſe of the ſame latitudes in Europe; and that theſe prodigious accounts of the effects of cold are calculated only to ſerve the company, in order to prevent people from going there to ſettle, and encroach upon the company's monopoly of trade.

As to the difficulty they make about navigating theſe rivers in thoſe ſmall canoes, and the ſmall number of thoſe employed by the company, who will venture in them, or can conduct them, we anſwer, that their ſervants, being at preſent no gainers by trade, will not endeavour to learn to navigate theſe canoes, where there is any riſque, and care neceſſary to prevent the danger; beſides, the company allows them no time to learn, by confining them to their factories whilſt the Indian trade continues, and the navigation is open; and at other times keep them employed in cutting wood for firing, bringing it home, and in ſhooting, fiſhing, and digging in their gardens, to ſupply themſelves with proviſions, to leſſen the company's expence; ſo that they are allowed no time to learn to navigate theſe boats, or to go up the rivers to obſerve the ſoil and climate, or what improvements might be made in the country: But if they were maſters of their own time, and could advance their wealth by trade, and found a conſiderable profit to ariſe to them by their dexterity in managing theſe canoes, and the great pleaſure and ſatisfaction they would have, by living in a fine climate among theſe lakes and rivers, they would be as enterprizing and dexterous as the Cureur de Bois, and be as able to navigate among theſe water falls as the French. Neither is it impracticable to prevent even theſe canoes from over-ſetting, by out-lagers or blown bladders fixed to their ſides; or other kinds of boats may be uſed, ſuch as are made at Torneo, in Sweden, upon the rivers falling into the Bothnic gulph.

Another objection is, that it is a difficult and dangerous navigation into the bay, and the trade is not worth the riſque.

To this we anſwer, that the navigation is not ſo dangerous as it is apprehended to be, but appears to be more ſo by the inſinuations and report of the company and their friends, who give it out in order to deter others from venturing and interfering in their trade; and for that reaſon they oblige their captains, under a penalty, not to publiſh any charts of the bay and ſtreight. Captain Middleton, who was in their ſervice, made above twenty voyages to different parts of the bay, and never loſt a ſhip, nor had any accident in theſe voyages; nor have I heard that the company, in about 23 years, have loſt any ſhips in that trade but two, and the men and cargo were ſaved by Capt. Middleton. Where Captains are careful in the ice, there is not much danger; it is of great advantage to them that there is no night at that ſeaſon they enter the bay, where the quantity of ice is greateſt; and when they return in September, or even in October, all the ice is in a manner diſſolved, or paſſed out of the ſtreight into the ocean, and none ſeen that can obſtruct their paſſage.

It is probable that during the whole winter, from October to March, there is no ice in the ſtreight to obſtruct their paſſage into, or out of, the bay; for a ſhip which chanced to be cloſed up with ice in an inlet, by the breaking of the ice got out, and came through the ſtreights at Chriſtmas, without finding any ice in the ſtreight to prevent her paſſage: For the ice which is formed in bays and rivers in winter, does not break up and get into the channel or ſtreight, until it begins to thaw upon the ſhores in March and April; at which time it is carried by the winds and tide into the ſtreight, and obſtructs the paſſage in May and part of June, until it is diſſolved; yet even then good pilots know how to avoid it, and get into the eddy tide, out of the current, where the ice is more open, and not drove together by the winds and current, as it is in the channel; but theſe difficulties would leſſen every day, if the trade were opened, and the voyages were more frequent by the greater number of ſhips, which would make many more experienced pilots; and as there is now a more accurate chart publiſhed of the ſtreight and bay by Captain **Middleton**, with the iſlands, ſoundings, tides and variation, the navigation will become leſs dangerous daily, and coves and places of ſhelter for ſhips will be found out by the numbers of ſhips which would then paſs, and be trading in theſe ſeas, which are now unknown.

We may therefore apprehend, that the danger from the ice is more in imagination than reality, when care and judgment are employed; for ſhips are moſtly incloſed in ice in calm weather and fogs, when the ice prevents the motion of the ſea, ſtormy weather diſperſes and breaks the ice and blows off the fogs, and ſhips keep a good offing from the ice, unleſs they get under the lee of a large iſland of ice, and then they faſten to it and drive along with it, whilſt the ſmaller ice to leeward is drove from them by the wind; and the large iſlands being many fathoms deep in the water, come on ground before the ſhips are in danger of being forced on ſhore in ſhallow water.

The greateſt danger and delay from the ice is in the entrace into the ſtreight; for the firſt 40 leagues from thence the quantity is leſs, and they paſs on with leſs difficulty, and after getting into the bay, the north-weſt ſide is freeſt from ice, the bottom of the bay is full of low flat ice, which is all diſſolved in the latter end of ſummer.

Upon the whole, except two ſhips which were loſt in King **William**'s reign, and a French ſhip, after an engagement with our ſhips, when they attacked Fort Nelſon, we have heard of none but the ſhips already mentioned which have been loſt in that voyage. The two ſhips which went with **Barlow** in 1719, to find the north-weſt paſſage, contrary to the inclinations of the company, if they did not make the paſſage, were probably in the winter ſurprized by the natives, and were not loſt in the ice; for they ſay that the natives in about latitude 63°, where they ſuppoſe they were loſt, are ſhyer ſince that time, in trading with the company's ſloops, which they apprehend to be from a conſciouſneſs of guilt, fearing that it might be known, and they ſhould be puniſh'd for it.

THE Arguments produced by Mr. **Dobbs** and Capt. **Middleton**, for and againſt a north-weſt paſſage, carry each of them ſuch an air of probability, that it is difficult to know what to determine; but one thing ſeems very certain, namely, that if there be a paſſage that way into the Pacifick ocean, the voyage is ſo exceeding hazardous that few people will ever attempt it. Neither would it turn to account if we could penetrate that way into this ocean, for we have already more colonies and ſettlements in America than we can cultivate and improve. Thus far indeed Mr. **Dobbs** is infinitely in the right, that we ought to extend our commerce and eſtabliſh more colonies in Hudſon's Bay, and ſupport them by ſtrong forts and garriſons againſt the encroachments of the French in Canada; for the Indians in this part of the world take off our woollen and iron manufactures, and ſend us their ſkins and furrs, whalebone and oil in return, upon more advantageous terms than we can traffick with any other people. It is evident alſo, that here might be a Whale fiſhery and Cod fiſhery eſtabliſhed to very great advantage, on theſe extenſive coaſts in the neighborhood of the bay, from both which the nation might reap great advantages, if the adventurers were encouraged and ſupported by the government. And 'tis probable, either the miniſtry or the parliament, or both, will be apply'd to e'er long upon this head; but when the adventurers ſhall have demonſtrated how beneficial this traffick and theſe fiſheries may be to the nation in general, and to the undertakers in particular, what may we expect will be the conſequence? why, probably, the preſent company, or ſome other ſelect merchants, will offer the government to lend them a ſum of money, on condition of their being incorporated to the excluſion of all other ſubjects of Great-Britain; ſo that inſtead of an illegal precarious patent, this monopoly will probably be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, as was the caſe of the Eaſt-India company about forty years ago.

Great complaints were made againſt the Eaſt-India company's monopolizing that trade; it was look'd upon as a great grievance that the reſt of the ſubjects of Great-Britain, ſhould be excluded from trafficking thither, and the patent was therefore adjudged void; but upon the company's lending the government a ſum of money, this very monopoly that was univerſally exclaimed againſt and allowed to be a grievance, was eſtabliſhed by act of parliament; but poſſibly we have nothing of that nature to fear at this day, while publick ſpirit reigns ſo conſpicuouſly among the preſent miniſtry.

It has been obſerved already, that further diſcoveries, eſpecially to ſuch remote regions as may be found in the Pacifick ocean, can be of little advantage to this nation; and the reaſon is, that the plantations we have already, do, or may produce every thing we can want (except the fine ſpices which the Dutch have monopolized and uſurp'd the dominion of.)

If Carolina was cultivated and the planters encouraged and ſupported by the government, this colony would in a few years produce wine, oil, and ſilk; and the more northern provinces would (and do in ſome meaſure already) furniſh us with pitch, tar, maſts, yards, and all other naval ſtores; whalebone whole, oil, furrs, ſkins, &c. and were the coaſts of Hudſon's Bay and the Terra Labarador planted and improved, as they ought, we ſhould be furniſhed with all theſe articles in greater plenty than any nation in Europe, which would not only prevent our ſending vaſt ſums abroad for them to foreign nations, but if theſe colonies were peopled and improved, they would themſelves take off moſt of our home manufactures; and as we find the German, Swiſs and other nations, ready to embark and ſettle in our plantations, there will be no need of depopulating Old-England to plant them. The King would acquire a great increaſe of ſubjects, on inviting foreigners to ſettle there, and our plantations would be ſo ſtrengthened as not to fear the inſults or attacks either of the French or Spaniards. It is highly probable the Engliſh would maintain their ſuperiority in North-America, and even ſubdue their rivals in that part of the world.

The only new acquiſitions I could wiſh the Engliſh would make during this war, are thoſe of St. Auguſtin and Quebeck, which would render the

Britiſh dominions in the continent entire, and make us maſters of the navigation of the gulph of Mexico and the river of St. Lawrence: Our plantations contiguous on the continent, would then extend two thouſand miles in length; and were the ſouth of Florida well peopled and fortified, we might bid defiance both to the French and Spaniards in that part of the world.

And as St. Auguſtin and Quebeck are of ſuch conſequence to the traffick of Great-Britain, and the ſecurity of her plantations, it is amazing to me, when we had ſuch formidable land and naval forces in America for two years together, they were never employed in the reduction of thoſe fortreſſes, but on the contrary, Mr. Oglethorpe was allowed only a ſingle regiment to attack St. Auguſtin, where the garriſon was more numerous than the beſiegers; and nothing but a repulſe could be expected, while our troops lay rotting on the iſland of Cuba; the greateſt naval armament that ever was known in thoſe ſeas, remained perfectly unactive, without attempting or even deſigning any thing for the honour or ſervice of the nation, that ever I could learn.

THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

NEW-YORK, NEW-JERSEY, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

Of New-York, New-Jerſey, and the Indian nations under their protection.

CHAP. VIII.

I MAY properly throw New-York and New-Jerſey together, upon ſeveral accounts: 1. Becauſe they have uſually the ſame Governor.

2. The conſtitutions of their reſpective governments do not differ in any particular. 3. Becauſe they lie contiguous; and, 4. The climate, ſoil, and produce are pretty near the ſame.

The Iroquois, or five nations.

It may be proper alſo to comprehend the whole country of the Iroquois, or five nations, with all the lands which lie north of them as far as the river of St. Lawrence or Canada, within the limits of New-York, theſe being all under its protection, and included within the patent granted to the Duke of York by King Charles II. tho' it muſt be confeſſed the French have made large encroachments on theſe limits.

Situation and extent of the whole.

I ſhall therefore bound the provinces of New-York and New-Jerſey, with their dependencies, by the river of St. Lawrence, which ſeparates them from Canada or New-France on the north-weſt and north, by New-England, New-Scotland, and the Atlantick-Ocean on the eaſt, by the ſame Ocean on the ſouth, by Penſylvania and Maryland on the ſouth-weſt, and by the lakes of Erie and Ontario on the weſt; and ſhall extend theſe united countries from 39 to 47 degrees north latitude, and from 74 to 80 degrees of weſtern longitude, excluſive of Long-Iſland, the eaſt end whereof lies in 72 degrees of weſtern longitude.

Face of the country.

New-Jerſey and the ſouth part of New-York are generally low level countries, but aſcending fifteen or twenty miles up Hudſon's River to the northward the country becomes rocky and mountainous; and whatever has not been cultivated by the Engliſh, is covered with woods, ſo clear however from underwood, that travellers eaſily paſs through them with Horſes and carriages.

Seas, harbours, and capes.

The Atlantick Ocean waſhes its ſouthern ſhores, in which are ſeveral capacious harbours, eſpecially near the mouths of Hudſon's River, and the rivers Raritan and De la War, and on the coaſts of New-Jerſey and Long-Iſland, the chief capes or promontories being that of Cape May, at the entrance of De la War Bay, and that of

Sandy-Point, or Sandy-Hook, before the entrance of Raritan-River.

Lakes.

On the north and weſt of the five nations lie ſeveral ſpacious lakes, the moſt conſiderable whereof, are thoſe of Champlain, Ontario, and Erie.

Champlain or Corlaer Lake.

The lake Champlain, or Corlaer, extends itſelf from north to ſouth, between Montreal and Albany, being about two hundred miles in length; and, by a ſtream which falls into the great river St. Lawrence, has a communication with that river on the north, while the ſouthern part of the lake, on which the French have built the fort called the Sacrament, extends almoſt to Hudſon's River, on which Albany ſtands, and would give the French an eaſy acceſs to New-York and New-England, if ſome forts had not been built by the Engliſh further north to cover thoſe frontiers from their invaſions, of which the chief is fort Nicholſon.

Ontario Lake.

Niagara cataract.

The ſecond lake is that of Ontario, called by the French Frontenac, and by ſome Cataracui, while others give it the name of The Lake of Canada, becauſe the river Canada or St. Lawrence, iſſues out of it: But the firſt and moſt proper name that was given to it was that of Iroquois, the ſhores of it on the ſouth and eaſt at leaſt being inhabited by the Iroquois or five nations. This lake is about an hundred leagues in length, and forty in breadth, abundance of rivers falling into it on the ſouth-eaſt eſpecially; but the greateſt bodies of waters fall into it from the river Niagara or Oniagara, being a ſtreight or chanel between the lake of Erie and this lake, in which is one of the moſt remarkable cataracts or waterfalls in the world, which prevents both ſhips and boats paſſing from one lake to the other.

This cataract, according to father HENNEPIN, falls from a precipice one hundred fathom, or ſix hundred feet high. He adds, that the cataract makes ſuch a prodigious noiſe that people cannot hear one another ſpeak at ſome miles diſtance; and it is ſaid that the waters throw themſelves over the precipice with ſuch a force, that they form an arch under which men may ride on horſeback.

But Mr. VANDREIL, Governor of Canada, who ordered his ſon, with ſome ſkilful people, to meaſure the height of the cataract, in the year 1721, found father HENNEPIN egregiouſly miſtaken in ſeveral particulars. They informed the Governor that the cataract was occaſioned by a vaſt ledge of rock which lay quite croſs the chanel a little before the ſtream enters the lake Ontario; and that the waters did not fall perpendicularly more than twenty ſix fathom, or an hundred and twenty ſix feet, but below this cataract there were numbers of ſmall ledges or ſtairs croſs the river, which lowered it ſtill more till it came to run more level; and if all the deſcents were put together, the difference of the water above the cataract, and thoſe on the level below, might be as much as father HENNEPIN makes it, tho' the cataract, upon a perpendicular, was no more than twenty ſix fathom.

They obſerved alſo, that the noiſe of the waters was not ſo great as the father makes it, for people might converſe together cloſe by; nor did the ſtream form an arch that people could paſs under it, for the waters fall in a manner downright. But they obſerved with him that the miſt or ſhower which the fall creates, is ſo extraordinary as to be ſeen at five leagues diſtance, riſing as high as the common clouds, and when the ſun ſhines, forms a glorious rainbow.

Thoſe gentlemen add, that the ſtream is much narrower and deeper at the falls than either above or below them, being here but a quarter of a mile over; and that from below there is no coming nearer the falls by water than about ſix miles, the torrent is ſo rapid, and has ſo many whirlpools in it.

Forts built on the lake Ontario by the French.

Afterwards abandoned.

The French formerly built two forts on the lake Ontario, the one on the north eaſt part of it, where the river of St. Lawrence iſſues out of it, called by the Indians Cataracui, and by the French Fort Frontenac, and the other on the ſouth-weſt part of the lake near the aboveſaid cataract, called Fort Niagara, but the Iroquois blocked up the latter, and ſtarved that garriſon. They obliged them alſo to abandon Fort Frontenac, and demoliſhed both about the year 1688; but I am informed the French have wheedled the Iroquois by their preiſts to permit them to erect thoſe forts again under the notion of warehouſes for the ſecurity of their goods.

Erie Lake.

St. Clair.

The third lake I mentioned is that of Erie, ſeparated from the lake Ontario by the ſtreight or river of Niagara. This lake extends from the country of the Iroquois to the weſtward, about four hundred miles in length, and is near an hundred miles broad. From the lake of Erie there is a paſſage through the lake St. Clair into that of the Hurons, and ſo into the lake Illinois, near which riſes a river which falls into the Miſſiſippi; but from the beſt information I can get, there is no continued navigation from the lake Erie to the Miſſiſippi, nor is Miſſiſippi River navigable in all parts of it, as the French once flattered themſelves, there being ſeveral cataracts or ſteep falls in it.

Rivers.

The chief rivers in theſe countries are, 1 Hudſon's River. 2 The Mohawk River. 3 Onandaga, or Orſwego River. 4. The Raritan. 5. Maurice River: and, 6. De la War River.

Hudſon's river.

1. Hudſon's River, riſing from a ſmall lake between the lakes of Ontario and Champlain, and running ſouth-eaſt before it reaches Albany, then turns directly ſouth, from whence it continues its courſe due ſouth an hundred and fifty miles to the city of New-York, and afterwards falls into the ſea between Long-Iſland and States-Iſland.

Mohawk river.

2. The Mohawk River, which riſing in the country of the Onandagas, runs almoſt due eaſt till it falls into Hudſon's River, near the town of Albany.

Onandaga river.

3. The River Onandaga, which runs from eaſt to weſt through the country of that name, and falls into the lake Ontario, at Oſwego town.

Raritan river.

4. The River Raritan, which riſing on the north of Jerſey, runs to the ſouth-eaſt, falling into the ſea near Perth Amboy.

Maurice river.

5. Maurice river, which riſing alſo in Jerſey runs ſouth, falling into the mouth of De la War Bay, not far from Cape May. And,

De la War river.

6. The River De la War, which forms the weſtern boundary of the province of Jerſey, riſes in the country of the Iroquois, and running almoſt due ſouth falls into the ocean between Cape May and Cape Hinlopen, being navigable two hundred miles and upwards for ſhips of two or three hundred tons.

The air.

The air of theſe countries is colder in winter and warmer in ſummer than in Old-England, the north part of them differing very little from New-England. The north and north-weſt winds are exceeding cold, but the air both in winter and ſummer more ſettled and ſerene than with us: And indeed the weather is always more variable in iſlands than on the continent, and uſually warmer in winter. It is to be aſcribed to the winds blowing over a long tract of ſnow from the north-weſt, that makes theſe countries colder than iſlands and ſome other continents that lie much further north.

The ſituation of the five nations.

Of the three grand diviſions of the country to be deſcribed, I ſhall begin with that inhabited by the five nations and their allies, who anciently poſſeſſed the whole. This is bounded by Canada on the north, by New-York proper on the eaſt, by Penſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia on the ſouth, and by the lakes of Erie and Ontario on the weſt. Great part of the country for many hundred miles beyond thoſe lakes alſo hath been conquered by the five nations; and ſeveral more have courted their alliance and that of the Engliſh, and actually entered into a confederacy with both, particularly the Tuſcaroras, who lie between the Onandagas and the Oneidos, and are now reckoned a ſixth nation. The Nicarriages of Miſſilimakinac, ſituated on the further part of the Huron's Lake, were alſo at their requeſt received to be a ſeventh nation in this alliance at Albany, on the 30th of May 1723, eighty men of that nation being preſent at their admiſſion, as repreſentatives of that people, and acknowledging the King of Great-Britain their Sovereign.

Two other nations in the confederacy.

The attempts of the French to make themſelves maſters of the lakes.

The chief trade with the diſtant Indians being at Oſwego, where the river Onandaga diſcharges itſelf into the lake of Ontario, the French might entirely deprive the Engliſh of that trade, if they were maſters of the lakes of Ontario and Erie, as they flattered themſelves they were when they had built the forts of Cataracui or Frontenac, and Niagara already mentioned, but the Iroquois obliged the French to abandon them; and tho' they may have rebuilt and repoſſeſſed thoſe forts, and erected more ſince they were driven from thence by the five nations, they find it their intereſt however for the preſent to ſuppreſs their native inſolence, and treat the Indians as well as the Engliſh with more humanity than they did formerly: They have been convinced by experience that they are not yet ſtrong enough to reduce the five nations and their Indian allies ſupported by the Engliſh; and therefore ſuffer the natives to trade with us pretty quietly. But as they are continually increaſing their forces in Canada, and by their miſſionary prieſts daily proſelyting the Indians to their religion, and intermarrying with them, they will, it is preſumed, in time be powerful enough to expel us entirely from thoſe lakes, and monopolize the trade of the country; unleſs we reduce thoſe forts, or erect other ourſelves, and keep armed veſſels on the lakes of Ontario and Erie: For it ſeems the country of the five nations, which lies contiguous to New-York, has but few wild beaſts in it; and conſequently affords ſcarce any skins or Furrs. The Iroquois therefore hunt in the countries beyond the lakes, where skins are more plentiful; and the riches thoſe people poſſeſſed of this kind were the principal inducements to the Iroquois to make a conqueſt of ſome of them, and enter into alliances with others, who were content to admit the Iroquois to hunt in their country on the weſt ſide of the lakes, upon condition they would permit thoſe diſtant Indians to paſs through the country of the Iroquois, and trade with the Engliſh and other Europeans; which trade, as has been intimated, muſt be entirely loſt to Great-Britain, if we ſuffer the French to continue their fortifications on the lakes of Erie, Ontario, Champlain, which in reality belong to the Iroquois our confederates. The French are wiſe enough at preſent indeed to give us but little diſturbance, leſt they ſhould alarm us before their deſigns are ripe for execution; but I wiſh we do not neglect the erecting forts and armed veſſels to protect that trade till it is too late to endeavour the recovery of it.

The motives of the Indians to enter into an alliance with any European nation.

There are five grand articles which weigh very much with the Indians in determining them what European nation they ſhall adhere to. 1. A beneficial trade, or the being ſupplied on fair and reaſonable terms with cloathing, ſtrong liquor, arms, ammunition, and other European merchandize. 2. A mild adminiſtration, without oppreſſion or tyranny. 3. A religion that gives them but little trouble or diſquiet. 4. The ſuffering their tribes to marry and incorporate themſelves with the Europeans. 5. And laſtly, an aſſurance that the nation that they enter into an alliance with is both willing and able to protect them againſt their enemies, whether Europeans or Indians.

1. Trade.

1. In the firſt of theſe articles we have the better of the French and Spaniards. Our colonies can ſupply the Indians with goods cheaper and in greater quantities than they can, and we generally deal fairly and upon the ſquare with them.

2. Liberty.

2. In the ſecond alſo we have the advantage, the Indians being treated as our brethren and fellow ſubjects almoſt every where (except in New-England;) which has occaſioned their having been more frequently in a ſtate of war with New-England than with any other Britiſh Colony.

3. Religion.

3. But as to the third article, that of religion, the French ſucceed much beyond our miſſionaries; for the popiſh fathers are not only much more numerous in that part of the world, but they are abundantly more artful and more indulgent to their converts; they preſs nothing with rigour, but accommodate themſelves to the diſpoſitions, and even ſuperſtitions of their proſelytes, gaining them by degrees, and perſuading them to part with one beloved vice or cuſtom after another; whereas the New-England independents, who have dreſſed up the Chriſtian religion in the moſt frighful form that ever it put on, expect their proſelytes ſhould conform to their abſurd and rigid rites all at once, and in a manner compelled the Indians to be of their ſect in the iſlands on the coaſt, and in ſettlements where the Indians were in their power, which gave the remoter Indians an abhorrence of their religion: And as for the reſt of our colonies, they have made but very feeble attempts towards the converſion of the Indians. They are ſo deſtitute of clergymen in ſome provinces, that the very planters are become heathens, or at leaſt as ignorant of chriſtianity as the Indians themſelves.

The French prieſts on the contrary have been ſo ſucceſsful in their miſſions, even among the five nations, that they have perſuaded part of the nation of the Mohawks, once eſteemed the firmeſt friends of the Engliſh, to remove their habitations from the neighbourhood of Albany to Canada: And indeed we are in much more danger of the French miſſionaries than of the French arms on that ſide. If their future ſucceſs be anſwerable to the paſt, they may poſſibly in time gain over the ſeveral tribes of Indians from us without the aſſiſtance of a military force. We ought to inſiſt therefore, that the Indians in alliance with us expel the jeſuites and prieſts their country, if we hope for their friendſhip long. It does indeed put ſome ſtop to theſe converſions that the Indians cannot be ſupplyed with goods upon ſuch eaſy terms from the French as from us, on which account they ſeem divided between their temporal and ſpiritual intereſts; and unleſs they prove more zealous catholicks than their brethren on this continent we ſhall not loſe them ſudddenly; eſpecially if we conſider how vaſt an extent of country the ſeveral Indian nations inhabit that trade with our colonies, ſome of which are ſcarce yet known to the French.

4. Intermarriages.

As to the fourth article of marrying and incorporating our people with the Indians, here the French and Spaniards have a vaſt advantage of us. The Engliſh are unaccountably ſqueamiſh in this particular, and the colonies, eſpecially thoſe of New-England, ſeem to prohibit it; which raiſes in the natives a diſguſt and averſion of our people. It is natural for men to ſlight thoſe who ſeem to deſpiſe them, and the Indians are not ſo dull of apprehenſion as not to diſcern we treat them in this inſtance either as a ſpecies below us, or at leaſt leſs perfect than our ſelves. Beſides, we loſe all the intereſt in them that ſuch alliances would give us. The relation of huſband and wife, fathers and children, are the ſtrongeſt ties in nature, and in a few years muſt make the Indians one people with ſuch European nations as promote theſe alliances; of which the French are ſo ſenſible that they oblige every male planter, ſent over at the charge of that government (and theſe are very numerous,) to take an Indian wife on his arrival,

5. Protection.

As to the fifth article, that of protection, there is no doubt but we are as yet able to protect our Indian allies as either the French or Spaniards are, eſpecially if the forces of our colonies were united, and under a uniform direction: But if we continue to ſuffer the French to encroach upon our territories, build forts and armed veſſels upon the ſeveral lakes, and take all the paſſes that command the country, the Indians will have but too much reaſon to conclude that they will one day be maſters of their country, unleſs the Engliſh exert themſelves in like manner, and oppoſe their invaſions, and conſequently will be induced to abandon our intereſt by way of ſelf preſervation. They will infallibly go over to thoſe they find better able to protect them. It might make them cautious indeed how they put themſelves in their power, if they were acquainted with the tyranny and oppreſſion of the French government; but as their miſſionaries ſet every thing of this kind in the moſt favourable light, and treat their diſciples with kindneſs and condeſcention at preſent, in order to gain them over to their party, they are in a great meaſure ignorant what they muſt ſubmit to when the French have eſtabliſhed their dominion in North-America.

Perſons of the Iroquois.

As to the towns and buildings of the Iroquois, their ſtature, complexion, ſhape, and habits, they ſo much reſemble the neighbouring Indians already deſcribed in theſe particulars, that it is perfectly unneceſſary to ſay any thing on theſe heads; however, as the French generally repreſent them in Europe as the moſt barbarous people on the face of the earth, affirming that they are devourers of their own ſpecies; it may be proper to obſerve what character others have given of them, and even ſome more impartial writers of their own.

CHAP. VIII.

The genius and temper of the five nations.

Monſieur DE LA POTERIE deſcribing the five nations in his hiſtory of North-America, ſays, when we ſpeak of the Iroquois in France, we repreſent them by a common miſtake as mere barbarians thirſting after human blood, but their true character is very different. They are indeed the braveſt and moſt formidable people of North-America, but at the ſame time as polite and judicious as can well be concieved; which appears not only from the management of their affairs with the French and Engliſh, but with almoſt all the Indian nations of this vaſt continent.

Mr. COLBEN, an Engliſhman, who wrote their hiſtory ſays, notwithſtanding the five nations live under the darkeſt ignorance, yet a bright and noble genius ſhines through thoſe black clouds. The moſt celebrated Roman heroes have not diſcovered a greater love for their country, or a greater contempt of death in the cauſe of liberty. I think (ſays he) they have outdone the Romans, eſpecially thoſe who murdered themſelves to avoid ſhame or torment; for our Indians have refuſed to die meanly by their own hands when they thought their country's honour at ſtake, and have given up their bodies willingly to the moſt cruel torments their enemies could inflict; to ſhew that the five nations conſiſted of men whoſe courage and reſolution could not be ſhaken. They ſully, however, theſe noble virtues by that cruel paſſion of revenge, which they think (according to COLBEN) not only lawful but honourable to exert without mercy on their country's enemies. And in this only, ſays he, they deſerve the name of Barbarians.

Another gentleman of Engliſh extraction, tho' a native of this country, and Reſident a conſiderable time among the Iroquois at Albany, aſſures me they are an exceeding hoſpitable good-natured people, not given to revenge, unleſs when they are drunk; and the inſtances that have been given of it are no evidence of a vindictive temper, for the cruelties they inflicted on ſome French priſoners and their Indian allies were by way of retaliation of the like cruelties firſt exerciſed by the French on their people. It is obſerved that the French in the firſt wars they had with the Iroquois, when they imagined that people were not able to reſiſt the force of their arms, uſed them in this barbarous manner, and taught the Indians thoſe cruelties they now complain of; and which gave the Iroquois ſuch an abhorrence of that nation as has been very advantageous to the Engliſh intereſt ever ſince.

The French miſſionaries probably find no ſmall difficulty at this day in removing the juſt prejudices the Iroquois entertain of the French when they come to make proſelytes among them; the conduct and behaviour of the French in America having been directly oppoſite to the principles of the Chriſtian religion, which they pretend to inſtruct the Indians in.

Government of the five nations.

As to the government of the Iroquois, Mr. COLBEN informs us that every nation is a diſtinct republick, but that they have for time immemorial been united in a confederacy againſt all other Indian nations; that they are governed by their reſpective Sachems or civil Magiſtrates in time of peace, and by their warriours or Captains in their wars; and that the authority both of the one and the other is obtained and continued only by the opinion the reſt of their nation have of their conduct or valour; and that they are laid aſide when they ceaſe to merit the eſteem of their countrymen. That their Sachems and Captains are uſually poorer than the common people, giving away and diſtributing all the preſents and plunder they get among the people, ſo as to leave themſelves nothing: For, ſays Colben, if they are once ſuſpected of ſelfiſhneſs, they grow mean in the opinion of their countrymen, and conſequently loſe their authority; from whence one would be apt to conclude that their Chiefs were elective, and their dignities not hereditary; which is directly contrary to all other accounts I meet with of their conſtitution, moſt writers agreeing that the poſt of Sachem is hereditary: And my Albany correſpondent confirms this opinion, adding, (as other American hiſtorians do,) that the next male-heir by the mother's ſide ſucceeds the preceding Sachem: Which is certainly true, not only here but in ſeveral other parts of North-America. But ſo far theſe nations may have the appearance of Republicks, that the chief Sachem, or King, ſeldom determines any thing of conſequence without the concurrence of the ſeveral inferior Sachems or Lords of his nation; and his influence on his people vaniſhes when he loſes their eſteem.

My Albany friend alſo obſerves, that every nation of the Iroquois is divided into three tribes, which take their names from three animals, viz. 1. The Turtle or Tortoiſe. 2. The Bear; and 3. The Wolf; and that each of theſe three tribes has its Chief or Aquajander. The Aquajander of the Turtle tribe being ſuperior to the other two; and the Aquajander of that tribe in the Mohawk nation (called the Carihoge) is the Sovereign or Emperor of all the ſix nations; here he does not comprehend the ſeventh nation of diſtant Indians ſituated beyond the lakes

He obſerves further, that theſe Chiefs have ſome honours paid them by their ſubjects, but their authority he thinks is very inconſiderable, and their revenues nothing: That there are no courts of judicature in the ſix nations or any other law but cuſtom; and in caſe of murder the neareſt relation is the avenger of blood.

Their forces and wars.

They have no ſtanding forces, but every able-body'd man takes up arms when honour or the defence of his country calls him out. Before they march, their Captains and warriours aſſemble at a feaſt, and whoever partakes of it thereby enliſts himſelf for that ſervice. On this occaſion they paint themſelves and appear in their beſt apparel; the old men riſe up by turns in the aſſembly and make ſpeeches, ſetting forth the noble actions, the valour and courage of themſelves and their anceſtors, together with the cowardice and weakneſs of their enemies, to animate the warriours. After ſupper they have a war dance, and the next day they march out and diſcharge their pieces as they leave the town, their leader ſinging the war ſong. When they meet their enemies, every one ſhelters himſelf behind a tree, from whence as opportunity offers he fires at the foe.

They take off the ſcalps of thoſe they kill, and bring them home, preſerving them as trophies of their victories. When they take a priſoner they preſent him to ſome family which hath loſt a relation in the war; if they receive him, he is immediately admitted to all the honours and eſtate of the deceaſed, and he takes his name and titles; but if rejected, the poor wretch is condemned to ſome cruel death. But this piece of barbarity they are ſaid to have learned from the French, who to ſtrike a terror into the natives, uſed to treat their Indian priſoners in this inhuman manner in their firſt wars.

Other writers obſerve, that they adopt all their young captives into their families, by which means they ſupply the loſſes they ſuſtain in their wars; ſo far are they from torturing or putting them to death, unleſs provoked by tortures firſt inflicted on their friends.

Marriages and women.

As to their marriages, children are entirely at their parents diſpoſal; and when both parties are agreed, the lover preſents his miſtreſs with a mantle as a pledge of his affection. Some time after the parents preſent the parties to their Chiefs, and declare the intended marriage; after which they go to feaſting and dancing, and the marriage is conſummated; the man continues with his parents and the woman with hers till they have children. He viſits his wife every night, and is admitted to conjugal embraces, but returns home in the morning. Whatever he takes in hunting he brings to his wife and leaves to her diſpoſal.

They do not allow a plurality of wives, but divorces are common. They appear very modeſt, and are never ſeen to commit indecent familiarities, or even to kiſs before company. The women are delivered with great eaſe, and without the aſſiſtance of a Midwife or any other woman; and immediately after their delivery go to hard labour, which they eſteem the beſt means to a ſpeedy recovery. They are all extreamly fond of their children, and think a numerous offspring one of the greateſt bleſſings.

Religion.

As to the religion of theſe people, as far as I can learn (ſays my Albany friend) they acknowledge a ſupreme being, whom they ſtyle the preſerver of the univerſe; but ſeldom pay any religious worſhip to him unleſs in publick calamities, and then they offer ſacrifices of every thing they poſſeſs, and pray for deliverance from their calamities. They alſo offer thank-offerings for any publick bleſſing. I cannot learn that they have any idols or repreſentations of the Deity among them. When it thunders, they take it to be a ſign of God's diſpleaſure, and will ſay to one another, how angry he is! and often cry out, it is enough, have done. They believe a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, but they have very obſcure notions of it; and ſeem to think that the rewards of the good will conſiſt in the enjoyment of thoſe pleaſures he was moſt fond of in his life. At their funerals they furniſh the deceaſed with all neceſſaries, as meat, drink, cloathing, arms, and ammunition. They make great lamentation for the dead, and conſtantly go morning and evening to the graves of their deceaſed friends and relations, and howl moſt hideouſly, and never fail to leave ſome proviſion on the grave.

Funerals.

Of making proſelytes among them.

Various attempts have been made to convert theſe people to chriſtianity, eſpecially by the French prieſts, who by the negligence of our own people and their great zeal to gain converts to popery have met with too great ſucceſs; having drawn off great part of the Mohawk nation from their alliance with the Engliſh, and even perſuaded them to leave their native country and ſettle in Canada; where they have built them a ſtately church, and have three or four prieſts reſiding conſtantly among them. Thoſe who remain true to the Engliſh (on account of their nearneſs to the Engliſh ſettlements) have been inſtructed by the Dutch and Engliſh Miniſters occaſionally as they came to trade, and have always ſhewn a diſpoſition to embrace the goſpel; yet their inſtructions being tranſient and but ſeldom repeated, are ſoon forgot, and indeed but lamely adminiſtered by the help of an ignorant interpreter. About twenty years ago the ſociety for propagating the goſpel ſent over a miſſionary, who reſided among them ſix or ſeven years, but being a gentleman advanced in years, he made a very ſlow progreſs in their language, and was not able to bear the fatigues of ſuch an undertaking, which obliged him to leave them; ſince which time they had no inſtruction but what they occaſionally received from the Engliſh and Dutch Miniſters at Albany. A good foundation however was laid by the ſociety's miſſionary, and thoſe other gentlemen at Albany: They are all brought to the profeſſion of chriſtianity and almoſt all baptized, and ſome of them ſeem to have a tolerable notion of it, and have earneſtly deſired a miſſionary to be ſent among them. To encourage this good diſpoſition in them, the ſociety two years ago appointed a catechiſt among them, a native of America, by the recommendation of the clergy of New-York, who has reſided among them, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of their language, and has met with very good ſucceſs. He is ſince come to London for holy orders, and appointed miſſionary among them.

They become tractable of late.

He has taught ſeveral of the natives to read and write their own language; and finds them very deſirous of inſtruction, and is much beloved by them.

Drinking their chief vice.

The only vice which appears to reign among the Iroquois is drunkenneſs; but they are very much reformed ſince they have had a miſſionary reſiding among them. They have forſaken their old ſuperſtitions and barbarities, and ſeem to be much more civilized than their more diſtant neighbours; they conſtantly attend the publick worſhip, and never fail addreſſing their Creator morning and evening in their families; and abſtain from all labour on the Lord's day. I doubt not (ſays my correſpondent) were proviſion made, and encouragement given to miſſionaries to undertake this work, many more of them might be civilized and become proſelytes to the proteſtant religion; which would prevent their being corrupted and ſeduced by the enemies of our nation to deſert the Britiſh intereſt.

Miſſionaries of the Church of England ſeem much more acceptable to the Indians than thoſe employed by the people of New-England, who are rigid diſſenters, and make more uſe of force than perſuaſion in their intercourſe with that people; and this has occaſioned the Indians on the frontiers of New-England to adhere ſo conſtantly to the French, and hearken to the popiſh miſſionaries.

Wars between the Iroquois and the French.

The Iroquois have been at war with the French almoſt ever ſince their arrival in Canada, and ſuffered very much at firſt by their fire-arms, having never before ſeen ſuch inſtruments of deſtruction: The French alſo had the advantage of being aſſiſted by the Adirondacks, the ancient enemies of the Iroquois, in their encounters with the five nations: but the Iroquois entering into an alliance with the Engliſh, and being furniſhed with fire-arms and ammunition, defeated the French in their turn, carried the war into Canada, burned and plundered Montreal, killed ſeveral thouſand of the French and their Indian allies, and obliged them to abandon their forts on the lakes of Ontario and Erie, as has been related already; which has made the French very cautious how they provoke the five nations of late years, eſpecially as they find them no leſs celebrated for their conduct and ſtratagems in war than for their bravery.

Maxims in war.

Theſe people make it a conſtant rule in war to leave as little to chance as poſſible; and notwithſtanding they know themſelves ſuperior in ſtrength and number to their enemies, never engage them in a fair field as we call it, but lay ambuſcades, and make uſe of their wits to ſurprize them unprepared; by which means they do not only ſave their own forces, but take more priſoners than they could in an equal engagement; and as they incorporate the younger captives in their families, their very priſoners prove an additional ſtrength to theſe confederated nations.

A ſtratagem of the Iroquois.

While they were at war with the Adirondacks and Hurons (allies of France) in order to amuſe the French, they ſent and deſired peace; which was conſented to, on condition the Iroquois would receive ſome miſſionary prieſts and jeſuits amongſt them, and be inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion. This the five nations promiſed to comply with; but the fathers were no ſooner arrived amongſt them than they made them cloſe priſoners, threatning to cut their throats if the French did not ſtand neuter in this war; after which they fell upon the Hurons and Adirondacks with ſuch fury, that thoſe nations were in a manner extirpated. And this may have given occaſion to ſome of thoſe exclamations of the French againſt the Iroquois as a perfidious and barbarous people; however, it appears the popiſh miſſionaries have not been altogether deterred by ſuch examples from attempting to make proſelytes amonſt them, tho' they proceed poſſibly with more caution than heretofore; for we find they have not only wheedled part of the Mohawk nation to deſert the Engliſh intereſt, but have frequently prevailed with the other nations to invade the frontiers of New-England, Virginia, and Maryland, when they could not perſuade them to diſturb the colonies of New-York or Penſylvania.

However, the Indians have been frequently brought to acknowledge their offences of this kind, and promiſe to live peaceably with Virginia and the reſt of the Britiſh Colonies. A ſpeech of one of their Sachems on ſuch an occaſion may be a curioſity worth the reader's peruſal: The Sachem firſt addreſſing himſelf to the Governor of New-York, ſaid,

A ſpeech of a Sachem to the Governor of New-York, &c.

Brother Corlaer, (the name they give that Governor.)

“ Your Sachem is a great Sachem, and we are but a ſmall people; but when the Engliſh came firſt to New-York, Manhatan, Virginia, Aragiſke, and to Maryland, Yakokranagary, they were then but a ſmall people, and we great: Then becauſe we found you a good people, we treated you civilly, and gave you land: We hope therefore now that you are great, and we ſmall, you will protect us from the French; if you do not, we ſhall looſe all our hunting and Beavers. The French will get all the Beaver. They are now angry with us, becauſe we carry our Beaver to our brethren, the Engliſh.

“ We underſtand that becauſe of the miſchief which has been done to the people and cattle of Virginia and Maryland, we muſt not come near the heads of your rivers, nor near your plantations, but keep at the foot of the mountains; for tho' we lay down our arms as friends,

“ we ſhall not be truſted for the future, but looked upon as robbers: We agree however to this propoſition, and ſhall wholly ſtay away from Virginia; and this we do in gratitude to Corlaer, who has been at ſo great pains to perſuade you, great Governor of Virginia, to forget what is paſt.

“ We thank the great Sachem of Virginia, that he has ſo readily forgiven and forgot the evil that has been done; and we on our parts gladly catch at, and lay hold on the chain.” Then each of them delivered an ax to be buried, and gave a belt.

“ Let your friend the great Sachem that lives on the other ſide the great lake know this, that we being a free people, tho' united to the Engliſh, may give our lands, and be joined to the Sachem we like beſt. We give this Beaver to remember what we ſay.”

The Engliſh have from time to time, once in two or three years, conſtantly renewed and confirmed their treaties with the five nations, particularly in the year 1722. We find that the Governors of New-York, Virginia, and Penſylvania, met the Sachems or Kings of the five nations, with the Sachems of the more diſtant Indians, their allies at Albany, and renewed all former leagues and ties of friendſhip. Thoſe Indian Princes giving the uſual preſents of Furrs and Wampum as pledges of their fidelity and reſolution to obſerve the articles agreed on; but we ſcarce ever meet with the Governors of New-England at theſe treaties; the reaſon whereof ſeems to be, that New-England ſeldom hath a good underſtanding with the Indian nations; but whenever it is in their power, treat them rather as a conquered people than as friends and confederates: There are ſome inſtances however where New-England has been comprehended in ſuch treaties, and indeed all the reſt of the Britiſh Colonies, tho' their Governors have been abſent from the congreſs.

It may be neceſſary to obſerve here that the reaſon the Iroquois give the Governor of New-York the name of CORLAER is, that one CORLAER, a Dutchman, was the firſt European employed to treat with them as allies and confederates. And the ſame CORLAER being drowned in paſſing the lake that lies between New-York and Canada, that lake is called by them Corlaer alſo; though the French gave it the name of Champlain, from a French Officer of that name, who put them upon erecting forts on this lake, which has made the French very near and troubleſome neighbours to the Britiſh Colonies.

New-York Proper. The ſituation.

The ſecond grand diviſion of the province of New-York to be deſcribed is that of New-York Proper, which is bounded by Canada on the north, New-England on the eaſt, the ocean on the ſouth, and the five nations and New-Jerſey on the weſt; and is about two hundred miles in length from north to ſouth (that is) from the mouth of Hudſon's River to the lake of Champlain or Corlaer; and it might be extended two hundred miles farther north if we poſſeſſed all the country we claim as far as the river St. Lawrence: But the French having built forts on the lake Champlain have in a manner expelled us from the north part of this country. The Engliſh only poſſeſs the country ſouth of that lake at preſent, and this is exceeding narrow in moſt places, particularly between Connecticut Colony on the eaſt and New-Jerſey on the weſt, it is ſcarce twenty miles broad. But to this we muſt add the iſland of Manhatan, which the city of New-York ſtands upon, Staten-Iſland, and Long-Iſland, all which lie before the mouth of Hudſon's River, and are comprehended in New-York Proper.

Subdiviſion into counties.

This province is divided into ten counties, which going from north to ſouth down Hudſon's River are, Albany, Ulſter, Ducheſs, Orange, King's County, Cheſter, New-York County, Queen's County, Suffolk County, and Richmond County, which are pretty well repleniſhed with plantations and farms, but have not many great towns in them. The chief towns are New-York City, Schenectida, Albany, Weſtcheſter, Jamaica Town, Hempſtead, Oyſter-bay Town, Huntington, Richmond, Rye, New-Rochel, North-caſtle, Southampton, and Brook-haven; in all or moſt of which towns are miſſionaries, either Miniſters, School-maſters or Catechiſts, ſent over and maintained chiefly by the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel, as will appear by the liſt hereafter inſerted.

Chief towns.

New-York City and County.

New-York City is ſituated in 40 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and 74 degrees 4 minutes weſtern longitude, at the ſouth end of York County, being an iſland in the mouth of Hudſon's River, about fourteen miles long and two or three broad. As this town ſtands upon an eminence, and contains upwards of a thouſand houſes well-built with brick and ſtone, with a wall and forts, which ſerve as well for ornament as defence, there is ſcarce any town in North-America that makes a better appearance. It is alſo an excellent harbour, furniſhed with commodious keys and warehouſes, and employs ſome hundreds of ſhips and veſſels in its foreign trade and fiſheries.

The publick buildings are the ſeveral churches belonging to thoſe of the church of England, to the Swedes of the Lutheran perſuaſion, to the Dutch Calviniſts, the French Refugees, and the Engliſh Sectaries; but the church of England may well be looked upon as the eſtabliſhed religion, becauſe the conſtitution of the government is the ſame as in England; the reſt, however, are tolerated, and capable of poſts in the government, and of ſitting in the houſe of repreſentatives, as I apprehend.

The other publick buildings are the town-houſe, and that where their general aſſemblies and courts of juſtice are held. As to their fortifications, they are not, I doubt, capable of defending them againſt an European enemy any more than thoſe in the reſt of the plantations, for this unanſwerable reaſon, becauſe they were lately confeſſed to be ſo bad that it was not fit to enquire into the ſtate of them, leſt foreigners ſhould be acquainted with our weakneſs on that ſide. There are indeed four hundred regular troops ſent from England to garriſon this and ſome other towns of this province, of which two companies always are, or ought to be, upon duty in this city; but admitting they were always complete, and never ſo well diſciplined, this ſeems to be but a very inconſiderable force to defend a province of this importance againſt an invaſion, unleſs their country militia be more to be depended on than that of Great-Britain.

Schenectida town.

As New-York may be looked upon to be the frontier garriſon in the ſouth againſt an invaſion from any maritime power, ſo Schenectida Town and Fort, in the county of Albany, twenty miles north of the town of Albany, may well be deemed their frontier on the north againſt the French of Canada and their Indian allies, who, in the year 1688, ſurpriſed and almoſt demoliſhed the town with the works about it, but they have ſince been repaired and enlarged, and fort Nicholſon and ſome other forts erected; in which and in Albany the reſt of the regular troops are quartered for the defence of that frontier.

Albany Town.

Albany is a conſiderable town, ſituated on Hudſon's River, an hundred and fifty miles north of New-York, having a fort erected for its defence: And here it is that the Sachems or Kings of the five nations meet the Governors of our northern Colonies to renew their alliances, and concert meaſures for their defence againſt their common enemies, as has been intimated already.

Staten-Iſland.

South-weſt of the iſland and county of New-York lies Staten-Iſland, being about ten miles in length and ſix in breadth, and in it are a great many good farms and plantations, but not one town that I can meet with.

Long-Iſland. Counties and chief towns in Long-Iſland. Jamaica. Hempſtead. Oyſter Bay. Richmond. North-caſtle. New-Windſor.

Long-Iſland lies eaſt of Staten-Iſland, and ſouth-eaſt of that of New-York, oppoſite to the colony of Connecticut, being an hundred and fifty miles in length, and generally about twelve in breadth, and contains three of the counties above-mentioned, viz. Queen's County, Suffolk County, and Richmond County. The chief towns in Queen's County are Jamaica and Hempſtead. In Suffolk County the chief town is Oyſter-Bay.. The town of Richmond gives name to Richmond County, in which alſo is the town of Southampton, in the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland; and there alſo are ſituated the towns of North-Caſtle and New-Windſor.

Saliſbury Plain.

There is a celebrated plain in the middle of Long-Iſland ſixteen miles long and four broad, to which they have given the name of Saliſbury Plain, having (as it is ſaid) as fine a turf as that on Saliſbury Plain in Old-England; and there being an excellent breed of Horſes in the iſland they have races here every ſeaſon; to which the gentlemen of New-England and New-York reſort, as they do to New-Market with us.

Weſt-cheſter. Rye.

There are ſtill ſome good towns which lie in the county of Weſtcheſter on the continent, eaſt of the mouth of Hudſon's River; the chief whereof are Weſtcheſter and Rye.

Government.

This is one of thoſe colonies denominated a royal government, the legiſlative power being lodged in the Governor, council and aſſembly; the Governor, council, and Officers of ſtate being appointed by the crown.

Produce and trade.

. As to the produce and trade of this country, theſe articles being much the ſame here as in New-England, New-Jerſey, and Penſylvania, I ſhall treat of them all together in the deſcription of Penſylvania: And there alſo the reader will meet with the abſtract of the hiſtory of New-York, New-Jerſey, and Penſylvania; their ſtory being ſo interwoven that it is ſcarce poſſible to ſpeak of one without including the other.

New-Jerſey. Situation and extent.

The third and laſt grand diviſion I propoſed to deſcribe is that of New-Jerſey, bounded by an imaginary line drawn from the river De la War to Hudſon's River, in 41 degrees north latitude on the north, by Hudſon's River, which ſeperates it from New-York, and by the Atlantick-Ocean on the eaſt, by the ſame ocean on the ſouth, and by De la War Bay and River, which ſeperates it from Penſylvania, on the weſt, lying between 39 and 41 degrees of north latitude, and between 74 and 76 degrees of weſtern longitude; and is about an hundred and forty miles in length from north to ſouth, and between three and four-ſcore in breadth from eaſt to weſt.

Diviſions and ſubdiviſions. Government.

It was heretofore divided into two parts by a line drawn almoſt through the middle of it from north to ſouth, and diſtinguiſhed by the names of Eaſt and Weſt-Jerſey, being granted to different proprietors; but the proprietors of both having thought fit to ſurrender their charters to the crown, the whole now conſtitutes one royal government. The Jerſeys have now but one council and one houſe of repreſentatives, and the Governor of New-York is uſually Governor of the Jerſeys by a different commiſſion, the Governor, council, and Officers of ſtate being appointed by the King, as in New-York Proper.

Counties. Chief towns. Perth-Amboy. Berghen. Elizabeth Town. Middleton. Shrewſbury. Burlington.

This county is ſubdivided into the counties of, 1. Berghen. 2. Eſſex. 3. Middleſex; and, 4. Monmouth on the eaſt. 5. Burlington. 6. Glouceſter. 7. Salem; and, 8. Cape May, counties on the weſt. The chief towns are, 1. Perth-Amboy, the capital of the county of Middleſex, and of all Eaſt-Jerſey, pleaſantly ſituated at the mouth of Raritan River; and had it been built according to the intended model, would have been one of the fineſt towns in North-America; but planters have not reſorted to it, as was expected, notwithſtanding it is ſo commodiouſly ſituated for trade that ſhips of three hundred tons may come up in one tide and lie before the Merchants doors; but the town of Elizabeth, ſituated to the north-ward of it, flouriſhes much more, and may ſtill be deemed the moſt conſiderable town in the province. 2. Berghen, the capital of the county of the ſame name. 3. Elizabeth Town, already mentioned, capital of the county of Eſſex. 4. Middleton. 5. Shrewſbury; and, 6. Freehold, in the county of Monmouth. 7. Burlington, or Bridlington, the capital of the county of Burlington and of all Weſt-Jerſey.

Glouceſter. Salem.

This town is ſituated in 40 degrees 40 minutes of north latitude, on an iſland in the middle of the river De la War, to the northward of Philadelphia in Penſylvania, and on the oppoſite ſide of the river. The houſes are handſomely built of brick, and laid out into ſpacious ſtreets with commodious keys and wharfs, to which ſhips of two or three hundred tons may come up. It has alſo an handſome market-place, a town-houſe or guild-hall, where the courts of juſtice were heretofore held, and two good bridges over the river, the one called London-Bridge, and the other York-Bridge; and having an eaſy communication with Philadelphia and the ocean by the river De la War, carries on a briſk trade. 8. Glouceſter, the capital of the county of the ſame name; and, 9. Salem, capital of the county of Salem, and ſituated on the river Salem, which falls into De la War Bay. This is ſaid to be one of the beſt towns in Weſt-Jerſey, whether we conſider its ſituation, buildings or trade.

The produce of this province, its trade and hiſtory will be found in the deſcription of Penſylvania.

THE PRESENT STATE OF PENSYLVANIA.

CHAP. IX.

Of Penſylvania.

CHAP. IX.

Situation and extent.

PENSYLVANIA lies between 39 and 42 degrees of north latitude, and between 75 and 79 degrees of weſtern longitude, being bounded by the country of the five nations or Iroquois on the north, by New-York and New-Jerſey, from which it is ſeparated for the moſt part by De la War Bay and River on the eaſt, and by Maryland on the ſouth and weſt, being about two hundred miles in length from north to ſouth, and almoſt of equal breadth in the three northern counties, but the three ſouthern counties are not more than twenty or thirty miles broad from eaſt to weſt, that is, between De la War Bay and Maryland, from which the three ſouthern counties are divided by an imaginary line drawn from north to ſouth: But theſe limits are not yet entirely ſettled, I find, the Lord Baltimore and the family of the **Penns** being at this day engaged in a ſuit of chancery about them.

Rivers. De la War River.

The chief rivers in Penſylvania are, 1. The river De la War, which riſing far north in the country of the Iroquois, takes its courſe to the ſouthward, and dividing this province from that of New-Jerſey, falls into the Atlantick-Ocean, between the promontories of Cape May and Cape Hinlopen, being navigable for two hundred miles and upwards with large veſſels; but has a cataract or ſteep fall in it above Briſtol, which renders the navigation impracticable to the northward of the county of Bucks.

Saſquahanna River.

2. The ſecond river in this province is that of Saſquahanna, which riſing likewiſe in the country of the Iroquois, runs ſouth through the middle of Penſylvania, and falls into the bay of Cheſepeak, being navigable alſo for large ſhips.

Schoolkill River.

3. The third river is that of Schoolkill, which having its ſource alſo in the country of the Iroquois, runs ſouth, almoſt parallel to the rivers De la War and Saſquahanna, and at length turning to the eaſtward falls into the De la War at the city of Philadelphia: This river alſo is navigable for large ſhips as far as the city of Philadelphia, and for boats an hundred miles higher. Theſe rivers and the numerous bays and creeks in the bay of De la War, capable of harbouring the largeſt fleets, render this country admirably ſituated to carry on a foreign trade.

CHAP. IX.

Counties and chief towns.

The eaſt ſide of the province of Penſylvania the weſt being ſtill uncultivated) is divided into ſix counties, which taking them from north to ſouth are, 1. Buckingham. 2. Philadelphia County. 3. The county of Cheſter. 4. Newcaſtle County. 5. The county of Kent; and, 6. The county of Suſſex.

Briſtol.

Penſbury.

In the county of Buckingham, the moſt northerly of any in this province, the chief town is Briſtol, ſituated on the river De la War, oppoſite to Burlington in New-Jerſey, and twenty miles north of the city of Philadelphia. In this county alſo lies the manour houſe of Penſbury, elegantly built by **Penn** the firſt proprietor, and ſituated on an eminence which commands the county, being almoſt ſurrounded by the river De la War.

Philadelphia County and City.

The county of Philadelphia lies ſouth of that of Bucks, and in it is the celebrated city of Philadelphia, the capital of the province, ſituated in 40 degrees 30 minntes north latitude, being one of the fineſt plans of a town that ever was formed. It is an oblong of two miles, extending from the river De la War to the river Schoolkill, the eaſt end fronting the river De la War, and the weſt the river Schoolkill, each front being a mile in length. Every owner of a thouſand acres hath his houſe in one of the two fronts facing the rivers, or in the high ſtreet running from the middle of one front to the middle of the other: And every owner of five thouſand acres has an acre of ground in the front of his houſe, and the reſt half an acre for gardens and court yards. In the centre of the town is a ſquare of ten acres, ſurrounded by the town-houſe and other publick buildings, and in each quarter of the city is a ſquare of eight acres. The high ſtreet, which runs the whole length of the town, is an hundred feet wide, parallel to which run eight ſtreets, which are croſſed by twenty more at right angles, all of them thirty feet wide; and ſeveral canals are let into the town from each river, which add to the beauty and conveniency of the place. There is alſo a fine key two hundred feet ſquare, to which ſhips of four or five hundred tuns may come up; with wet and dry docks for building and repairing of ſhips, magazines, warehouſes, and all manner of conveniencies for importing and exporting of merchandize. There are already fourteen or fifteen hundred houſes in the city, moſt of them well built with brick, but there are ſtill a great many more wanting to complete the plan: However, more could not have been expected than has been done in ſo ſhort a time, the ground not having been laid out much above fifty years.

Oxford Town.

German Town.

Radnor Town.

The town of Oxford alſo is ſituated in the county of Philadelphia, but I meet with no deſcription of it; however, I take it to be a conſiderable place, inaſmuch as a miſſionary is maintained here by the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel. German Town, ſituated to the northward of the city of Philadelphia, alſo is ſaid to be a thriving populous place, inhabited chiefly by the Dutch, or thoſe of Dutch extraction. In this county is the city of Radnor, ſituated on the ſouth-weſt ſide of Schoolkill River, being the capital of a large country planted by the Welch, and extremely well improved by them.

Cheſter Town and County.

Chicheſter Town.

To the ſouth of the county of Philadelphia lies that of Cheſter, the capital whereof is the town of Cheſter, ſituated on the river De la War, which is about three hundred miles broad at this place; and to the ſouthward of Cheſter lies the town of Chicheſter. Either of theſe ports are capable of receiving and harbouring the largeſt fleets ſecure from ſtorms.

Newcaſtle County and Town.

Apoquinemink Town.

The county of Newcaſtle lies ſouth of that of Cheſter, the capital town being of the ſame name. This is ſaid to be a town of the briskeſt trade in the province next to that of Philadelphia, and has an iron mine in the neighbourhood of it. The town of Apoquinemink lies upon the river De la War alſo, ſouth of Newcaſtle, and is a place of good trade.

The county of Kent. Dover Town.

The county of Kent lies ſouth of that of Newcaſtle, the chief town whereof is Dover, being a commodious port.

The county of Suſſex. Lewes Town.

The moſt ſouthern county is that of Suſſex, the capital town whereof is Lewes, being a ſecure harbour and a town of trade.

The ſeveral kinds of government in Engliſh America.

Penſylvania and Maryland are now the only proprietary governments of all our American Colonies; for, as has been intimated already, there were originally three ſorts of government eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh on the continent of America, viz. 1. Royal Governments. 2. Charter Governments; and, 3. Proprietary Governments.

Royal Governments.

1. A Royal Government is properly ſo called becauſe the colony is immediately dependent on the crown, and the King remains Sovereign of the colony: He appoints the Governor, council, and Officers of ſtate; and the people only elect their repreſentatives, as in England. Such are the governments of Virginia, New-Hampſhire, New-York, New-Jerſey, and both Carolina's, tho' the Carolina's were till very lately Proprietary governments.

Charter Governments.

The Maſſachuſets a mixture of the two former.

2. A Charter Government is ſo called, becauſe the company incorporated by the King's charter were in a manner veſted with ſovereign authority to eſtabliſh what ſort of government they ſaw fit: And theſe companies have generally thought fit, (as I apprehend) to transfer their power to the populace; for in theſe governments the freemen do not only chuſe their repreſentatives, but annually chuſe their Governor, council and Magiſtrates, and make laws without the concurrence, and even without the knowledge of the King, and are under no other reſtraint than this, that they enact no laws contrary to the laws of England; if they do, their charters are liable to be forfeited. Such is the government of Rhode-Iſland, and I think of the colony of Connecticut in New-England; and ſuch was the government of the Maſſachuſets, Maine and Plymouth formerly; but their firſt charters being adjudged forfeited in the reign of King CHARLES II. the charter granted to the Maſſachuſets by King WILLIAM III. has reſerved the appointment of a Governor to the crown: But the houſe of repreſentatives chuſe the council with the Governor's concurrence, and the Governor and council appoint the Magiſtrates and Officers of ſtate; from whence it appears that the government of the Maſſachuſets, in which the colonies of Maine and Plymouth are now comprehended, is in ſome inſtances different from either of the two former ſpecies of government, or rather a mixture of both.

Proprietary Governments.

3. The third kind of government I propoſed to deſcribe is the Proprietary Government, properly ſo called becauſe the proprietor is veſted with ſovereign authority: He appoints the Governor, Council and Magiſtrates, and the repreſentatives of the people are ſummoned in his name, and by their advice he enacts laws without the concurrence of the crown; but by a late ſtatute, the proprietor muſt have the King's conſent in the appointing a Governor when he does not reſide in the plantation in perſon, and of a Deputy-Governor when he does: And all the Governors of the plantations are liable to be called to an account for male-adminiſtration by the court of King's-Bench in England by another ſtatute. But the only Proprietary Governments now in being, as has been obſerved already, are that of Maryland and this of Penſylvania; and the family of the PENNS, deſcendants of WILLIAM PENN, the original proprietor of Penſylvania, being at preſent pretty numerous, the adminiſtration of the government in this colony ſeems to be lodged in the Deputy-Governor, who is from time to time appointed by the heirs of PENN with the concurrence of the crown.

The hiſtory of the plantation of the colonies of New-York, New-Jerſey, and Penſylvania.

As to the right Great-Britain hath to theſe countries which now go under the names of New-York, New-Jerſey, and Penſylvania, it appears they were diſcovered with the reſt of the continent of North America, in the reign of HENRY VII. by SEBASTIAN CABOT for the crown of England, and have ever ſince been claimed by the Kings of England as part of their dominions: But Sir WALTER RALEIGH was the firſt that attempted to plant colonies on theſe ſhores in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, and in honour of that Princeſs gave the eaſtern coaſt of North-America the name of Virginia. Two companies being afterwards erected by charter in the reign of King JAMES I. and authoriſed to make ſettlements in Virginia, the firſt company ſent colonies to that part of the continent which ſtill bears the name of Virginia, and the other made ſettlements in New-England, then called North-Virginia, as has been related already.

In the mean time Mr. HUDSON, an Engliſhman, having diſcovered that part of the coaſt which lies between Virginia and New-England,

and being about to make a ſettlement at the mouth of that river which now ſeparates New-York from New-Jerſey, and to which he gave the name of Hudſon's River, the Dutch pretended to purchaſe this country of him; and about the year 1608 began to plant it, and by virtue of that purchaſe laid claim to all thoſe territories which now go under the name of New-York, New-Jerſey, and Penſylvania: But there remaining ſome vacant ſpaces on the coaſt which were not actually poſſeſſed by the Hollanders, the Swedes ſent a fleet of ſhips thither, and planted part of it with their countrymen. However, the Dutch proved too powerful for the Swedes, and compelled them to ſubmit to their dominion, allowing them however to enjoy the plantations they had ſettled, and the privileges of the reſt of their ſubjects.

But the Engliſh not admitting that either the Hollander or the Swede had any right to theſe countries which were firſt diſcovered for the crown of England by CABOT, and a part of them afterwards planted under charter from Queen ELIZABETH and King JAMES, which, 'twas preſumed, gave the Engliſh a right to all the countries included within the limits granted by thoſe patents, as theſe of New-York, the Jerſeys, and Penſylvania actually were. King CHARLES II. in the firſt Dutch war, anno 1684, transferred all thoſe countries, then in poſſeſſion of the Dutch, viz. New-York, the Jerſey's, and the northern part of Penſylvania, to his brother JAMES Duke of York, afterwards King JAMES II. and Sir ROBERT CARR was ſent over with a ſquadron of men of war and a body of land forces to reduce them; and on his appearance before the city of Amſterdam, now New-York, the Dutch Governor thought fit to ſurrender that capital; and the reſt of the towns in the poſſeſſion of the Hollanders, and the Swedes followed his example; and tho' ſome relate that the Dutch recovered the poſſeſſion of them again, yet certain it is, all theſe countries were yielded and confirmed to the Engliſh by the treaty of peace between England and Holland that followed ſoon after.

The Duke of York parcelling out theſe countries to under-proprietors, among whom WILLIAM PENN, Eſq; ſon of Sir WILLIAM PENN, Admiral in the Dutch wars, was one: All the reſt of the proprietors ſometime after ſurrendered their charters again to the crown, whereby New-York and New-Jerſey became royal governments, while PENN remained proprietor of that part of the country which had been granted to him; and King CHARLES II. making him another grant, in the year 1680, of that part of the country which now conſtitutes the reſt of Penſylvania, in conſideration of money due to his father, Sir WILLIAM PENN, from the government, PENN the ſon united the countries he poſſeſſed by both grants into one; and giving them the name of Penſylvania proceeded to the planting colonies there in the year 1681, the Dutch and Swediſh inhabitants chuſing ſtill to reſide here, as they did in New-York and the Jerſeys: And they and their deſcendants enjoy the ſame privileges as the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects in theſe plantations do; and are now in a manner become the ſame people with the Engliſh, ſpeaking their language, and governed by their laws and cuſtoms.

But Mr. PENN, notwithſtanding the grants he had obtained from the crown and the Duke of York, did not look upon himſelf, it ſeems, to be the real proprietor of the lands granted him, till he had given the Indians what they eſteemed a valuable conſideration for their intereſt in them; and diſclaiming alſo the uſe of the carnal weapon according to the principles of his ſect, he could never propoſe entering upon the country, which had been ſo granted him, by force.

The firſt thing therefore he did after his arrival on the coaſt of America in the year 1681, was to procure a conference with the Indian Sachems or Kings, in order to treat with them for the purchaſe of their lands; and the natives, being few in number, and making ſcarce any other uſe of their country than to hunt in it, readily hearkened to his propoſals; and he purchaſed countries of many miles extent at a very moderate price, paying for them in cloathing, tools, utenſils, and toys, to the entire ſatisfaction of the natives.

Mr. PENN, in a letter to his friends in England on the ſituation of his affairs at that time, relates, "That he had attended the Indian Kings and their Councils in ſeveral treaties for the purchaſe of their lands, and for adjuſting the terms of trade between them; and that their order was thus: Their King (ſays Mr. PENN) was ſeated in the middle of an half moon or ſemi-circle; his Council, the old and wiſe, ſitting on each hand; behind them, at a little diſtance, ſat the younger men in the ſame figure. Having conſulted and reſolved their buſineſs, the King commanded one of them to ſpeak to me: He ſtood up, and came to me, and in his King's name ſaluted me, taking me by the hand, and telling me, he was ordered by his King to ſpeak to me; and that now it was not he, but the King, that ſpoke, becauſe what he ſhould ſay was the King's mind. He firſt prayed me to excuſe them that they had not complied with me in a former meeting: He feared there might be ſome fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor Engliſh; beſides, it was the Indian cuſtom to deliberate before they reſolved; and that if the younger people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with ſo much delay. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to diſpoſe of and to the price. During the time this perſon ſpoke, not a man of them was obſerved to whiſper or ſmile. The old were grave, the young reverend in their deportment; when they ſpoke, which was but ſeldom, it was warmly and elegantly. I have never ſeen more natural ſagacity, conſidering them without the help of tradition; and he will deſerve the name of wiſe, that is too hard for them in any treaty about a thing they underſtand. When the purchaſe was agreed, great promiſes paſſed between us of kindneſs and good neighbourhood, and that the Indian and Engliſh muſt live in love as long as the ſun gave light. After which, another made a ſpeech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachems or Kings; firſt to tell them what was done; next to charge and command them to love the Chriſtians, and particularly to live in peace with me, and the people under my government: That many Governors had been in the river; but that no Governor had come himſelf to live and ſtay there before; and having now ſuch an one that had treated them well, they ſhould never do him or his any wrong. At every ſentence of which they ſhouted, and ſaid amen in their way."

By governor living himſelf among them, they meant proprietary; for they had had ſeveral Dutch and Swediſh Governors in De la War River. The land thus bought was entered upon by the under purchaſers, who purchaſed by the hundred or the thouſand acres what the proprietary bought by miles.

So prodigiouſly did this colony increaſe in a very few years, that the ſame Mr. **Penn**, in another letter to his friends in England, ſays, "We conſume eighteen thouſand Pounds yearly of Engliſh growth, and return of our productions what augments the revenues of the crown of England thirty thouſand Pounds"; which is but a trifle to the returns they make at this day. Their ſucceſs was chiefly owing to their human and friendly treatments of the Indians, with whom the Penſylvanians ſcarce ever had a quarrel: This good underſtanding continuing even to our times, as appears by the Indians of the five nations agreeing with Sir **William Keith**, Governor of Penſylvania in the year 1722, to remove ſtill further back into the wood with their families, and to leave a tract of one hundred thouſand acres of land and upwards to be cultivated by the Engliſh; at which congreſs one of their Sachems made the following ſpeech, in the name of the reſt:

Brother Onas. [The title they give the Governor of Penſylvania.]

"You have told us how **William Penn**, that good man, did, on the firſt ſettlement of the province of Penſylvania, make leagues of friendſhip with the Indians, and treated them like brethren; and that, like the ſame good man, he left it in charge to all his Governors who ſhould ſucceed him, and to all the people of Penſylvania, that they ſhould always keep the covenant and treaties he had made with the five nations, and treat them with love and kindneſs. We acknowledge, that his Governors and people have always kept the ſame honeſtly and truly to this day. So we on our part, always have kept, and for ever ſhall keep firm peace and friendſhip with a good heart to all the people of Penſylvania. We thankfully receive and approve of all the articles in your propoſition to us, and acknowledge them to be good, and full of love: We receive and approve of the ſame with our whole hearts, becauſe we are not only made one people by the covenant chain, but we alſo are people united in one head, one body, and one heart, by the ſtrongeſt ties of love and friendſhip.

They acknowledge Penſylvania has always obſerved its treaties with them, as they have done on their part, and promiſe to do for the future.

Brother Onas.

"You deſire there may be a perpetual peace and friendſhip between you and the five nations, and between your children and our children; and that the ſame may be kept as long as the mountains and rivers endure: All which we like well, and on our parts deſire that the covenant and union, made with a clean and true heart between you and us, may laſt as long as the ſun and moon ſhall continue to give light; and we will deliver this in charge to our children, that it may be kept in remembrance with their children and children's children to the lateſt ages: And we deſire, that the peace and tranquillity that is now eſtabliſhed between us may be as clear as the ſun ſhining in its luſtre, without any cloud or darkneſs, and that the ſame may continue for ever.

Brother Onas,

"We have well conſidered all you have ſpoken, and like it well, becauſe it is only the renewing of former leagues and treaties, made between the government of Penſylvania and us of the five nations, which we always believed we were obliged to keep; and as to the accident of one of our friends being killed by ſome of your people, which has happened by misfortune, and againſt your will, we ſay, that as we are all in peace, we think it hard, that the perſons who killed our friend and brother ſhould ſuffer: And we do, in the name of all the five nations, forgive the offence, and deſire you will likewiſe forgive it, and that the men who did it may be releaſed from priſon and ſet at liberty, to go whither they pleaſe; and we ſhall eſteem that as a mark of regard and friendſhip for the five nations, and as a further confirmation of this treaty."

They deſire the Engliſhmen may be pardoned, who killed one of their people by accident.

The next article I propoſed to treat of was the province and traffick of the colonies which lie north of Virginia and Maryland, viz. New-England, New-York, the Jerſeys, and Penſylvania.

The produce and traffick of the northern Colonies.

Of New-England.

Mr. **Dummer**, in his apology for New-England, endeavouring to ſhew the importance of thoſe colonies to Old-England, obſerves, "That there is no ſort of Britiſh Manufacture but what the people of New-England take off in great or leſs proportion, as they have ability to pay for it; every thing for uſe, convenience, or ornament, and (I ſay it with regret) for the luxury and pride of life, they recieve from Great-Britain.

"Some of the oldeſt and moſt experienced traders to thoſe parts make their imports from Old-England ariſe to the value of three hundred thouſand Pounds, and exports from thence to Great-Britain are equally beneficial to this kingdom; they brought bullion hither as long as they had any left, and now they are ſo exhauſted, that they can no longer ſend Silver directly to Old-England, they continue to remit it thither by the way of Spain, Portugal, and the Streights: It is there they ſell their fiſh, and the produce of it comes hither in Gold or Silver, or bills of exchange, which is the ſame thing.

"Other and better returns than money itſelf they make in maſts, the faireſt and largeſt in the world; beſides Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Roſin, Plank-knees for ſhips, and other ſpecies of timber for various uſes. Theſe, eſpecially Pitch and Tar, were formerly purchaſed of the Swede with Crown-peices at intolerable prices; but ſince the incouragement given for their importation from New-England, they have fallen to half the value. It is to be farther conſidered, that what we take of theſe commodities from our plantations is brought home in our own ſhips, and paid for with our manufactures.

"New-England alſo imports logwood, for the dying our Woollen goods, in quantities ſufficient for our own uſe, and a ſurplus, with which we furniſh Holland, Hamburg and other markets in Europe. It is wholly owing to the induſtry of the people of New-England that this uſeful commodity is reduced from 30 and 40l. per ton, which we uſed to pay for it to the Spaniards, to 12 l. per ton, which is the preſent price; and out of this 12 l. there is 4 l. 5 s. paid to the crown for cuſtom.

"Other articles might be mentioned; as, Whale-Oil and Finns, which are yearly imported from New-England in no contemptible quantities. They are uſeful in ſeveral manufactures; and if not had from thence, muſt have been purchaſed of the Dutch with ready money, and at exceſſive prices.

"It is true, New-England makes no Sugar, but it aſſiſts the iſlands that do; without which aſſiſtance they could not make it, at leaſt not cheap enough, and in ſufficient quantities to anſwer the markets in Europe. For if the ſugar iſlands were obliged to ſow wheat, and plant as much Indian Corn as they wanted, they muſt needs plant the fewer canes, and by conſequence make the leſs Sugar. From thence they are alſo ſupplied with Horſes for their mills, timber for their ſugar-works, ſtaves for their caſks, and what is more conſiderable, with Barrel-Pork, Mackrel and refuſe Cod-fiſh for their Negroes; without which their labour would yield nothing to their owners; for were they to feed their ſlaves with beef, and other proviſions from Great-Britain and Ireland, the expence of a plantation would devour the whole produce of it. There are now ſuch great quantities of Sugar made in the French and Dutch plantations, and ſo much imported from Braſil by the Portugueſe, that our Sugar Iſlands need all advantages to make this commodity cheap and in plenty, that we may be able to out-do, or at leaſt equal our neighbours in the foreign markets.

'It may be added, that New-England is a good nurſery of ſeamen for the navy. I believe, I may affirm, that there was hardly a ſhip during the laſt war in the royal navy without ſome of their ſailors on board; which ſo diſtreſſed the New-England Merchants, that they were obliged to man their ſhips with Indians and Negroes.

In another part of the ſame apology Mr. **Dummer** adds, "It were no difficult taſk to prove, that London has riſen out of the plantations, and not out of Old-England. It is to them we owe our vaſt fleets of Merchant ſhips, and conſequently the increaſe of our ſeamen, and improvements of our navigation: It is the tobacco, ſugar, fiſh, oil, logwood, and other commodities, which has enabled us to ſupport our trade in Europe; to bring the ballance of ſome countries in our favour, which would otherwiſe be againſt us, and to make the figure we do at preſent, and have done for near a century paſt, in all parts of the commercial world."

Of New-York.

The Preſident and council of New-York, in an addreſs to his Majeſty, ſpeaking of their importations from Great-Britain, affirm, that this colony alone conſumed more of our Woollen manufactures than all the Sugar Colonies: That the product of this, and of the neighbouring colonies of New-Jerſey and Penſylvania, was chiefly proviſions; namely, all kinds of Britiſh and Indian corn and grain, ſalted pork, beef, fiſh, and ſtrong beer, which they export to the Britiſh and other foreign Sugar Colonies; and in exchange for them received Rum, Sugar, Moloſſes, Cacao, Indigo, Cotton, Wool, &c. Whereof the Rum and Moloſſes were chiefly conſumed in theſe colonies, and the money and other merchandize applied for the moſt part to make good the ballance of their trade to Great-Britain; and that ſo great a part of that ballance was paid in money, that they had reaſon to believe that all the Britiſh Sugar Colonies together (except Jamaica) did not import ſo much Silver into Great-Britain as this ſingle colony of New-York.

Of Penſylvania.

Another writer, ſpeaking of the produce and traffick of Penſylvania, ſays, their merchandize conſiſts of Horſes, pipe-ſtaves, pork, beef, and fiſh, ſalted and barrelled up, ſkins, and furrs, all ſorts of grain, viz. Wheat, Rye, Peaſe, Oats, Barley, Buck-Wheat, Indian Corn, Indian Peaſe and Beans, Pot-aſhes, Wax, &c. And that in return for theſe they import from the Carribbee-Iſlands, and other places, Rum, Sugar, Moloſſes, Silver, Negroes, Salt, and Wine; and from Great-Britain, houſhold-goods and cloathing of all kinds, hard-ware, tools, and toys.

They have alſo ſome Rice, but no great quantities, and a little Tobacco of the worſt ſort. Theſe colonies alſo appear extremely proper to produce Hemp and Flax, where they are cultivated: Their trade with the Indians conſiſts but in a few articles; they receive of the natives chiefly ſkins and furrs of their wild beaſts, for which they give them cloathing, arms, ammunition, Rum, and other ſpirits, in return.

The northern Colonies have alſo a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniards upon the coaſt of Terra-Firma, &c. furniſhing them with European goods and merchandize, for which they receive chiefly Dollars in return; and they alſo trade to the bays of Honduras and Campeachy for logwood, by connivance, as the Spaniards ſay; but the ſubjects of Great-Britain inſiſt, that they have a right to that trade; and there is a trade carried on both with the French and Dutch Iſlands and Surinam by the northern Colonies not at all to the advantage of Great-Britain, and very deſtructive to the Sugar Colonies; for they take Moloſſes, Rum, and other ſpirits, with a great many European goods, from theſe foreigners; carrying them Horſes, proviſions and lumber in return, without which the French could not carry on their Sugar manufacture to that advantage they do: But on this article I ſhall have occaſion to enlarge, when I come to treat of the controverſy between our Sugar Colonies and the northern Colonies.

Nor is there any doubt to be made but the northern Colonies have ſet up a great many manufactures, which interfere with thoſe of Great-Britain: They make Woollen Cloth, Hats, hard-ware, and Linen, for their own uſe, if they do not export them: They have alſo a pretty many Still-houſes and Sugar-bakers, particularly in New-England; and the building of ſhips not only for the ſubjects of Great-Britain, but for the French and Spaniards, is become a very conſiderable employment; and with theſe ſhips they pay in part for the Moloſſes, Rum, and European goods they take of the French. Their enemies repreſent them (eſpecially the people of New-England) as rivalling Great-Britain in the moſt conſiderable branches of the trade, as well as in her fiſheries, and threatning deſtruction to their mother-country; while her friends, on the other hand, ſuggeſt, that theſe colonies take off vaſt quantities of Britiſh manufactures, for which they pay ready money, or merchandize as valuable in return; and affirm, they export no manufactures that are made in England. Great artifice ſeems to have been uſed to conceal their manufactures on one

one hand, and to magnify and multiply them on the other; but, upon the whole, I am of opinion, that the northern Colonies ſtill conduce very much to the ſtrengthening and enriching their mother-country, and will do more every day, as they increaſe in numbers and traffick; nay, I believe, it may be made appear, that our traffick with theſe and the reſt of the Britiſh plantations, if we take care to regulate it (as it is our own faults if we do not, when the Britiſh legiſlature commands the whole) is or may be of greater advantage to Britain than all their commerce beſides; and, indeed, ſome acts have already been made for the regulation of this trade, of which I ſhall give a ſhort abſtract hereafter; and, in the mean time, proceed to enquire into the ſtrength and forces of theſe northern Colonies.

The ſtrength and forces of the northern colonies.

From one of the repreſentations of the board of trade, already mentioned, they inform the privy-council, that in the colony of the Maſſachuſets only there were upwards of ninety-four thouſand ſouls, and that their militia conſiſted of ſix regiments of foot, and of fifteen troops of Horſe, of an hundred men in each troop; and a gentleman of New-England, who underſtands their circumſtances perfectly well, aſſured me, they could raiſe twenty-four or twenty-five thouſand men, in caſe of neceſſity. The ſame repreſentation ſhews, that they employed near five hundred ſail of ſhips and four thouſand ſeamen annually in their trade; and if this calculation be right, it muſt be allowed, that the reſt of the colonies, north of Virginia, and Maryland, viz. Connecticut, Rhode-Iſland, New-York, the Jerſeys, and Penſylvania, can raiſe at leaſt as many as the Maſſachuſets; but as this computation ſeems to be exceeding ſhort, and we may well add a third more to the whole, I conclude, that the Britiſh Colonies which lie north of Virginia and Maryland are able, upon an emergency, to raiſe three or fourſcore thouſand landmen, and fit out fifteen hundred ſail of ſuch Merchant ſhips as they uſe in their trade; and though theſe ſhips are too ſmall, and unprovided to reſiſt European ſhips of war alone, and defend their coaſts from invaſions from thence, yet they muſt add great ſtrength to an Engliſh ſquadron in thoſe ſeas, whenever we happen to be at war with any European power in that part of the world. All that ſeems wanting, in order to render theſe forces uſeful and capable of oppoſing an invaſion, is a Vice-roy or Generaliſſimo, empowered, on ſuch exigencies, to require every colony to raiſe their reſpective quota's of ſupplies and troops, and to command them, when aſſembled in the field; for theſe are particulars, which it is never to be expected the colonies ſhould agree on among themſelves, or at leaſt time enough to prevent the ravages of a potent enemy.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
CAROLINA.

CHAP. X.

Of North and South-Carolina, and Georgia.

CHAP. X.

Situation and extent.

UNDER this general title of Carolina are comprehended the ſeveral colonies of North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia. The whole is bounded by Virginia on the north, the Atlantick-Ocean on the eaſt, Spaniſh-Florida on the ſouth, and by that part of Florida which is ſtill in poſſeſſion of the Indians on the weſt, extending from 30 degrees 30 minutes, to 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude; and this, upon due conſideration, ſeems to be the true extent of Carolina from north to ſouth; and conſequently this country, reckoning 70 miles to a degree in a direct line from ſouth to north, muſt be 420 miles long; but as the coaſt tends or ſtretches from the ſouth-weſt to the north-eaſt, we may compute it to be about 500 miles in length; though I muſt confeſs I have formerly laid it down between 31 and 36 degrees, and then it would have taken up but 5 degrees of latitude. How far the Britiſh dominion is to be extended from the Atlantick-Ocean weſtward, may be ſtill more difficult to determine: If we carry it no farther than the countries actually poſſeſſed and cultivated by the Engliſh, we muſt not extend it an hundred and fifty miles weſt of the ſea; but if we comprehend all thoſe nations of Indians which have at one time or other acknowledged the King of Great-Britain their Sovereign, and put themſelves under the protection of the Governors of theſe provinces, particularly the Creeks, the Charokee Indians, and ſome more diſtant nations their neighbours, who ſent, in the year 1731, ſeven of their Chiefs to England with Sir ALEXANDER CUMMINS, to do homage in perſon to King GEORGE II. If we include all theſe nations, we muſt extend the Britiſh dominions weſtward as far as the river Miſſiſſipi, which is 500 miles at leaſt from the ocean, and then we ſhall take in one moiety of what the French claim, and have given the name of Louiſiana to in their maps; and our map-makers, without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon have copied after them; but if ever they dipped into the hiſtory of this part of the world, they muſt have learned that the Engliſh were not only poſſeſſed of the eaſtern ſide of Florida long before the French diſcovered the river Miſſiſſipi, but have obtained the ſtrongeſt title to it that any European power can have; namely, the voluntary ceſſion of that country by the Indian Princes and their people to the crown of Great Britain, upon condition of being taken into our protection.

The face of the country.

The ancient name Apalach.

As to the face of the country, Captains that have gone this voyage aſſure me, that it is a low level coaſt, not a hill to be ſeen from St. Auguſtin to Virginia, and a great way beyond; and it is generally covered with wood, where the Engliſh have not cleared it for their plantations. But it riſes into hills about an hundred miles to the weſtward, and continues riſing gradually till we aſcend the Apalathian Mountains, as they call the whole chain of hills, which run through Florida from the ſouth-weſt to the north-eaſt, at about an hundred and fifty miles diſtance from the ocean. And indeed the natives called all that country Apalach, to which the Spaniards gave the name of Florida, in which is comprehended moſt of the Britiſh Plantations on the continent.

A bad coaſt for navigation.

Sea-ports.

Capes.

The ſea-coaſt being low and flat, the ſea itſelf is proportionably ſhallow, inſomuch that a ſhip of any great burthen cannot approach the ſhores, except in ſome few places. There has not yet been found one good harbour on the coaſt of North-Carolina; the beſt they have is at Roanoak, at the mouth of Albemarle River, and at Pimlico; and here ſhips are far from being ſecure: But I am informed, a frigate is employed at this time to ſound the coaſt, in order to find better harbours, the planters and merchants of North-Carolina being obliged to ſend great part of their goods either to Virginia or South-Carolina, in order to tranſport them to England; for there are ſome good ports in South-Carolina, of which the chief are, Winyaw or George Town, Charles Town, and Port-Royal, which will be deſcribed hereafter: The moſt remarkable promontories I meet with on this coaſt are, Cape Hateras in 35 degrees ſouth latitude; Cape Fear to the ſouth of it in 34 degrees, and Cape Carteret to the ſouthward of Cape Fear.

Rivers.

This country is well watered with lakes and ſprings, as alſo with rivers, ſome of them conſiderable ſtreams, but few of them navigable for large veſſels, being choaked up with ſands at the entrance: Of theſe (beginning from the north) the chief are, 1. Albemarle River. 2. Pentegoe River. 3. Neuſe River. 4. Cape Fear, or Clarendon River. 5. Wateree River. 6. Santee River. 7, Aſhley River. 8. Cooper River. 9. Colliton River. 10. Cambahe River. 11. Savannah River. 12. Alatamaha River, the ſouthern boundary of Georgia: Almoſt all theſe rivers riſe in the mountains on the north-weſt, and taking their courſe to the eaſt or ſouth-eaſt, fall into the Atlantick-Ocean: Thoſe of Savannah and Alatahama being navigable ſome hundreds of miles to the weſtward, and are ſaid to equal the Rhine in magnitude.

Climate rather hot than cold.

Generally ſerene weather.

Healthful generally.

Carolina is happily ſituated between the extremes of heat and cold, but the heat is more troubleſome in ſummer than the cold in winter; their winters being very ſhort, and their froſty mornings frequently ſucceeded by warm days: Tho' a gentleman that reſided there ſome time obſerved to me, that once in eight or ten years they have very ſevere and long froſts. He himſelf knew the largeſt rivers frozen, and a great many of there cattle die, for they never houſe them; but this is more unuſual there, than to have the Thames frozen over with us. The air is for the moſt part ſerene and clear both in ſummer and winter, yet I find they have their winter rains and very heavy ſhowers about midſummer: And the wind ſometimes changes ſuddenly from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt, and blows exceeding cold, which brings diſtempers on thoſe who do not take care to guard againſt it; but the country is generally healthful where people live regularly, and uſe any precaution. Thoſe indeed who after a hot day expoſe themſelves to the cool breezes of the evening, uſually feel the ill effects of it; as others do that indulge their appetites in eating fruit and drinking pernicious liquors to exceſs.

Hurricanes.

They are ſubject to hurricanes as well as the Caribbee-Iſlands; but thoſe do not happen every year, and ſometimes are ſo favourable as not to do much miſchief in ſeven years. That was a very terrible one which happened in the year 1729, of which we recieved the following account.

On the firſt of Auguſt, a dreadful hurricane began here, the wind N. and N. by E. and by ſeven the next morning increaſed ſo, that 23 ſhips then in our harbour, were forced on ſhore, the wind coming more eaſterly, and from that time till three hours after, the wind was moſt violent: Of all the ſhips in our harbour, only the Fox and the Garland men of war rode out of this hurricane. The Rice near the ſea coaſt was all ſpoiled by being overflowed with the ſalt-water; and it is thought this town would have been deſtroyed, had it been ſpring tides. It is computed, that about fifteen hundred barrels of Rice, beſides ſkins, were loſt. On the ſecond, about eleven at night the wind gradually ceaſed; yet many ſea-faring men were drowned: On the twelfth paſt, we had a tornado which did much damage to the Rice and Corn in the country, but little or none to the ſhipping.

The three grand diviſions. North-Carolina. Situation.

The three grand diviſions of this country are, 1 North-Carolina. 2. South-Carolina; and, 3. Georgia. North Carolina is bounded by Virginia on the north, the ocean on the eaſt, by a line drawn in 34 degrees from the ocean to the mountains on the ſouth; and by that part of Florida poſſeſſed by the Indians on the weſt; and is ſubdivided into fourteen or fifteen townſhips or pariſhes; but there is not one town or church as I can learn in the country, and it is but very lately that the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel has ſent one itinerant preacher amongſt them.

South-Carolina.

South-Carolina is divided from North-Carolina by the aboveſaid imaginary line on the north, by the ocean on the eaſt, by the river Savannah, which ſeparates it from Georgia on the ſouth, and by the country of the Indians on the weſt; being ſubdivided into fourteen pariſhes or townſhips, each of them having a good church of brick or timber.

Charles-Town.

But the chief and almoſt the only town in both Carolina's is Charles-Town, ſituate in 32 degrees, 45 minutes north latitude, on the point of a peninſula formed by Aſhley and Cooper Rivers; the former of which is navigable for ſhips twenty miles above the town, and for boats and pettyagers, (large canoes) near forty miles. The other river is not navigable for ſhips ſo far, but for boats and pettyagers much farther. The bar before the harbour has ſixteen foot water at a low tide, and there is good riding when a ſhip is got cloſe to the town: The harbour being ſecured by a fort, called Johnſon's Fort, which has about twenty guns in it, level with the ſurface of the water. The town was regularly fortified ſome years ago, and ſeveral of the baſtions next the water are ſtill in being and in good repair; but the baſtions, palliſades, and foſſe next the land being much damaged by a hurricane, and deemed of too great an extent to be defended by the inhabitants, General NICHOLSON cauſed them to be demoliſhed. The town now contains upwards of ſix hundred houſes generally well built, ſome of them of brick, but more of timber, and moſt of them ſaſhed, forming regular and ſpacious ſtreets; and their church is much the moſt magnificent in Engliſh America, having three iſles, an organ, and gallery all round the church. There are alſo four handſome meeting-houſes in the town belonging to the presbyterians, anabaptiſts, quakers, and French refugees; and if you ſurvey the adjacent country, ſays Mr. PURRY, you will ſee ſtately buildings, noble caſtles, and the fields covered with infinite numbers of cattle of all kinds.

Beaufort Town and Port-Royal.

The town of Beaufort is ſituated on the iſland of Port-Royal, in 31 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, an hundred miles ſouth of Charles-Town; the continent and iſland forming a fine capacious harbour, capable of receiving the royal navy of England, if it can get over the bar, as ſhips of good burthen may; there being eighteen foot water at low water. The iſland on which the town ſtands conſiſts of near one thouſand acres, and is navigable all round for boats and pettyagers, and one half of it for ſhipping, having four fathom water cloſe to the high bluff; ſo that ſhips may load and unload from the ſhore without the aſſiſtance of boats. The harbour is ſecured by a fort built about five years ſince, on which twelve culverins are mounted, but the town and iſland have no fortification (unleſs erected very lately); nor is the harbour ſo well fortified as a place of this importance deſerves, eſpecially as it lies ſo near Spaniſh Florida, and is ſaid to be demanded by the Spaniards as a part of their territories. There is not indeed above fifty or threeſcore houſes in the town of Beaufort at preſent; but from its advantageous ſituation, and the goodneſs of its harbour, it is expected that this town will one day be the capital of Carolina: It is already the ſtation for the Britiſh ſquadron in thoſe ſeas.

George-Town.

There is another port-town lately erected at Winyaw, about fifty miles to the northward of Charles-Town, to which they have given the name of George-Town, and the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel have a miſſionary here; but I meet with no further deſcription of it.

Georgia ſituation.

The third grand diviſion of Carolina is the new province of Georgia, ſeparated from South-Carolina by the river Savannah on the north, by the ocean on the eaſt, by the river Alatamaha, which ſeparates it from Spaniſh Florida, on the ſouth, and by Indian Florida on the weſt; nor has any European power ſo good a claim as the Engliſh to this country as far weſtward as the river Miſſiſippi, ſince moſt of the Indian Chiefs between Carolina and that river have acknowledged the King of Great-Britain their Sovereign, and put themſelves under his protection, as has been obſerved already.

Chief Towns.

The chief towns in Georgia are, the town of Savannah, and the town of Purrysburgh.

Savannah Town.

The town of Savannah is ſituated in 31 degrees 20 minutes, about one hundred and thirty miles to the ſouthward of Charles-Town, and thirty miles ſouth of Beaufort and Port-Royal, and about fifty or threeſcore miles north of the Spaniſh fort of St. Auguſtin. Governor OGLETHORPE, in a letter to the truſtees of the colony of Georgia, dated the 10th of February, 1732-3, tells them, that he had fixed upon a healthful ſituation on the river Savannah to build this town upon, about ten miles from the ſea; that the river here formed a half-moon, along the ſouth ſide of which the banks were forty foot high, and on the top a flat, which they call a bluff; that this plain high ground extended into the country five or ſix miles; and along the river ſide, about a mile, ſhips that draw twelve foot water, may ride within ten yards of the bank.

That upon the river ſide, in the center of this plain, he had laid out the town, and that over againſt it was an iſland of very rich land fit for paſturage, which he thought ought to be kept for the truſtees cattle.

That the river was pretty wide, the water freſh, and from the key they might ſee its whole courſe to the ſea with the iſland of Tybe, which lay before the mouth of the river; that the other way they might ſee the river for ſix miles up into the country; the landſkip was very agreeable, the ſtream being wide, and bordered with high woods on both ſides.

By another letter dated from Georgia the 14th of February 1735-6, they inform us, that above two hundred houſes were then regularly built in the town of Savannah.

Purrysburgh Town.

Purrysburgh alſo is ſituated on the river Savannah, about thirty miles from the mouth, and twenty to the weſtward of the town of Savannah, ſeven miles above the higheſt tide. It was formerly called the Ymaſſee-Port, and ſtands in a pleaſant fruitful plain, being inhabited by a colony of a thouſand Swiſs, which were carried over by Monſ. PURRY at the charge of the truſtees of Georgia. But as this town lies on the north ſide of the river Savannah, it is in reality in South-Carolina, and not in Georgia. The ſame letter gives an account of ſeveral other towns built; particularly, Buery, Thunderbolt, Fort-Argyle and Weſtbrook, but does not aſcertain their ſituation; they alſo relate that Mr. OGLETHORPE was going fourſcore miles farther into the country to erect another town and a fort near it on the river Alatamaha; two forts have been erected alſo on the river Savannah, the one fourſcore miles weſt of the town of Purryſburg, and the other upwards of two hundred miles beyond it: And probably they have erected ſeveral other towns and fortreſſes by this time; for ſince the King has purchaſed the propriety of Carolina, I find the following orders have been given for building eleven towns in Georgia and Carolina, viz. two on the river Alatamaha, two on the river Savannah, one at the head of the river Poupon, two at the river Santee, one at the river Watereg, one at the Black River, one at the river Wacomau, and one at the river Pedee.

Eleven towns ordered to be built in Georgia. The lands laid out to each town.

The diſtrict of each of theſe towns is to contain the extent of twenty thouſand acres of land, formed into a ſquare, bordering on one of theſe rivers, and is to be divided into ſhares or fifty acres for each man, woman, or child of one family; which may be augmented as the planters ſhall be in a condition to cultivate a larger quantity of ground; and every one of them was to have an equal ſhare of the better and worſe lands, and alſo the ſame right on the river.

Extent of each town.

Each town was to be formed into a pariſh, the extent whereof was to be about ſix miles round the town on the ſame ſide of the river; and as ſoon as the pariſh contained an hundred maſters of families, they were authorized to ſend two members to the aſſembly of the province, and were to enjoy the ſame privileges as the other pariſhes of the province.

Aſſembly.

The ground of each town being marked out, was to belong in common to all the inhabitants, till diſtributed in particular ſhares to each of them. There were to be three hundred acres of land near each town to be common for ever, without being charged with rent; and no perſon by any former grant, was to take poſſeſſion of any land within ſix miles of each town.

A common to each town.

Indian towns of Keowee.

Tanaſſie.

As to the Indian towns belonging to the Charokee nation, under the protection of the Engliſh, the firſt I meet with is called Keowee, three hundred miles weſt of Charles-Town; and Tanaſſie their capital is an hundred and fifty miles farther weſt; all the country between the Engliſh Plantations, and the Charokees being an uncultivated deſart, part of it claimed by the Creek nation, and the reſt by the Charokees and their allies; but they make no other uſe of it than to hunt wild beaſts, being the only conſtant inhabitants of theſe foreſts. As to the model of the Indian towns and building in Florida, I muſt refer the reader to thoſe deſcribed in Virginia and Maryland, from which theſe do not differ. Their animals and vegetables alſo are the ſame as in Virginia, only I do not remember the mentioning Buffaloes in that country, which are found in Florida. This is a heavy ſluggiſh animal that reſembles an Ox, but is leſs, and his fleſh of a much coarſer grain.

Animals and vegetables the ſame as in Virginia.

Monſieur PURRY, who carried over the Swiſs Colony to Georgia in the year 1733, gives the following account of the ſoil, productions, manufactures, and traffick of Carolina; with a ſhort abſtract of the hiſtory and ſucceſs of that colony.

Trees and plants.

He obſerves, that all ſorts of trees and plants will grow there as well as can be wiſhed, particularly Vines, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Peaſe, Beans, Hemp, Flax, Cotton, Tobacco, Indigo, Olives, Orange-Trees and Citron-Trees; as alſo white Mulberry-Trees for feeding of Silk-Worms; and that the lands will not be difficult to clear, becauſe there is neither ſtones nor Brambles, but only great trees, which do not grow very thick; ſo that more land may be cleared there in one week, than could be done in Europe in a month. The cuſtom of the country is, that after having cut down theſe great trees, they leave the ſtumps for four or five years to rot, and afterwards eaſily root them up, in order to manure the land.

Nature of the ſoil in Carolina.

It is very certain that Carolina is in general an excellent country; it is true the ground is ſandy, but then it is a ſand impregnated with ſalt or nitre, ſo that it brings forth in great abundance, as the like ſoil does in divers parts of Europe. But what is more particular to Carolina, there are a great number of plantations that have been continually cultivated for near ſixty years, which yet ſtill produce great plenty, without ever being manured by the leaſt dung, for they never lay any on their grounds; the planter only turns up the ſuperficies of the earth, and all that he plants and ſows therein quickly grows and thrives: Thoſe who underſtand ever ſo little of agriculture will be obliged to own, that if the lands of Europe were not conſtantly manured, their ſtrength would be ſo exhauſted, that at length the crops would not pay for their ſeed. But a man who ſhall have a little land in Carolina, and who is not willing to work above two or three hours a day, may very eaſily live there.

Wants no dung. Huſbandry.

The quick improvements made in this colony.

Another conſideration deſerving our notice is the progreſs of the firſt colonies, their ſudden advancement, the riches of the preſent inhabitants, the great number of publick expences for which they provide, the great trade which they carry on at preſent; and laſtly their misfortunes and loſſes, which are entirely repaired. The better to comprehend theſe matters, we ſhall only make the following obſervations, 1. That there were no people in Carolina, till near ſeventy years ago; for the Engliſh did not begin to ſend any thither till the year 1670. 2. That they had at firſt a very fatal beginning, being afflicted with ſickneſſes; and even the plague, which daily diminiſhed the number of the people. 3. The cruel deſtructive diviſions ſprung up among them. 4. That they had a very bad government under the Lords proprietors, being almoſt without juſtice, order or diſcipline. 5. That at a certain time the Pirates interrupted their trade and navigation. 6. That they have often had great droughts. 7. That a terrible fire conſumed almoſt all Charles Town. 8. That they have been at great expence in fortifications, publick edifices, churches, &c. 9. That they have often ſuſtained long wars with the French, Spaniards, and particularly with the Indians, who once united all together to deſtroy the whole province. 10. That notwithſtanding all theſe misfortunes, the people of Carolina, except thoſe who give themſelves up to debauchery, are all rich, either in ſlaves, furniture, cloaths, plate, jewels, or other merchandizes; but eſpecially in cattle; which

Planted but ſixty years ago.

The plague there.

Diviſions.

Bad government under the Lords proprietors.

Plundered by the Pirates

Droughts.

Fire.

Expences of fortifications, &c.

Wars with Indians and Spaniards.

Rich, notwithſtanding theſe calamities.

which ſhews the goodneſs of the country they inhabit.

The moſt part of thoſe, who came firſt thither were very poor and miſerable. Several of thoſe, who are moſt conſiderable, went but as ſervants.

Load two hundred ſhips annually.
Ships of war.
Exports.
Rice.
Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine.
Skins.
Corn.
Fleſh.
Timber.

The trade of Carolina is now ſo conſiderable, that of late years there have ſailed from thence annually above two hundred ſhips, laden with merchandizes of the growth of the country, beſides three ſhips of war, which they commonly have for the ſecurity of the commerce; and laſt winter they had conſtantly five, the leaſt of which had above an hundred men on board. It appears from the cuſtom-houſe entries, from March 1730 to March 1731, that there ſailed within that time from Charles-Town two hundred and ſeven ſhips, moſt of them for England; which carried among other goods forty-one thouſand nine hundred and fifty-ſeven barrels of Rice, about five hundred pound weight per barrel; ten thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-four barrels of Pitch; two thouſand and ſixty-three of Tar, and eleven hundred and fifty-nine of Turpentine; of Deer-ſkins, three hundred caſks, containing eight or nine hundred each; beſides a vaſt quantity of Indian Corn, Peaſe, Beans, &c. beef, pork, and other ſalted fleſh; beams, planks, and timber for building, moſt part of Cedar, Cypreſs, Saſſafras, Oak, Walnut, and Pine.

Trade with the Indians.

They carry on a great trade with the Indians, from whom they get theſe great quantities of Deer-ſkins, and thoſe of other wild beaſts in exchange; for which they give them only Lead, Powder, coarſe Cloth, Vermillion, Iron-ware; and ſome other goods, by which they have a very conſiderable profit.

Slaves.

The great number of ſlaves makes another part of the riches of this province; there being above forty thouſand Negroes, which are worth one with another an hundred Crowns each.

Artificers wanted.
High wages.
One Pound ſterling worth four Pounds Carolina money.

Artificers are ſo ſcarce at preſent, that all ſorts of work is very dear; Taylors, Shoemakers, Smiths, &c. would be particularly acceptable there. A ſkilful Carpenter is not aſhamed to demand 30 s. per day, beſides his diet; and the common wages of a workman is 20 s. per day, provided he ſpeaks Engliſh, without which he cannot be underſtood, and conſequently not ſo uſeful as others; and when a workman has but 10 s. per day, he thinks he labours for almoſt nothing, tho' he has his maintenance beſides. But this is Carolina money.

Shoes.
Tanning.

Moſt of their ſhoes are brought from England, and generally ſell for 40 s. per pair; not but that they have hides enough, and very cheap, an Ox's hide being ſold for 20 s. neither are they deſtitute of the means to tan them, for they make very good Lime with Oyſter-ſhells; and the bark of Oak-Trees is ſo plentiful, that it coſts nothing but the trouble of gathering. They want only therefore a ſufficient number of good Tanners and Shoemakers.

Two hundred thouſand Deer-ſkins exported.

I might ſay the ſame of Leather-dreſſers, ſince they ſend every year to England above two hundred thouſand Deer-ſkins undreſſed; yet Carolina produces Oker naturally, and good fiſh-oil may be had from New-York or New-England very cheap, ſo that they might be dreſſed and made up into breeches in the country; for which thoſe ſkins are very proper, being cool in ſummer and warm in winter.

No Glaſs or earthen ware.

There is not one Potter in all the province, and no earthern ware, but what comes from England, nor glaſs of any kind; ſo that a pot-houſe, and a good glaſs-houſe, would ſucceed perfectly well, not only for Carolina, but for all the colonies in America. There is a kind of ſand and earth, which would be very proper for theſe purpoſes; as alſo wood and fern in abundance, had they but workmen to make uſe of them.

Vines.

The woods are full of wild vines, bearing five or ſix ſorts of Grapes naturally; but for want of Vine-dreſſers, &c. ſcarce any Wine is drank there but what comes from Madeira; which is indeed cheap, for a bottle of excellent Wine coſt laſt winter but 2 s. Carolina money, to thoſe who bought it by the hogſhead.

Cattle.
No Hay.
Butter.
Cattle.

The cattle of Carolina are very fat in ſummer, but as lean in winter, becauſe they can find very little to eat, and have no cover to ſhelter them from the cold, rains, froſts and ſnows, which laſt ſometimes three or four days; only the cattle deſigned for the butchery are fed, and they bad enough, with potatoes, ſtraw and grain; but they always lie in the open field, for there is not one hovel in all the country either for Oxen or Cows. If you object this to the planters, they anſwer, that ſuch houſes or hovels would do very well, but that they have too many other affairs to think of that. The laſt winter being very ſevere, about ten thouſand horned cattle died of hunger and cold; notwithſtanding this, the people will not change their conduct, becauſe they do not underſtand the manner of ordering cattle, nor even know how to mow the Graſs, in order to make it Hay, of which they might have great plenty for fodder. Their ignorance in this reſpect is very great, which is the reaſon that Butter is always very dear, being ſold laſt winter for 7 s. 6 d. per pound; and in January and February laſt, it was ſold at Charles-Town for 12 s. per pound; in a word, nothing would be more eaſy than for perſons, who underſtand country affairs, to grow rich in a little time. There is ſo great a number of cattle, that a certain planter had laſt ſpring two hundred Calves marked, which he let run in the woods with other cattle. Nobody looks after them, or takes any other care, but to bring them together in the evening to lie in a park near the houſe.

Salted fleſh ſent to the iſlands.

At certain times they kill a great many to ſend the fleſh ſalted to ſeveral other colonies where there is little paſturage; particularly to the Iſles of Antilles, the Sugar Iſlands, and in general to all thoſe of the Torrid-Zone.

Horſes.

Horſes, the beſt kind in the world, are ſo plentiful, that you ſeldom ſee any body travel on foot, except Negroes, and they oftner on horſeback; ſo that when a Taylor, a Shoemaker, or any other tradeſman, is obliged to go but three miles from his houſe, it would be very extraordinary to ſee him travel on foot.

Hogs.

There is likewiſe in this country a prodigious number of Swine, which multiply infinitely, and are kept with very little charge, becauſe they find almoſt all the year Acorns, of which there are five or ſix ſorts; as alſo Nuts, Walnuts, Cheſnuts, herbs, roots, &c. in the woods; ſo that if you give them never ſo little at home, they become fat; after which you may ſalt, and ſend great quantities of them to the Iſles of Barbadoes, St. Chriſtopher's, Jamaica, &c. which produce very good returns either in money or merchandizes.

Sheep.

Of all animals in that country, none are a leſs charge than Sheep, for they ſubſiſt only on what they find in the fields, yet are always in good caſe and bring forth their Lambs regularly; and there is a particular ſort, whoſe Wool is not inferior to the fineſt Spaniſh Wool.

Wool. Flax. Cotton. Hemp.

Flax and Cotton thrive admirably, and Hemp grows to thirteen or fourteen foot in height; but as few people know how to order it, there is ſcarce any cultivated; beſides, they want dung, which is very neceſſary for that purpoſe, few plants weakening land ſo much as Hemp does: However, this is one of the articles which would produce moſt profit, becauſe the parliament has allowed ſo much per tun upon all Hemp which comes from the Engliſh plantations in America, in order, that in time of war they may have no need of Hemp from Ruſſia and Poland. Beſides this encouragement, which is to laſt above twenty years longer, there is an exemption from ſome other duties on importation, which, joined together, makes an advantage of about 40 l. per cent. over that of Hemp from other parts.

Rice. Indian Corn. Poultry. Pigeons. Wild Turkeys, and other wild fowl.

Rice and Indian Corn produce at leaſt an hundred fold, and would much more, if the land was better cultivated. The eaſineſs of procuring ſuch a plenty of grain, is the reaſon that the planters have, or may have at all times a yard filled with Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geeſe, Ducks, &c. alſo a good Pigeon-houſe, without being at any expence. There is great plenty of game of all ſorts, but eſpecially wild Turkeys, ſome of which are thirty pound weight; and thoſe who love fowling may eaſily take them. With Indian Corn they make pretty good bread, becauſe it is much finer and better than in Swiſſerland, or in any other part of Europe; where it is commonly called Turkey Corn. (This ſeems to be a miſtake; Turkey Wheat is a very different thing.)

Mulberries. Silk.

Perſons may grow rich in Carolina without being at much expence or labour, by planting white Mulberry-Trees for feeding of Silk-worms, there being perhaps no country in the world where thoſe trees grow better, nor where the Silk is finer than in Carolina; they grow ſo much in ſo ſhort a time, that we dare ſcarce mention it. Captain SCOTT had one at the back of his houſe at Port-Royal not above ſeven or eight years old, the body whereof was above two foot round. It would be difficult to believe this if it was not confirmed by other Mulberry-trees of four or five years old at Port-Royal, Weſtmeſaa, Gouſcrick and other plantations, the trunks whereof are near a foot diameter; but as all the planters apply themſelves chiefly to the production of Rice, Pitch and Tar, there is very little uſe made of them. However, thoſe who have been in Provence and Languedoc, know that the ſhipping of a Mulberry-tree, that is, the leaves of a ſummer, are commonly ſold for a Crown, and ſometimes two, altho' the Silk of thoſe two provinces is but very indifferent; from whence it may eaſily be conjectured what riches Carolina would produce if this affair was well managed. All other trees grow there in the ſame proportion, and much faſter than in Europe, but particularly the Peach-tree; for the third year it is commonly loaded with fruit, and is a great tree the fourth year.

Rice, Pitch, and Tar.

Trees.

Thoſe that have any deſire to go and ſettle there may farther take notice of three or four obſervations.

Situation.

1. That South-Carolina is not only ſituated in the ſame degree of heat, fertility and temperature of air (which is about 33 degrees latitude) as Barbary, the Iſle of Candia, Syria, Perſia, Mogoliſtan, China, and in general all the beſt countries in the univerſe; but it is alſo the only country of all thoſe the Engliſh poſſeſs that is ſituated in that degree; and there is all the reaſon in the world to believe, that if there be now an opportunity to have lands there for nothing, this advantage will not continue long; at leaſt it is very certain, that thoſe who ſhall come firſt will have the choice of lands, as alſo the proximity of rivers, much better than thoſe that ſhall come afterwards.

Planters encouraged to go over.

Produce. Cloathing.

2. That by means of the Wool, Cotton, Flax, and Hemp, it will be eaſy to procure all Linen neceſſary, as alſo good Cloth and Stuffs for cloathing, without being forced to purchaſe them at a very dear rate from the ſhops, as moſt of the planters are at preſent; and what is ſtill an article very conſiderable, there will be no danger of wanting proviſions in a country ſo plentiful, unleſs ſome accidents happen, which cannot be foreſeen by human prudence: We may be aſſured that hail-ſtones will not deprive the inhabitants thereof.

Victuals.

Neareſt to the Sugar iſlands.

3. That Carolina being of all the neighbouring provinces, which the Engliſh poſſeſs on the continent of North-America, from 29 to 49 degrees of latitude, not only the largeſt and moſt productive of neceſſaries, but alſo the moſt ſouthward and neareſt to Jamaica, Barbadoes, and all the Iſlands of the Antilles, which have occaſion for ſalted proviſions, bread, wine, fruits and roots, and ſeveral other things, we need not heſitate a moment to prefer it to all the other Colonies on the north-ſide. And beſides the great advantages which may accrue to the inhabitants by the fertility of the land and the temperateneſs of the climate, the ſituation thereof, for trade, will always draw ſhips into its ports, which there finding at a reaſonable price and in good order all that the other moſt diſtant provinces can have, will hardly go ſo far whilſt any thing is to be had in Carolina.

Situated well for trade.

Liberty of conſcience.

Juſtice.

4. And laſtly. And what is of greater importance than all is, that there is an entire liberty of conſcience and commerce for all that come thither, without paying any thing for it. Juſtice is duly adminiſtered to all, and every body can ſay, that what he poſſeſſes lawfully belongs to him in full propriety. There are no tenths, impoſts, tallies, nor capitation taxes, nor any of thoſe burthens which render ſo many other people unhappy. In a word, you have all the laws, liberties and privileges there which are enjoyed in England. It is the lower houſe that has the diſpoſal of the money of the province, and who vote the taxes neceſſary for the publick ſervice; however, with the approbation of the upper houſe, and that of his Majeſty repreſented by the Governor.

Property ſecured.

Conſtitution.

> We whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, do atteſt, that all which is contained in this account of South-Carolina, is the real truth, having been eye-witneſſes of moſt part of the pariculars therein mentioned. Done at Charles-Town the 23d of September, 1731.
>
> JOHN PETER PURRY of Neufchatel.
> JAMES RICHARD of Geneva.
> ABRAHAM MEURON of St. Sulpy in the county of Neufchatel.
> HENRY RAYMOND of St. Sulpy.

Remarks on Mr. PURRY's account of Carolina.

Notwithſtanding the ſolemn atteſtation of theſe gentlemen, their account of Carolina muſt be read with grains of allowance. It was evidently their intention to repreſent the country in the faireſt

eſt light to invite planters to go over and ſettle there; but it was my good fortune to correſpond with another gentleman of figure, who reſided in Carolina a conſiderable time, that has ſet ſeveral matters right, which Mr. PURRY and his friends endeavoured to diſguiſe, or were not ſufficiently informed in.

Corn.

He admits that Engliſh Wheat will grow in Carolina, but ſays it is apt to mildew, and produces but a ſmall grain, the heat drawing it up to a great height, ſo that there is much ſtraw and little grain; they have therefore their flour from Penſylvania and New-York, which per hundred weight ſeldom exceeds the value of an hundred weight of Rice, which growing ſo much better, is the only grain they propagate there to ſpeak of; altho' ſome Barley and Oats they have, but they alſo do as the Wheat run into ſtraw, and produce but a light grain, nor will they keep for the Wevil or Bug.

Grapes.

The European Grapes which have been tranſplanted thither, produce their ripe fruit the latter end of June, at which time the heats and rains are ſo violent and frequent, that they do not ripen kindly, but are moſtly rotten before ripe; beſides that, the juice, I am apt to think (at that time) would ferment away all the ſpirits; for in Portugal, where you know I lived many years, their vintage is in October, when the heats are over; probably they will ſome time make wine from the Grapes of the country, of which they have great abundance and no ſmall variety, and they ripen at a proper ſeaſon; but at preſent the people's fortunes will not admit of going out of the common and beaten road, ſo that very few, if any, have tried them.

Silk.

Hemp and Flax.

Silk does mighty well, and is as good (as Mr. LOMBE, now Sir THOMAS, one of the Aldermen of London, told me) as any of the Italian Silk; but it requires many hands, and the buſy time of feeding the worms, which laſts about five weeks, and begins the latter end of March, is juſt when they are planting and howing their Rice: As for Hemp or Flax, they were beginning to try them when I left the country, but I am told they do not grow well there: The exceſſive heats muſt be the occaſion of it; therefore North-Carolina, I ſhould think would do better, Georgia worſe. I have ſeen a ſingle plant of Hemp as thick as my leg.

Coffee.

Tea.

Coffee has been tried, but will not bear the winter in South-Carolina; what it will do in Georgia I know not; that place is a degree and half to the ſouthward of Charles-Town. As for Tea we know nothing of it, there never was a plant of it there; but it is in the ſame latitude as Peking in China, ſo that it is judged it will thrive there; but that is all that we know.

Exports.
Rice.
Skins.
Tar.
Pitch.
Turpentine.
Maſts.
Oak.

They produce and ſhip off yearly about 60,000 barrels of Rice, each containing about four hundred weight neat; they have ſhipped off about 70,000 Deer-ſkins at a medium for theſe ten years paſt; they did make great quantities of Tar, yet now they ſend little of that, but chiefly Pitch, the Engliſh of late having moſt of their Tar from Norway; but we ſend about 20,000 barrels of Pitch a year, and our Tar has reduced the price of that of Norway from fifty Shillings and three Pound a barrel, to twelve and fifteen Shillings; and if ſomething did not biaſs our people at home more than their judgment, our Tar would ſtill be in demand, and eſteemed as good as that of Norway. We have ſent home 70,000 barrels in a year; and probably ſend home 10,000 barrels of Turpentine, and could ſend more if there was any demand for it. Our yellow or Pitch-pine, is as good for maſts and planks as any in the world; and our live Oak the beſt (not excepting the Engliſh) for knees, or what the Carpenters call compaſs timber for ſhipping; but none has been yet ſent home. We have many other ſorts of Oak better than that of New-England.

Shipping.

Buffaloes.
Trade with the Indians.

Carriage.

They have very little ſhipping of their own in Carolina, having never built above four or five ſhips there, but more ſloops; however, they load about two hundred ſail of ſhips yearly at Charles-Town, and ſome at Port-Royal and Winyaw. They traffick with the natives for Deer-ſkins, and Bear and Buffaloe-ſkins; for which they give them Guns, Powder, Knives, Sciſſars, Looking-glaſſes, Beads, and many other trifles, and ſome coarſe Cloths, Strouds, Duffils, and coarſe Callicoes, &c. for their women; and they carry them on Pack-horſes for five or ſix hundred miles to the weſtward of Charles-Town, as far as the Chockſaw nation, and the Chikiſaws: Tho' they go ſo far but ſparingly, the moſt of the trade being confined within the limits of the Creek and Charokee nations, which is not above three hundred miles.

Different product of North and South Carolina.

It may be proper to obſerve here, that North-Carolina produces a good quantity of Tobacco, and but little Rice; and South-Carolina, on the contrary, produces vaſt quantities of Rice, and little Tobacco; but as to the reſt of their vegetables and produce, they are much the ſame.

The hiſtory of the plantation of this colony.

Carolina being juſtly looked upon as part of the ancient Virginia, ſince it was hither the firſt colonies were ſent by Sir WALTER RALEIGH, in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, it was thought fit, after the reſtoration of King CHARLES II. to revive the Britiſh claim to this country, in which no European power had then any ſettlements; for both the Spaniards and the French, who had ſent colonies to this coaſt (after thoſe misfortunes which drove the firſt Engliſh planters from thence) had abandoned them again for a great many years.

The firſt patent granted to the proprietors.

Second patent.

King CHARLES therefore, well apprized of the happy ſituation of this country, and that there was a proſpect of raiſing Wine, Oil and Silk, and almoſt every thing that Great-Britain wanted there, granted a patent, bearing date the 24th of March 1663, to EDWARD Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England, GEORGE Duke of Albemarle, WILLIAM Lord Craven, JOHN Lord Berkley, ANTHONY Lord Aſhley, Sir GEORGE CARTERET, and Sir WILLIAM COLLITON, to plant all thoſe territories in America, between St. Matheo in 31 degrees, and Luck-Iſland in 36 degrees, north latitude; and between the Atlantick-Ocean on the eaſt, and the South-Sea, or Pacifick-Ocean on the weſt: Indeed the Clerks that drew the patent ſeem to have been miſtaken in the latitude of St. Matheo, making it lie in 31, whereas it lies much nearer 30 degrees. However, it is evident, that Prince looked upon his territories to extend as far ſouthward as St. Matheo, and conſequently that not only Port-Royal, but the new province of Georgia, and ſeveral miles beyond, belonged to Great-Britain; and probably the miſtake of the latitude in the aboveſaid patent, was one reaſon the patentees procured another two years afterwards, viz. 17 CAR. II. extending the bounds of Carolina to Carotock River, or Inlet, in 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude;

titude; and as far as 29 degrees ſouth. If his preſent Majeſty therefore has been pleaſed to bound his dominions in America on the ſouth, by the river Alatamaha or May, he has expreſſed great moderation with regard to the Spaniards. The laſt patent of King CHARLES II. being a ſufficient authority to extend them even beyond St. Matheo, and St. Auguſtins, which lies within the limits of that patent.

Carolina planted by the Engliſh.

The form of government there.

The proprietors impowered to create noblemen.

Perpetual diſtractions in theſe colonies.

In danger of being deſtroyed by the natives.

The King purchaſes Carolina.

The intereſt of the Prince and people is to encourage theſe colonies.

The proprietors did little towards planting Carolina till the year 1670, when they agreed upon a form of government for their colonies, ſaid to be ſtruck out by ANTHONY Lord Aſhley, afterwards Earl of Shaftſbury, one of the proprietors, whereby it was provided, that a Palatine ſhould be choſen out of the proprietors, to hold that office during his life, and be ſucceeded after his death by the next eldeſt of the proprietors for life; and in like manner the reſt of the proprietors and their reſpective heirs were to ſucceed to the office of Palatine, according to their ſeniority. The Palatine, for the time being, was impowered to appoint the Governor of the province; but then, as a check upon him, he was in great part of his adminiſtration to act with the concurrence of a council, conſiſting of ſeven deputies, appointed by the ſeven proprietors, ſeven more choſen by the aſſembly or repreſentatives of the freemen, and ſeven of the eldeſt Landgraves or Caciques; for the proprietors were impowered by their patent to create a certain number of noblemen with the titles of Landgraves and Caciques, (but were reſtrained from conferring Engliſh titles on them, ſuch as Dukes, Earls, Barons, &c.) and theſe were to conſtitute the upper houſe; from whence it appears, that Lord Shaftſbury intended to have a Palatine for chief Magiſtrate, inſtead of a King, with an upper and lower houſe: But then the authority of his Palatine or chief Magiſtrate was ſo limited, that he had little more than the name of Palatine: The Lords were to be created by the ſeven proprietors, and not by the Palatine alone, and conſequently would not be in any danger of being creatures of the Palatine, or the Governor appointed by him; but this fine-ſpun ſcheme, it ſeems, never took place in all its projected parts. There were but few Landgraves or Caciques made, nor were they ever ſummoned to ſit in parliament as a houſe of peers; but the deputies of the ſeven proprietors, and the great Officers of ſtate, conſtituted their upper houſe: And thus did Lord Shaftſbury imagine he had ſupplied all the defects in the conſtitution of his mother country. But from hence we may learn how much eaſier it is to find fault with a conſtitution, than to mend it; for never did ſuch confuſions ariſe in any government as in this. There were perpetual ſtruggles for ſuperiority, and ſometimes the people found themſelves intolerably oppreſſed by their Governors; at others, the people became mutinous and ſeditious, depoſed, tried and baniſhed their Governors; and what was ſtill worſe, all agreed to enſlave the Indians, which provoked them to murder many of the planters, and plunder their ſettlements; and the Indians at length became ſo formidable, that it was expected the Engliſh would have been totally extirpated, which compelled the planters to implore the protection of the crown, as the only means to reſtore tranquillity to theſe colonies, and oppoſe the outrages of the natives: His preſent Majeſty therefore, in compaſſion to theſe colonies, was pleaſed to purchaſe the intereſt of the ſeveral proprietors about the year 1728; whereby the colonies of North-Carolina are not only become Royal Governments, and modelled now like that of England; but his Majeſty, as I apprehend, is ſole proprietor, or ground-landlord (if I may ſo term it) of theſe pleaſant and fruitful countries, and thereby poſſeſſed of the largeſt and faireſt demeſnes at preſent of any Prince in Europe: They are of a much greater extent than ever were poſſeſſed by the greateſt of the Kings of England his predeceſſors; and our poſterity (if not the preſent generation) poſſibly may ſee the crown ſo greatly enriched by this purchaſe, as to defray all the ordinary charges of the government out of the revenues of the crown-lands; as the Kings of England antiently did, without depending on the benevolence of the ſubject. But whether his majeſty purchaſed theſe provinces of the proprietors as King of England, or as a private gentleman, I confeſs I am not fully appriſed: And if he did not purchaſe them as King of England, the crown may not be much the richer, tho' his Majeſty's poſterity in a private capacity will. However, let it be one way or other, I ſhall beg leave to congratulate his Majeſty and the nation upon this happy event, it being now the joint intereſt of Prince and people to encourage theſe plantations, which, if well managed, will furniſh Great-Britain in time with naval ſtores, Silk, Wine and Oil, and every thing ſhe wants, which we are at preſent compelled to purchaſe of foreigners with an immenſe treaſure; and at the ſame time advance our own manufactures to a very great degree, by the exportation of them to thoſe countries in return for what we recieve from thence.

Sir ALEXANDER CUMMINS takes a view of Florida, 500 miles weſt of Charles-Town.

French forts there.

The King had no ſooner purchaſed the colonies of North and South-Carolina of the proprietors, as related above, but Sir ALEXANDER CUMMINS, a Scots gentleman, was employed to procure a true ſtate of thoſe countries by his own view of the moſt diſtant parts of them: Whereupon he ſet out from Charles-Town on the 13th of March, 1729, accompanied by eight or ten people, traders and others, who had ſome knowledge of the country; and having travelled as far as Mr. RUSSEL's plantation, an hundred miles to the weſtward of Charles-Town, Mr. RUSSEL informed him, that the French had been endeavouring for two years paſſed to bring over the lower Charokees to their intereſt, and that he had already acquainted the government with the encroachments of the French, who had been building forts in the Creek nation for ſeveral years paſſed.

Sir ALEXANDER taking leave of Mr. RUSSEL arrived at Keowee, the firſt town of the Charokees, being about three hundred miles from Charles-Town; where he was informed by Mr. BARKER a trader, that the February before meſſengers came from the lower Creeks to the Charokees, inviting them to come over to the French intereſt. Whereupon the Charokees directed the Creeks to go to the French and receive their preſents firſt, and then to return to them with their report: And upon the return of thoſe meſſengers, he (BARKER) expected the lower Charokees would have riſen, for at that time they were ſo unruly the traders durſt ſcarce ſpeak to them.

The Charokees acknowledge the King of Great-Britain their Sovereign.

However, Sir ALEXANDER met with ſome of their Chiefs that night in the town-houſe, where they were aſſembled with three hundred of their people, and recieved their ſubmiſſion to the King of Great-Britain on their knees; he afterwards cauſed them to diſpatch meſſengers to all their tribes, requiring the Chiefs of every town to meet him on the 3d of April at Nequaſſie.

On the 27th of March Sir ALEXANDER arrived at Taſſetche in the middle of their ſettlements; and that night there happened ſuch a terrible ſtorm of thunder and lightning as had not been known in the memory of man, at which the Indians were amazed and confounded; and their conjurer (or prieſt) came the next morning, and told Sir ALEXANDER, he knew he was come to govern their nation, and they muſt ſubmit to whatever he commanded. On the 29th arriving at Telliquo in the upper ſettlements, two hundred miles weſt of Keowee, MOYTOY their chief warrior told him, that the ſeveral nations intended to make him their head or Generaliſſimo, but that was now left to Sir ALEXANDER.

On the 3d of April, Sir ALEXANDER returned to Nequaſſie, where the King's warriors, conjurers and beloved men of all the tribes aſſembled, according to his ſummons: Here with great ſolemnity he was placed in a chair by MOYTOY's orders, MOYTOY and the conjurers ſtanding about him while the warriors ſtroaked him with thirteen Eagles tails, and their ſingers ſung from morning till night; and, as their cuſtom is on ſolemn occaſions, they faſted the whole day.

After this ſolemnity of ſtroaking him was over, Sir ALEXANDER, in a ſpeech to them, repreſenting the great power and goodneſs of his Majeſty King GEORGE, who he called the great man on the other ſide of the great water, ſaid, that himſelf and all his ſubjects were to him as children, and they all obeyed whatever the great King ordered; and required MOYTOY and all the head warriors to acknowledge themſelves dutiful ſubjects and ſons to King GEORGE, and promiſe that they would do whatſoever Sir ALEXANDER ſhould require of them (that he might be the better able to anſwer for their conduct;) all which they did on their knees, calling upon every thing that was terrible to them to deſtroy them, and wiſhing they might become no people if they violated their promiſe of obedience! Sir ALEXANDER then ordered that the head warriors ſhould anſwer for the conduct of their people to MOYTOY, whom he declared their Chief and Generaliſſimo, by the unanimous conſent of the whole people, and to whom, at Sir ALEXANDER's deſire, they all gave an unlimited power over them, provided he were accountable to Sir ALEXANDER for his adminiſtration.

April 4th, the crown was brought from Great-Tannaſſie, which with five Eagles tails, and four ſcalps of their enemies, MOYTOY preſented to Sir ALEXANDER, impowering him to lay the ſame at his Majeſty's feet.

Six of their Chiefs come to England.

Sir ALEXANDER then propoſing to take ſix of their Chiefs to England with him to do homage to the King in perſon, ſix of them immediately offered to go with him, and a ſeventh joined him at his arrival at Charles-Town on the 13th of April, and embarking together in the Fox man of war the 4th of May, they arrived at Dover on the 6th of June, 1730.

The Indian Chiefs having been admitted to an audience by King GEORGE, and in the name of their reſpective nations promiſed to remain his Majeſty's moſt faithful and obedient ſubjects, a treaty of alliance was drawn up, and ſigned by the ſix Chiefs on the one ſide, and ALURED POPPLE, Eſq; Secretary to the Lords Commiſſioners of trade and plantations on the other, on Monday Sept. 7th, 1730; and the treaty was read and interpreted to them.

A treaty of alliance with them.

The preamble whereof recites, that whereas the ſaid Chiefs with the conſent of the whole nation of Charokee-Indians at a general meeting on the 3d of April, 1730, were deputed by MOYTOY their head warrior to attend Sir ALEXANDER CUMMINS, Bart. to Great-Britain, where they had ſeen the great King GEORGE; and Sir ALEXANDER, by authority from the ſaid MOYTOY and all the Charokee people, had laid the crown of their nation, with the ſcalps of their enemies, and feathers of glory, at his Majeſty's feet, as a pledge of their loyalty: The great King had commanded the ſaid Lords Commiſſioners to inform them, that the Engliſh every where on all ſides of the great mountains and lakes were his people, that their friends were his friends, and their enemies his enemies, and that he took it kindly the great nation of the Charokees had ſent them ſo far to brighten the chain of friendſhip between him and them, and between their people and his people: That the chain of friendſhip between him and the Charokee-Indians is like the Sun, which both ſhines here and alſo upon the great mountains where they live, and equally warms the hearts of the Indians and of the Engliſh: That as there are no ſpots of blackneſs in the Sun, ſo is there not any ruſt or foulneſs in this chain, and as the King has faſtened one end of it to his own breaſt, he deſires you will carry the other end of the chain and faſten it well to the breaſt of MOYTOY of Telliquo, and to the breaſts of your old wiſe men, your Captains, and all your people, never more to be broken or made looſe; and hereupon we give two pieces of blue Cloth.

The great King and the Charokee-Indians being thus faſtened together by the chain of friendſhip, he has ordered his people and children, the Engliſh in Carolina, to trade with the Indians, and to furniſh them with all manner of goods that they want and to make haſte to build houſes, and to plant Corn from Charles-Town towards the town of the Charokees behind the great mountains; for he deſires that the Indians and the Engliſh may live together as the children of one family, wherof the great King is a kind loving father; and as the King has given his land on both ſides of the great mountains to his own children the Engliſh, ſo he now gives to the Charokee-Indians the privilege of living where they pleaſe; and hereupon we give one piece of red Cloth.

The great nation of Charokees being now the children of the great King of Great-Britain, and he their father, the Charokees muſt treat the Engliſh as brethren of the ſame family, and muſt be always ready at the Governor's command to fight againſt any nation, whether they be white men or Indians, who ſhall dare to moleſt or hurt the Engliſh; and hereupon we give twenty guns.

The nation of the Charokees ſhall on their part take care to keep the trading path clean, and that there be no blood in the path where the Engliſh white men tread, even tho' they ſhould be accompanied by any other people with whom the Charokees are at war; whereupon we give four hundred pound weight of gun-powder.

That the Charokees ſhall not ſuffer their people to trade with the white men of any other nation but the Engliſh, nor permit the white men of any other nation to build any forts or cabins, or plant corn amongſt them, or near any of the Indian towns, or upon the lands which belong unto the great King; and if any ſuch attempt ſhall be made, you muſt acquaint the Engliſh Governor therewith, and do whatever he directs, in order to maintain and defend the great Kings right to the country of Carolina; whereupon we give five hundred pound weight of Swan-ſhot, and five hundred pound weight of bullets.

That if any Negroe ſlaves ſhall run away into the woods from their Engliſh maſters, the Charokee-Indians ſhall endeavour to apprehend them, and either bring them back to the plantation from whence they run away, or to the Governor; and for every Negroe ſo apprehended and brought back, the Indian who brings him back ſhall recieve a gun and a watch-coat; whereupon we give a box of vermilion, ten thouſand gun-flints, and ſix dozen of hatchets.

That if by any accidental misfortune it ſhould happen, that an Engliſhman ſhould kill an Indian, the King or great man of the Charokees ſhall firſt complain to the Engliſh Governor, and the man who did it ſhall be puniſhed by the Engliſh laws, as if he had killed an Engliſhman; and in the like manner, if an Indian kills an Engliſhman, the Indian who did it ſhall be delivered up to the Governor, and be puniſhed by the ſame Engliſh laws, as if he were an Engliſhman; whereupon we give ſix dozen of ſpring-knives, four dozen of kettles, and ten dozen of belts.

You are to underſtand all that we have now ſaid to be the words of the great King whom you have ſeen; and as a token that his heart is open and true to his children and friends the Charokees, and to all their people, he gives this belt, which he deſires may be kept and ſhewn to all your people, and to their children and childrens children, to confirm what is now ſpoken, and to bind this agreement of peace and friendſhip between the Engliſh and Charokees, as long as the mountains and rivers ſhall laſt, or the ſun ſhine; whereupon we give this belt of Wampum.

O. K. OUKAH ULAH
By command of their K. SHALCLOSKEN
Lordſhips, White- KETAGUSTAH
hall, September 9, T. TATHTOWE
1730. C. CLOGOITTAH
ALURED POPPLE. K. KOLLANNAH
U. UKWANEEQUA

Theſe are to certify, MOYTOY of Telliquo, that I have ſeen, peruſed, and do approve of all the articles contained in the above agreement, to which the Indians above-mentioned have by my advice given their conſent.

ALEX. CUMMINS.

The anſwer of the Indian Chiefs to the foregoing articles, as it was delivered by KETAGUSTAH, the 9th of September, 1730.

The ſpeech of the Indians on ſigning the articles.

“We are come hither from a dark mountainous place, where nothing but darkneſs is to be found, but are now in a place where there is light.

“There was a perſon in our country with us, he gave us a yellow token of warlike honour that is left with MOYTOY of Telliquo, and as warriors we received it. He came to us like a warrior from you, a man he is, his talk is upright, and the token he left preſerves his memory amongſt us.

“We look upon you as if the great King GEORGE was preſent, and we love you as repreſenting the great King, and ſhall die in the ſame way of thinking.

“The crown of our nation is different from that which the great King GEORGE wears, and from that which we ſaw in the Tower, but to us it is all one, and the chain of friendſhip ſhall be carried to our people.

“We look upon the great King GEORGE as the ſun, and as our father, and upon ourſelves as his children; for tho' we are red and you are white, yet our hands and hearts are joined together.

“When we ſhall have acquainted our people with what we have ſeen, our children from generation to generation will always remember it.

“In war we ſhall always be as one with you; the great King GEORGE's enemies ſhall be our enemies, his people and ours ſhall be always one, and ſhall die together.

“We came hither naked and poor as the Worm of the earth, but you have every thing, and we that have nothing muſt love you, and can never break the chain of friendſhip which is between us.

“Here ſtands the Governor of Carolina, whom we know. This ſmall rope we ſhew you, is all we have to bind our ſlaves with, and may be broken, but you have iron chains for yours; however, if we catch your ſlaves, we ſhall bind them as well as we can, and deliver them to our friends again, and have no pay for it.

“We have looked round for the perſon that was in our country, he is not here; however, we muſt ſay, he talked uprightly to us, and we ſhall never forget him.

“Your white people may very ſafely build houſes near us, we ſhall hurt nothing that belongs to them, for we are the children of one father, the great King, and ſhall live and die together.

Then laying down his feathers upon the table, he added, “This is our way of talking, which is the ſame thing to us, as your letters in the book are to you; and to you beloved men, we deliver theſe feathers in confirmation of all that we have ſaid.”

The Indian Chiefs return home.

A patent for erecting Georgia into a province. The truſtees.

The Indian Chiefs were entertained and ſhewn the publick buildings while they remained in London; and having received ſeveral preſents from the court and private gentlemen, took their paſſage home again in one of his Majeſty's ſhips; and a patent paſſed the ſeals in 1732, appointing the following Gentlemen truſtees for the planters of a new province to be called Georgia, and to be taken out of the ſouth part of South-Carolina, viz. The Lord Viſcount PERCIVAL, JOHN CARPENTER, GEORGE HEATHCOTE, ROBERT MOORE, ROGERS HOLLAND, FRANCIS EYLES, JAMES VERNON, EDWARD DIGBY, JAMES OGLETHORPE, ROBERT HUCKS, WILLIAM SLOOPER, JOHN LAROCHE, WILLIAM BELITHA, Eſqrs; JOHN BURTON, B. D. STEPHEN HALES, M. A. The reverend RICHARD BUNDY, ARTHUR BEDFORD, and SAMUEL SMITH, ADAM ANDERSON, and THOMAS CORAM, gentlemen. The patent recites, that his Majeſty having taken into conſideration the miſerable circumſtances of many of his own poor ſubjects, as likewiſe the diſtreſſes of many foreigners who would take refuge from perſecution; and having a princely regard to the great danger the ſouthern frontiers of South-Carolina are expoſed to, by reaſon of the ſmall number of white inhabitants there, hath granted a charter for incorporating a number of gentlemen by the name of the Truſtees for eſtabliſhing the colony of Georgia, in America; and they are empowered to collect benefactions, and lay them out in cloathing, arming, ſending over, and ſupporting colonies of the poor, whether ſubjects or foreigners, till they can build houſes and clear lands. And his Majeſty farther grants them all his lands between the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, which he erects into a province by the name of Georgia, for the benefit of the adventurers.

Lord PERCIVAL Preſident. Their ſeal.

The truſtees ſoon after aſſembled, and elected the Lord PERCIVAL their Preſident, and ordered a common ſeal to be made with the following device, viz. On one ſide the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah, the north and ſouth boundaries of Georgia, and between them the genius of the colony ſeated with the cap of liberty upon her head, a ſpear in one hand, and a cornucopia in the other, with this motto, Colonia Georgia Aug. On the reverſe, are Silk-worms at work, with this motto, Non ſibi ſed aliis.— The leader, Miniſter, and others of the Swiſs proteſtants who were going adventurers to Carolina having attended the truſtees, they ordered a library of books to be given the Miniſter for him and his ſucceſſors, and a ſum of money to the planters to ſubſiſt them on their voyage, and at their firſt arrival. For Mr. PURRY on his return from Carolina to Swiſſerland with the aboveſaid deſcription of the country, had prevailed on many induſtrious perſons and their families to the number of four hundred to go with him thither, and while the tranſports lay in Dover road, Mr. BIGNION their Miniſter came to London and received epiſcopal ordination, ſo that the reflections which ſome had caſt on the religion of theſe people ſeem to be unjuſtly founded.

A colony of Swiſs ſent to Georgia.

Their Miniſter epiſcopally ordained at London.

Mr. OGLETHORPE ſails with a detachment of Engliſh for Georgia.

In the month of November 1732, Mr. OGLETHORPE, one of the Truſtees, ſailed with ſeveral Engliſh families to Georgia; the men being Farmers, Carpenters, Bricklayers, and other working trades, they took with them all manner of tools and inſtruments proper for their reſpective employments. There was put on board alſo twelve tun of Alderman PARSON's beſt Beer, and they were to touch at the Madera's, and take in Wine there for the uſe of the Colony. The planters were inſtructed in military diſcipline before they went by the Officers of the Guards, as all others were ordered to be who were ſent thither, and furniſhed with ſwords and fire-arms; his Majeſty alſo ſent over ſeventy-four pieces of canon, with a proportionable quantity of ammunition, warlike ſtores, tools and implements for erecting fortreſſes in proper places; and the Rev. Dr. HERBERT went over with them as Chaplain: Large ſums were afterwards collected among the nobility and gentry, and twenty-five thouſand Pounds raiſed at one time by parliament for the ſupport of the planters: For all the Swiſs, Saltzburghers, and other foreigners, as well as the Britiſh planters, were furniſhed by the ſaid truſtees with neceſſaries and proviſions to ſubſiſt them in their voyage, and for a year after their arrival, and till they ſhould be able to provide for themſelves by their labour and the produce of the country.

Large ſums raiſed for the Colony.

The town of Savannah founded.

Mr. OGLETHORPE arriving at Port-Royal in Carolina with his people, proceeded to lay out the town of Savannah already deſcribed; and in a letter dated from thence, February 10, 1732-3, tells the Truſtees, that the Governor and people of Carolina had given him great aſſiſtance; that they had ordered a party of horſe and their ſcout-boats to attend and protect the new Colony, while they were employed in erecting the town and works; and had made them a preſent of an hundred breeding cattle, beſides Hogs, and twenty barrels of Rice.

The Creeks confirm the lands to the Engliſh.

On the 20th of May, 1733, the Chiefs of the lower Creek nation to the number of fifty perſons with their attendants arrived at Savannah, and acquainted Mr. OGLETHORPE that they laid claim to all the lands on the ſouth of the River Savannah; but ſaid, as he who had given the Engliſh more wiſdom had ſent them thither for their inſtruction, ſo they freely gave and reſigned to them all their right in the ſaid lands which they did not uſe themſelves: And having heard that the Charokee Indians had killed ſome Engliſhmen, they offered to revenge their death on the Charokees, if Mr. OGLETHORPE commanded them. After which, articles of commerce were agreed on between the Colony and the Creeks, and a lac'd Coat, Hat, and Shirts were given to each of the Chiefs, with a preſent of Gunpowder, Iriſh Linen, Tobacco, Pipes, Tape of all colours, Bullets, and eight cags of Rum to carry home to their ſeveral towns, with ſome Cloth for their attendants.

Articles of commerce.

A preſent made the Creeks.

The firſt ſhip that carried goods to Savannah was the James, Capt. YOAKLY Commander, of a hundred and ten tons, which arrived there the 14th of June, 1733; and the prize that was ordered by the Truſtees to be delivered to the firſt ſhip that unloaded there was given to the Captain.

An alliance with the natives.

In the year 1734, an alliance was made with another Indian nation called the Natchees, tending greatly to the ſecurity of the Colony, and the ſame year the planters reaped their firſt crop of Indian Corn, which yielded them a thouſand buſhels.

An Indian King and Queen come to England with Mr. OGLETHORPE.

Mr. OGLETHORPE returning to England again was accompanied by TOMO CHICHI, one of the Kings of the Creek nation, and SENAUKI his Queen, with TOOANAKOWKI their ſon, and HILLISPILLI one of their war Captains. TOMO CHICHI had an audience of his Majeſty at Kenſington on the firſt of Auguſt, 1734, when 'tis ſaid he made the following ſpeech:

His ſpeech to King GEORGE.

This day I ſee the majeſty of your face, the greatneſs of your houſe, and the number of your people; I am come, for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace which was long ago had with the Engliſh; I am come over in my old days, tho' I cannot live to ſee any advantage to myſelf; I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the upper and lower Creeks, that they may be inſtructed in the knowledge of the Engliſh.

Theſe are the feathers of the Eagle which is the ſwifteſt of birds, and who flieth all around our nations: Theſe feathers are a ſign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there; and we have brought them over to leave with you, O great King, as a ſign of everlaſting peace.

O great King, whatſoever words you ſhall ſay unto me, I will tell them faithfully to all the Kings of the Creek nations.

To which his Majeſty graciouſly anſwered, I am glad of this opportunity of aſſuring you of my regard for the people from whom you come, and am extremely well pleaſed with the aſſurances you have brought me from them; and accept very gratefully this preſent as an indication of their good diſpoſition to me and my people. I ſhall always be ready to cultivate a good correſpondence between them and my own ſubjects, and ſhall be glad of any occaſion to ſhew you a mark of my particular friendſhip and eſteem.

Tomo Chichi afterwards made the following ſpeech to her Majeſty.

I am glad to ſee this day, and to have the opportunity of ſeeing the mother of this great people.

As our people are joined with your Majeſties, we do humbly hope to find you the common mother and protectreſs of us and all our children.

To which her Majeſty returned a moſt gracious anſwer.

The war Captain, and other attendants of Tomo Chichi, were very importunate to appear at court in the manner they go in their own country, which is only with a covering round their waiſt, the reſt of their body being naked, but were diſſuaded from it by Mr. Oglethorpe; however, their faces were variouſly painted after their country manner; ſome half black, others triangular, and others with bearded arrows inſtead of whiſkers. Tomo Chichi and Senauki his wife were dreſſed in ſcarlet trimm'd with gold.

When they returned they were carried to Graveſend in the King's coaches, and embarked for Carolina on the 30th of October. While they ſtaid in England, which was about four months, they were allowed twenty pounds a week for their table, and were entertained in a moſt magnificent manner by the court and perſons of diſtinction; whatever was worth their notice in the cities of London and Weſtminſter was ſhewn them, and nothing was wanting to give them a juſt idea of the grandeur of the Engliſh nation, and their regard for the Creeks. In return for which they promiſed eternal fidelity. They carried away in preſents about the value of 400 l. ſterling: and 'tis ſaid Duke William, preſenting the young Prince with a gold watch, exhorted him to call upon Jesus Christ every morning when he looked upon it. There went over with them Sir Francis Bathurst, his ſon, three daughters, and their ſervants, with many of the relations of the planters already in Georgia, and fifty ſix Saltzburghers.

Mr. Oglethorpe's account of the religion and government of the Creeks.

Mr. Oglethorpe, ſpeaking of the religion and government of the Creek nation, in a letter from Georgia to a perſon of honour in London, ſays, there ſeems a door opened to our Colony towards the converſion of the Indians. I have had many converſations with their chief men, the whole tenour of which ſhews there is nothing wanting to their converſion but one who underſtands their language well, to explain to them the myſteries of religion; for as to the moral part of chriſtianity, they underſtand and aſſent to it. They abhor adultery, and do not approve of plurality of wives. Theft is a thing not known among the Creek nation; tho' frequent and even honourable amongſt the Uchees. Murder they look upon as an abominable crime; but do not eſteem the killing of an enemy, or one that has injured them, murder. The paſſion of revenge, which they call honour, and drunkenneſs, which they learnt from our traders, ſeem to be the two greateſt obſtacles to their being truly chriſtians. But upon both theſe points they hear reaſon; and with reſpect to drinking of Rum, I have weaned thoſe near me a good deal from it. As for revenge, they ſay, as they have no executive power of juſtice among them, they are forced to kill the man who has injured them, in order to prevent others from doing the like; but they do not think that any injury, except adultery or murder, deſerves revenge. They hold, that if a man commits adultery, the injured huſband is obliged to have revenge by cutting off the ears of the adulterer, which if he is too ſturdy and ſtrong to ſubmit to, then the injured huſband kills him the firſt time that he has an opportunity ſo to do with ſafety. In caſes of murder the next in blood is obliged to kill the murderer or elſe he is looked upon as infamous in the nations where he lives: And the weakneſs of the executive power is ſuch that there is no other way of puniſhment but by the revenger of blood, as the ſcripture calls it; for there is no coercive power in any of their nations. Their Kings can do no more than to perſuade. All the power that they have is no more than to call their old men and their Captains together, and to propound to them without interruption the meaſures they think proper; after they have done ſpeaking, all the others have liberty to give their opinions alſo, and they reaſon together till they have brought each other into ſome unanimous reſolution. Theſe conferences, in matters of great difficulty, have ſometimes laſted two days, and are always carried on with great temper and modeſty. If they do not come into ſome unanimous reſolution upon the matter the meeting breaks up; but if they are unanimous (which they generally are) then they call in the young men, and recommend to them the putting in execution the reſolution with their ſtrongeſt and moſt lively eloquence. And indeed they ſeem to me, both in action and expreſſion, to be thorough maſters of true eloquence; and making allowances for badneſs of interpreters, many of their ſpeeches are equal to thoſe which we admire in the Greek and Roman writings. They generally in their ſpeeches uſe ſimilies and metaphors. Their ſimilies were quite new to me, and generally wonderful proper and well carried on: But in their conferences among the chief men they are more laconick and conciſe. In fine, in ſpeaking to their young men they generally addreſs to the paſſions; in ſpeaking to their old men they apply to reaſon only. For example, Tomo Chichi, in his firſt ſpeech to me among other things ſaid, here is a little preſent; and then gave to me a Buffalo's ſkin painted on the inſide, with the head and feathers of an Eagle: He deſired me to accept it, becauſe the Eagle ſignified ſpeed, and the Buffalo ſtrength: That the Engliſh were as ſwift as the bird, and as ſtrong as the beaſt; ſince like the firſt they flew from the utmoſt parts of the earth over the vaſt ſeas; and like the ſecond, nothing could withſtand them: That the feathers of the Eagle were ſoft, and ſignified love, the Buffalo's ſkin warm, and ſignified protection; therefore he hoped that we would love and protect their little families. One of the Indians of the Charokee nation, being come down to the Governor upon the rumour of the war, the Governor told him, that he need fear nothing, but might ſpeak freely. He anſwered ſmartly, I always ſpeak freely, what ſhould I fear? I am now among my friends, and I never feared even among my enemies.

Religion.

Morals.

Women.

Government.

My Carolina correſpondent, already mentioned, ſpeaking of the religion and government of the Florida Indians, ſays, the natives have no religion that ever I could hear of, but are extremely ſuperſtitious, and afraid of an evil ſpirit without any notion of a good one, Their morals (notwithſtanding much has been ſaid in favour of them) in my opinion are very looſe. They will cheat you if they can; and when they can't pay their debts they knock their creditors on the head; for which reaſon the legiſlature have made it a forfeiture of the debt to truſt them; ſo that they may chuſe whether they will pay any debts or not. They are exceſſive lovers of drinking, both ſexes; and like all the world, except chriſtians, allow of polygamy; and are ſo charitable to ſtrangers, that they will ſpare their daughters, or any body but their wives: But adultery they puniſh by ſetting a mark of infamy on the woman, and putting her away; and they have been pretty free with ſome of our countrymen when they have caught them, by putting ſome to death in a ſummary way, by a knife or a gun, or cutting off their ears. I have ſeen one ſo ſerved. Their government is ſaid to be monarchical; but I own I can't find it out to be ſo. Their chief commanders, who are honoured by us with the title of Kings, are appointed by our own Governors, by a writing ſealed with the great ſeal of the province; which ſeal to them is every thing, for they know not a word of the writing. I never heard they did or durſt put any man to death for not obeying them; and their conjurors or fortune-tellers, and their war Captains or Generals, are always greater men than their Kings. They pretend to an hereditary ſucceſſion, and recommend the next in blood, in the male line, to the Governor; but I have been told they often alter that; and I know our Governors have appointed others who have ſhewn themſelves better friends to the Engliſh, and theſe have been obeyed; but indeed very few of their Kings have much power among them. They have ſomething like a council, conſiſting of about twelve or fourteen, more or leſs, whom they call beloved men; and thoſe are ſuch as have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in war, and have relations and large families, and conſequently ſome credit and power in the clan they belong to; and by their aſſiſtance and concurrence they keep up ſome face of a government.

Religion of the Engliſh in the plantations.

Having mentioned the religion of the Florida Indians, I proceed in the next place to enquire into the ſtate of religion among the Engliſh in our Colonies on the ſame continent, of which Dr. Bray, who viſited moſt of them, gives but a melancholy account, in the year 1700, in his repreſentation to the Biſhops of the want of miſſionaries: And tho' things are altered for the better in ſome of our Colonies, it remains much as it was in others.

This reverend Doctor relates, that in Maryland, in the year 1700, after great ſtruggles with the quakers, they had obtained an act for the eſtabliſhment of the church of England there, and a revenue of about four-ſcore Pounds per annum ſettled upon the Miniſter of every pariſh by a tax on Tobacco; but at that time there were many pariſhes that wanted incumbents.

That the papiſts in that province were then about a twelfth part of the inhabitants, but their prieſts were numerous: And tho' the quakers boaſted ſo much of their numbers and riches, upon which conſiderations they moved the government to excuſe them from paying their dues to the eſtabliſhed church, they did not make a tenth part of the inhabitants, and did not bear that proportion they would be thought to do in wealth and trade.

That in Peſylvania there was then pretty near an equal number of churchmen (or thoſe that were well diſpoſed to the church) and quakers, but there was a great want of miniſters; and there were ſome independents, but not many, nor much bigotted to their ſect. There were alſo two congregations of Swedes, who were Lutherans, whoſe churches were finely built, and their Miniſters lived in very good terms with the Miniſter of the church of England at Philadelphia; and the King of Sweden had lately made an addition to their library of three hundred Pounds worth of books.

That in the neighbouring colonies of Eaſt and Weſt-Jerſey there were ſome towns well peopled, but entirely left to themſelves without prieſt or altar. The quakers were then a majority there; but there were many however well affected to the church, and he thought ſix miſſionaries neceſſary for both the Jerſeys.

That at New-York Miniſters were much wanted alſo, there being but one there. In Long-Iſland there were nine churches, but no church of England Miniſter then in the iſland.

In Rhode-Iſland, for want of clergy, the inhabitants were ſunk into down-right atheiſm.

In North-Carolina there was not one clergyman then, and but one in South-Carolina.

As to Virginia, the church of England was at that time well eſtabliſhed there, and the ſeveral pariſhes generally ſupplied with Miniſters, who had a revenue out of the Tobacco and otherwiſe, of about an hundred Pounds per annum each.

As to New-England, independency was then, as it ſtill is, the prevailing religion in that country; tho' the church of England gains ground there apace, as appears by the number of miſſionaries lately ſettled there.

Doctor Bray concludes his addreſs to my Lords the Biſhops in the following manner:

For my own part, I take this to be ſo happy a juncture to lay the foundation of laſting good to the church of God in thoſe provinces, that tho' after the expence already of above a thouſand Pounds in its ſervice, and tho' it is likely to be ſtill at my own charge when I go again, yet I ſhall not make the leaſt difficulty in accompanying your Lordſhip's miſſionaries whom from your reſpective dioceſes you ſhall pleaſe to ſend into thoſe parts. And being therefore ſo little intereſted my ſelf in the miſſion, I hope I may with a better countenance, through your Lordſhip's patronage, preſume to offer the following propoſals to the very reverend dignitaries and wealthier clergy, and other well-diſpoſed perſons of the church, for a ſmall ſubſcription from each of them, towards the maintenance of thoſe Miſſionaries their brethren, whom your Lordſhips ſhall pleaſe to ſend.

Propoſals for the propagation of the Chriſtian religion in the ſeveral provinces on the continent of North-America.

Dr. Bray's propoſals.

Whereas it hath pleaſed God of late to ſtir up the hearts of many people in the American Plantations,

tations, who ſeemed formerly to have forgot religion, now to be very ſolicitous and earneſt for inſtruction, ſo as of themſelves to call for thoſe helps which in duty they ought to have been prevented in by us from the beginning: And whereas, to our ſhame, we muſt own that no nation has been ſo guilty of this neglect as ours; the papiſts of all countries having been moſt careful to ſupport their ſuperſtitions wherever they have planted; the Dutch with great care allowing an honourable maintenance, with all other encouragements for Miniſters in their factories and plantations; the Swedes, the Danes, and other ſmall colonies being ſeldom or never deficient in this particular, and we of the Engliſh nation only being wanting in this point: And laſtly, whereas tho' it be true, that ſome of our moſt conſiderable plantations have ſet out pariſhes and allowances for Miniſters, yet it is not ſo in all; and where ſome proviſion is made, it is as yet far ſhort of being ſufficient to maintain a Miniſter; and there is a total neglect of informing the poor natives. Out of all theſe conſiderations we do not think a more charitable work can be carried on than as much as in us lies to contribute towards the redreſs of theſe great failures: And therefore do ſubſcribe to that purpoſe the ſeveral ſums to our names annexed.

The occaſion of erecting a ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel.

It ſeems to have proceeded from this gentleman's repreſentation, in a great meaſure, that a ſociety was erected the following year, viz. in the 13th of W. III. for the propagation of the goſpel in foreign parts, the charter for the eſtabliſhing whereof has this preamble:

The charter.

1. Whereas we are credibly informed that in many of our plantations, colonies, and factories beyond the ſeas belonging to our kingdom of England, the proviſion for Miniſters is very mean, and many others of our plantations, colonies, and factories are wholly deſtitute and unprovided of a maintenance for the Miniſters and the publick worſhip of GOD; and for lack of ſupport and maintenance for ſuch, many of our loving ſubjects do want the adminiſtration of GOD's word and ſacraments, and ſeem to have been abandoned to atheiſm and infidelity; and alſo for want of learned and orthodox Miniſters to inſtruct our ſaid loving ſubjects in the principles of true religion, divers Romiſh prieſts and jeſuites are more encouraged to pervert and draw over our ſaid loving ſubjects to popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry.

2. And whereas we think it our duty, as much as in us lies, to promote the glory of GOD by the inſtruction of our people in the Chriſtian religion; and that it will be highly conducive for accompliſhing thoſe ends, that a ſufficient maintenance be provided for an orthodox clergy to live amongſt them, and that ſuch other proviſion be made as may be neceſſary for the propagation of the goſpel in thoſe parts.

3. And whereas we have been well aſſured, that if we would be graciouſly pleaſed to erect and ſettle a corporation for the receiving, managing, and diſpoſing of the charity of our loving ſubjects, divers perſons would be induced to extend their charity to the uſes and purpoſes aforeſaid.

Know ye therefore, that we have, for the conſiderations aforeſaid, granted, &c.

Accordingly, ſeveral Miſſionaries were ſent to the plantations by the ſaid ſociety.

N. B. The ſociety allow ten Pounds worth of books to each Miſſionary for a library, and five Pounds worth of ſmall tracts to be diſtributed among their pariſhioners; and ſeveral other parcels of books as occaſion offers, where the ſociety find them wanting.

As to the provinces of Virginia and Maryland, they maintain their own clergy, and the reſt of the colonies aſſign their Miniſters glebes, build them houſes, and increaſe their revenues by ſubſcriptions; ſo that the church of England now makes a conſiderable figure in moſt of our colonies, eſpecially in New-England, where the inhabitants where in a manner all independents formerly: North-Carolina, however, ſeems to be deſtitute of a clergy ſtill, there being only Mr. BOYD, an itinerant preacher, tho' the country be of between two and three hundred miles extent, and a well peopled flouriſhing colony; and here the people, now ſenſible of their misfortune, ſhew a great diſpoſition for the church of England, and are ever making application for Miniſters to be ſent amongſt them, offering to contribute largely to their maintenance.

North-Carolina ſtill without a clergy.

It is a melancholy conſideration, that it has hitherto been thought more neceſſary to propagate and ſupport the ſuperſtitions of the French hugonots and the Scots preſbyterians (the former having an allowance of fifteen thouſand Pounds per ann. and the other a thouſand Pounds per ann.) than to ſupport and propagate chriſtianity in our own plantations; in ſome of which, particularly North-Carolina, our people have no opportunity of hearing divine ſervice, or having the ſacraments of baptiſm or the LORD's ſupper adminiſtered to them, and are in a manner become heathens for want of them. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that one Miniſter can perform divine ſervice in every part of that well planted colony, two hundred miles in length, and almoſt of equal breadth; nor do we trouble ourſelves with maintaining Miſſionaries for the converſion of the neighbouring Indians, who ſeeing no appearance of religion among the Engliſh, and probably as little morality, muſt naturally conclude we have very little of either.

Of the minerals in the Britiſh plantations.

I ſhall conclude the ſtate of the Britiſh Colonies on the continent of America, with ſome obſervations on their minerals.

It was it ſeems the expectation of meeting with Gold and Silver mines, that firſt induced Sir WALTER RALEIGH and other Engliſh adventurers to ſend colonies thither; and we find our Princes, in every charter almoſt, have reſerved a fourth or fifth part of all Gold and Silver ore that ſhould be found there for their own uſe; and it ſeems highly probable, that ſuch mines will ſome time or other be diſcoverd in the mountains of Apalach, for the Silver mines in New-Mexico are upon the ſame continent, and in the ſame climate; and from theſe of Apalach, there are frequently waſhed down glittering ſands, which ſeem to promiſe ſomething valuable. Sir HANS SLOANE alſo informs us in his hiſtory of Jamaica, that the Duke of Albemarle, then Governor of that iſland, ſhewed him a rich piece of Silver ore, which his father had from the Apalathian mountains on the confines of Carolina. The Portugueſe were much longer poſſeſſed of Braſil than we have been of this part of Florida, before they diſcovered any ſuch mines, and now we find there are mines wrought there ſurpriſingly rich: We are yet very little acquainted with the Apalathian mountains, we have no towns or ſettlements upon them (tho' we may when we pleaſe, for there are

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ſcarce any other inhabitants but wild beaſts) our people only paſs over them when they go to traffick with the Indians near the banks of the river Miſſiſſippi; ſo that theſe mountains may be as well furniſhed with Silver as thoſe in Mexico for any thing we know. But farther, ſuppoſing there ſhould happen a rupture between us and the Spaniards, I ſee nothing that can prevent our paſſing the Miſſiſſipi, and poſſeſſing our ſelves of the mines of St. Barbe, if we make the Indians of thoſe countries our friends, who are frequently at war with the Spaniards. I am apt to think, that neither the forces of the Spaniards or the French would be able to oppoſe our arms on that ſide, if our colonies were united in ſuch an enterprize, and well ſupported by a body of regular troops from Great-Britain.

As to mines of Lead, Iron and Copper, it is evident, our plantations do not want theſe; for ſome of them are actually wrought, and theſe metals manufactured there; which is apprehended may in time prove prejudicial to Great-Britain, ſince it will leſſen the demand for Britiſh Iron and Copper, and all manner of manufactures made of thoſe metals: The importation therefore of Iron wrought, or in bars from our plantations, has already been prohibited. But was their Iron and Copper equal to that of Sweden, I cannot ſee why we might not import them unwrought from our plantations as well as from Sweden, where we pay crown-pieces for them (it is ſaid;) whereas when we have them from our plantations, we purchaſe them with our manufactures, as we do alſo Pitch, Tar, and other naval ſtores; and yet we chuſe to take theſe articles alſo of our northern neighbours, which I muſt confeſs is a myſtery to me.

Whether the diſcovery of Silver mines would be any advantage to Great-Britain.

But to return to the Silver and Gold mines, which it is preſumed will one day be diſcovered, or reduced under our power in Florida or New-Mexico; ſuch an event muſt neceſſarily make a conſiderable alteration in our conſtitution, if it does not entirely overturn it when it does happen; for as power is the conſtant attendant on riches, in this caſe the crown will become poſſeſſed of treaſures, which will give it a much greater influence than it has at preſent, and render parliaments much leſs neceſſary; whether it would be to the advantage of Great-Britain therefore, that our colonies ſhould be poſſeſſed of mines of any kind may be difficult to determine.

Better in our own hands than in the hands of the French.

However, I muſt ſtill be of opinion ſuch mines would be much better in our own hands than in the hands of our rivals; and if we ſuffer the French to build forts and fix themſelves on the Miſſiſſipi, or in the neighbourhood of the Apalathian mountains, they will not only be in a condition to invade and harraſs our plantations from north to ſouth, but will poſſeſs themſelves of the mines there, if there be any, which will render that nation more formidable, even in Europe, than it is at preſent; and if they ſhould meet with no Silver in thoſe mountains, I am inclined to believe, they will ſeize the mines of St. Barbe in New-Mexico in a few years; which will affect the Spaniards firſt indeed, but may probably in the end be of pernicious conſequence to the reſt of the nations of Europe; and particularly England. It were to be wiſhed therefore, that Spain and England would in time underſtand their mutual intereſt, and enter into a defenſive alliance in America; at leaſt ſince the French can only be defeated in their ambitious and covetous views by the united forces of Great-Britain and Spain. If they are ſuffered to eſtabliſh themſelves in Florida on the banks of the Miſſiſſipi, it will be in their power in that caſe to diſturb either the Britiſh or Spaniſh ſettlements from thence when they pleaſe; but the Spaniards ſeem to be in the moſt imminent danger on account of their Silver mines.

The intereſt of Spain and Britain to drive the French from Florida.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE BRITISH AMERICAN ISLANDS.

CHAP. I.

Of the iſland of Jamaica.

CHAP. I.

Jamaica. The name.

THIS Iſland was called Jamaica by the natives when COLUMBUS diſcovered it, and he changed the name to St. Jago; but it ſoon recovered its primitive name, by which it is called at this day.

Situation.

Jamaica is ſituated on the Atlantick-Ocean, between 17 and 18 degrees odd minutes north latitude, and between 76 and 79 degrees of weſtern longitude. It lies near five thouſand miles ſouth-weſt of England, about twenty leagues eaſt of Hiſpaniola, and as many ſouth of Cuba, and upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues to the northward of Porto Bello and Carthagena, on the coaſt of Terra Firma.

Extent.

This iſland ſtretches from eaſt to weſt, being one hundred and forty miles in length, and about ſixty in breadth in the middle; but growing leſs towards each end, the form is pretty near oval.

The whole iſland has one continued ridge of hills running from eaſt to weſt through the middle of it, which are generally called the Blue Mountains. The tops of ſome are higher than others; one of the higheſt is called Mont Diablo. Other hills there are on each ſide of this ridge of mountains which are much lower.

Face of the country, &c. from Sir HANS SLOANE.

The outward face of the earth ſeems to be different here (ſays Sir HANS SLOANE) from what I could obſerve in Europe; the vallies in this iſland being very level, with little or no riſing ground or ſmall hills, and without rocks or ſtones. The mountainous part for the moſt part is very ſteep, and furrowed by very deep gullies on the north and ſouth ſides of the higheſt hills. The gullies are made here by frequent and very violent rains, which every day almoſt fall on theſe mountains, and firſt making a ſmall trough or courſe for themſelves waſh away afterwards whatever comes in their way, and make their chanels extraordinary ſteep.

The greateſt part of the high land of this iſland is either ſtony or clay; theſe ſorts of ſoil reſiſt the rains, and ſo are not carried down violently with them into the plains, as are the mould proper for tillage, and other more friable earths; hence it is, that in thoſe mountainous places one ſhall have very little or none of ſuch earths, but either a tenacious clay, or a honey-comb, or other rock upon which no earth appears.

Woods.

All the high land is covered with woods, ſome of the trees very good timber, tall and ſtraight; and one would wonder (ſays my author) how ſuch trees could grow, in ſuch a barren ſoil, ſo thick together among the rocks: But the trees ſend down their fibrous roots into the crannies of the rocks, where here and there they meet with little receptacles, or natural baſons of rain-water, which nouriſh the roots.

It is a very ſtrange thing (ſays the ſame writer) to ſee in how ſhort a time a plantation formerly cleared of trees and ſhrubs, will grow foul: Which comes from two cauſes; the one, the not ſtubbing up the roots, whence ariſe young ſprouts; and the other the fertility of the ſoil. The ſettlements and plantations, not only of the Indians but the Spaniards, being quite overgrown with tall trees, ſo that there would be no footſteps of them left, were it not for old palliſadoes, buildings, Orange walks, &c. which ſhew plainly plantations have been there.

There are the ſame ſtrata or layers of earth one over another, in the fruitful part of the iſland, as are to be met with in Europe. And the ſame difference of ſoil appears here as does in England, on digging of wells, &c.

Plains or Savannahs.

Moſt of the ſavannahs or plains fit for paſture, and cleared of wood, like our meadow land, lie on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, where one may ride a great many miles without meeting the leaſt aſcent: Some of theſe plains are within land encircled with hills.

Theſe ſavannahs, after ſeaſons, i. e. rain, are very green and pleaſant; but after long droughts, are very much parched and withered.

Tides.

The tides here are ſcarce diſcernible, there being very little increaſe or decreaſe of the water, and that depending moſtly, if not altogether, on the winds; ſo that the land winds driving the water off the iſland, makes a foot, two, or more ebb, which is moſt apparent in the morning. In the harbour of Port-Royal one may ſee the Coral-Rock, then ſenſibly nearer the ſurface of the water; and all along the ſea-ſhore the water is gone for a ſmall ſpace, leaving it dry; and this much more on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, when the norths blow. On the contrary, the ſea-breeze driving the water on the ſhore of the iſland, makes the flood; ſo that in the evening it may be ſaid to be high-water, eſpecially if a ſouth or other wind blows violently into the land for ſome time together, with which the water comes in and is much higher than ordinary. The breezes being ſtronger or weaker according to the Moon's age, it may be thought the tides or currents may follow that; but I rather believe, they only are the effect of the winds (ſays Sir HANS SLOANE.)

Ports.

The chief ports in the iſland, are 1. Port-Royal, a fine capacious harbour, which will be deſcribed hereafter, with the town from which it received its name. 2. Old Harbour, which lies ſeven or eight miles ſouth-weſt of St. Jago. 3. Port-Morant, at the eaſt end of the iſland: And 4. Point Negril, at the weſt end of the iſland. Beſides which, are ſeveral more on the ſouth and north ſides of the iſland; but it is dangerous approaching the coaſt without a pilot, on account of the Coral-Rocks which almoſt ſurround it.

Rivers.

Sir HANS SLOANE mentions near an hundred rivers in Jamaica, but none of them navigable; for riſing in the mountains in the middle of the iſland, they precipitate themſelves down the rocks to the north or ſouth, falling into the ſea before they have run many miles, and carrying down with them frequently great ſtones, pieces of rock, and timber.

The Doctor, ſpeaking of their waters, in another place, ſays, freſh water is very ſcarce in dry years in the ſavannahs diſtant from rivers, ſo that many of their cattle die with driving to water. Near the ſea the well-water, as at Port-Royal, is brackiſh. This brackiſh water, which is very common in wells on ſea-ſhores, is not wholeſome, but the cauſe of fluxes and other diſeaſes in Sailors drinking of it.

Water bad.

Their river water, becauſe of its great deſcent and precipices, carries with it much clay or earth, whereby it is muddy and thick, and has an odd taſte; which in St. Jago or the Town River gave occaſion to the Spaniards to call it Rio Cobre, and the Engliſh to ſay, it is not wholeſome and taſtes of copper; whereas on trial of the ſand and other ſediments, there is no metal found therein. This river water, if ſuffered to ſettle ſome days in earthen jars, is good.

Springs and petryfying waters.

Spring water, at a diſtance from the ſea, is preferred to river or pond water: There are ſome ſprings as well as rivers, which petrify their chanels, and ſtop their own courſe by a cement uniting the gravel and ſand in their bottoms.

Hot bath.

There is a hot bath or ſpring near Port-Morant, in the eaſt part of the iſland, ſituated in a wood, which has been bathed in and drank of late years for the belly-ach, the common diſeaſe of the country, with great ſucceſs.

Salt ſprings.

A great many Salt ſprings ariſe in a level ground under the hills in Cabbage-tree-bottom, about a mile or two diſtant from the ſea, which united make what is called the Salt River.

Salt ponds.

Salt is made here in ponds, whereinto the ſea or ſalt water comes, and by the heat of the Sun the moiſture being exhaled, leaves the ſalt, which is in great plenty at the ſalt ponds about Old Harbour, &c. The ſalt is not perfectly white, nor in ſmall grains, but in large lumps, and has an eye of red in it, as ſome Sal Gemmæ I have ſeen come from Spain, or what comes from the iſland of Salt Tartuga, near the main of America; which is here reckoned the ſtronger and better ſalt.

Lakes.

Lagunas or great ponds, there are many here, one whereof, Rio Hoa pond, receives a great deal of water by a river, which yet has no viſible rivulet or diſcharge runs from it.

Rivers under ground.

Some rivers in the mountains riſe above and go under ground again in a great many places: Rio d' Oro particularly falls under and riſes above ground three or four times; and ſo it is in many others.

At ABRAHAM's plantation, on the north ſide, is a river which has ſtopt its own courſe by letting a ſettlement fall and petrifying its own bottom.

Cataracts.

It is ordinary to have cataracts or caſcades, in rivers among the mountains, fifty or ſixty foot high.

Winds from Sir HANS SLOANE.

This iſland being ſeveral degrees within the tropick, has the trade-wind continually there, which is on the ſouth ſide of the iſland called the ſea breeze. It comes about eight o' clock in the morning, and increaſes or freſhens till twelve in the day, and then as the Sun grows lower, ſo it decreaſes till there is none at four in the evening. About eight in the evening begins the land breeze, blowing four leagues into the ſea, and continues increaſing till twelve at night, and decreaſes again till four, when there is no more of it. This courſe generally holds true. The ſea breeze now and then is more violent than at other times, as at new or full moon, and encroaches very much on the land winds and the norths when they reign, viz. in the month of December, January and February, blow over the ridge of mountains with violence and hinder the ſea breeze, which blows ſtronger and longer near the ſea, as at Port-Royal or Paſſage-Fort, than it does within land, as at St. Jago de la Vega or Spaniſh town; as contrariwiſe the land wind blows harder at the town than at Paſſage-Fort or Port-Royal.

As the trade wind between the tropicks comes not directly from the eaſt, but varies from north-eaſt to ſouth-eaſt, according to the place and poſition of the Sun, ſo the ſea breeze here has the like variation, not coming always from the ſame point; on the contrary, the land winds or breezes come always from the ridge of hills, and from the ſame point of them, and this holds both on the north and ſouth ſides of this iſland. In vallies amongſt the mountains, the ſea breeze or land breeze has ſeldom any great influence, but the north winds very much proſtrating great trees.

The land wind blowing at night, and the ſea breeze in the day-time, no ſhipping can come into port except in the day, nor go out but ſoon after break of day.

The norths come in when the ſun is near the tropick of Capricorn, and ſo fartheſt off ſoutherly. This north is a very cold and unhealthy wind; it is more violent in the night, becauſe it then has the additional force of the land wind with it. It checks the growth of canes and all vegetables on the north ſide of the iſland, but is hindered by the ridge of mountains from ſhewing much of its fury on the ſouth, where it ſeldom rains with this wind.

Rains.

The ſouth winds bring the moſt laſting rains or ſeaſons. No rains from the land are laſting on the ſouth ſide of the iſland.

As at ſea in the trade winds one meets with tornadoes, ſo at land here ſometimes will be a violent weſt, directly contrary to the trade wind; but this happens ſeldom, and is ſoon over.

The ſea breeze, when it blows hard, is thought to hinder the rain from coming to the plains, it for the moſt part then raining on the hills. On this account it is that there are in the mountains many ſprings and rivers, and few or none in the plains; and this is likewiſe the cauſe why there is never any want of water in the rivers coming from them through the plains; and likewiſe that ſometimes rivers ſuffer very great increaſe and inundations in the plains, when no rain has fallen in the places where ſuch inundations appear.

Earthquakes from the ſame.

Earthquakes, as they are frequent in Hiſpaniola where they have formerly thrown down the town of St. Domingo, ſo they are too common here alſo. The inhabitants expect one every year, and ſome of them think they follow their great rains. One happened on Sunday the 19th of February, 1688, about eight in the morning. I found in a chamber, one ſtory high, the cabinets and ſeveral other moveables on the floor to reel as if people had raiſed the foundation of the houſe. It came by ſhocks, there were three of them, with a little pauſe between: It laſted about a minute in all, and there was a ſmall noiſe accompanied it: It was felt all over the iſland about the ſame time, ſome houſes being cracked and very near ruined, aud very few eſcaped ſome injury. The people were in a great conſternation, and the ſhips in Port-Royal harbour felt it. It was obſerved that the ground roſe like the ſea in waves as the earthquake paſſed along: But this was nothing to the earthquake which happened at Port-Royal, in the year 1692, when that town was almoſt ſwallowed up by one; of which I ſhall give a further account when I come to deſcribe their towns.

Thunder.

Thunder is here almoſt every day in the mountains with the rains there, ſo that any perſon in the plains may hear it as well as ſee the rain. It does not ſo ordinarily accompany thoſe rains that come from the ſea, although when it does it is very violent, and has on the ſeveral ſubſtances it meets with, either animate or inanimate, the ſame effects as follow thunder in Europe.

Lightening for the moſt part precedes thunder in this iſland as elſewhere: And if it be fair weather, eſpecially in the hotteſt ſeaſons, it lightens almoſt all the night, firſt in one part of the ſky or horizon out of ſome clouds, and then out of others oppoſite to them, as it were anſwering one another, as it happens often in the ſummer in England, &c. and gives occaſion to people of fancy to foretel ſtrange wars, &c. when they pleaſe; making theſe apparitions in the air ſoldiers in battalia, &c.

Hail.

Froſt or ſnow are never ſeen in this hot climate, but ſometimes hail, and that very large, of which, during my being here, I ſaw one inſtance; it comes with very great norths, which reach with great violence to the ſouth ſide, and throw down every thing before them.

Dews.

The dews here are ſo great within land, that the water drops from the leaves of trees in the morning as if it had rained. One riding in the night will find his cloaths, hair, &c. very wet in a ſmall time. But there are few if any fogs in the plains or ſandy places near the ſea.

Rains from the ſame.

The rains here are violent, and the drops very large.

According to the different poſitions of places, ſo the rains are more or leſs violent, and come at different times; but generally ſpeaking, the two great rainy ſeaſons are in May and October, in which months, at new or full moon, they begin and continue day and night for a whole fortnight: So that the earth in all level places is laid under water for ſome inches, and it becomes looſe for a great many inches deep, and conſequently the roads are almoſt unpaſſable. In the town of St. Jago de la Vega, in thoſe rainy ſeaſons, I was forced to ride on horſeback (ſays Dr. SLOANE) although but from door to door, to viſit the ſick. And theſe ſeaſons, as they are called, from their being fit to plant in, are generally ſo over the whole iſland; tho' they are much altered in their time and violence of late years, which ariſes from the clearing much of the country of wood.

Seaſons for planting.

In the month of January is likewiſe expected a ſeaſon of rain; but this is not ſo conſtant nor violent as the other two; and probably may come from the violent north at that time paſſing over the mountains with part of their rains with them.

Towns.

The iſland is divided into fourteen pariſhes or precincts. They have very few towns; the chief are, 1. St. Jago de la Vega or Spaniſh-town. 2. Kingſton. 3. Port-Paſſage; and, 4. That of Port-Royal.

St. Jago de la Vega.

St. Jago de la Vega, or Spaniſh town, is pleaſantly ſituated in a fine plain upon the river Cobre, which falls into a bay of the ſea that forms the harbour of Port-Royal, about ſeven miles below. It conſiſts of eight hundred or a thouſand houſes, and is the capital of the iſland; for here the Governor reſides, and the general aſſembly and courts of juſtice are held; This was the capital of the iſland alſo when in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards; and then it was much larger and more magnificent than at preſent; containing, as it is ſaid, two thouſand houſes, beſides ſeveral fine churches and monaſteries, which were laid in aſhes by the ſoldiers when it was taken by the Engliſh.

Kingſton.

Kingſton in the Liguanee, is a port town ſituated on the north ſide of the bay of Port-Royal, ten or twelve miles ſouth-eaſt of St. Jago; and, ſince the repeated misfortune of the town of Port-Royal, is become a large and populous place, much frequented by Merchants and ſea-faring men.

Port-Paſſage.

Port-Paſſage is a ſea-port town, ſituated at the mouth of the river Cobre, ſeven miles ſouth-eaſt of St. Jago; and obtained its name from being the greateſt thorough-fair in the iſland, at leaſt between Port-Royal and the city of St. Jago de la Vega. The town is not large, but conſiſts chiefly of houſes of entertainment; and being a conſiderable paſs has a fort erected for its defence.

Port-Royal.

Port-Royal, before it was deſtroyed by an earthquake, in the year 1692, is thus deſcribed by Mr. BLOME:

It was ſituated in the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland, at the extremity of a long ſlip or point of land, running weſterly about twelve miles from the main iſland; having the ocean on the ſouth, and a fine bay of the ſea, which forms the harbour, on the north, well defended by ſeveral forts and platforms of Guns. The harbour is about three leagues broad in moſt places, and ſo deep that a ſhip of ſeven hundred tons may lay her ſide on the ſhore and load and unload at pleaſure; nor does there want good anchorage in any part of it.

The point of land on which the town ſtood was exceeding narrow, and nothing but a looſe ſand that afforded neither graſs, ſtones, freſh water, trees, or any thing that could encourage the building a town upon it, but the goodneſs and ſecurity of the harbour.

It contained above fifteen hundred houſes, and was ſo populous and ſo much frequented by Merchants and planters, that the houſes were as dear rented as in the well-traded ſtreets of London.

Three times deſtroyed.

This was the condition of Port-Royal when Mr. **Blome** wrote, in the year 1688. But this unfortunate town has been almoſt totally deſtroyed three times in our memory: Firſt. In the year 1692 by an earthquake. Secondly. In the year 1702 by a fire. And, thirdly. In the year 1722, by a violent ſtorm and inundation of the ſea.

1. By an earthquake.

It was on the 7th of June, 1792, the earthquake happened, which, in two minutes, deſtroyed moſt of the town. The earth opened and ſwallowed up abundance of houſes and people; the water guſhed out from the openings of the earth and tumbled the people on heaps; but ſome of them had the good fortune to catch hold of beams and rafters of houſes, and were afterwards ſaved by boats. Several ſhips were caſt away in the harbour; and the Swan frigate, which lay in the dock to careen, was carried over the tops of the ſinking houſes, and did not however overſet, but afforded a retreat to ſome hundreds of people, who ſaved their lives upon her. Major **Kelley**, who was in the town at this time, ſays, the earth opened and ſhut very quick in ſome places, and he ſaw ſeveral people ſink down to the middle, and others, appeared with their heads juſt above ground and were ſqueezed to death. The ſky, which was clear before the earthquake, became in a minutes time as red and as hot as an oven. The fall of the mountains made a terrible crack, and at the ſame time dreadful noiſes were heard under the earth. The principal ſtreets which lay next the key, with large warehouſes and ſtately brick buildings upon them were all ſunk. Part of the town, however, was left ſtanding on a neck of land which run into the ſea; at the extremity whereof ſtood the caſtle, which was ſhattered but not demoliſhed. The water of the harbour, ſays another writer, roſe on a ſudden with huge waves, and drove moſt of the ſhips from their anchors; and immediately the ſea retired again two or three hundred yards, leaving the fiſh dry upon the ſand, but returned in leſs than two minutes and overflowed part of the ſhore. After the firſt great ſhock, as many people as could got on board the ſhips left in the harbour, not daring to venture on ſhore for ſome weeks; the ſhocks ſtill continuing. It is computed fifteen hundred people were loſt in the earthquake, and as many more by ſickneſs, ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the noiſome vapours that proceeded from the openings of the earth.

The earthquake was general all over the iſland, and the noiſe in the mountains ſo terrible, that many of the fugitive ſlaves that had run away thither returned to their maſters. Two mountains which lay between St. Jago and Sixteen-mile-walk joined together and ſtopped the current of the river, ſo that it over-flowed ſeveral woods and ſavannahs. On the north ſide of the iſland above a thouſand acres were ſunk with the houſes and people in them; the place appearing for ſome time like a lake was afterwards dryed up; but no ſigns of houſes were to be ſeen. At Yellows a great mountain ſplit and deſtroyed ſeveral plantations with the people on them; and one plantation was removed a mile from the place where it formerly lay. The houſes were in general thrown down or damaged all over the iſland; and it is computed that three thouſand people were killed with thoſe that were loſt in Port-Royal.

2. Deſtroyed by fire.

The town being rebuilt near the place where the former ſtood, was a ſecond time deſtroyed by fire on the 9th of January, 1702-3. Every houſe was conſumed that day, only the two royal forts and magazines were left ſtanding. Whereupon the government looking on the place as unfortunate, ordered the inhabitants to remove to Kingſton on the oppoſite ſide of the harbour, and there the courts and offices were ordered to be held that uſed to be held at Port-Royal. However, this was found to be ſo commodious a ſtation for ſhipping, that the people ſome time afterwards ventured to rebuild it a ſecond time.

3. Deſtroyed by an inundation.

It was a third time deſtroyed by a ſtorm and inundation of the ſea, on the 28th of Auguſt, 1722, of which we received the following account, in a letter from Jamaica.

The ſea being raiſed by the violence of the wind to a much greater height than was ever known before, broke over its ancient bounds, and on a ſudden over-flowed a large tract of land; carrying away, with an irreſiſtable fury, men, houſes, cattle, and every thing that ſtood in its way: And in this calamity the unfortunate town of Port Royal had its full ſhare. I want words to give you a juſt deſcription of the horror of that ſcene which we the unfortunate ſufferers beheld, when the ſea broke in upon us from all quarters with an impetuous force, concurring with the violence of the wind to cut off all hopes of ſafety; for we had no other choice but to periſh in the waters if we fled from our houſes, or of being buried under the ruins if we remained in them. In this dreadful ſuſpenſe we were held for ſeveral hours; for the ſtorm began about eight in the morning and did not ſenſibly abate till between twelve and one; during which time the wind and ſea together demoliſhed a conſiderable part of the town, laid the church even with the ground, deſtroyed above one hundred and twenty of the white inhabitants, and an hundred and fifty ſlaves; and ruined all the ſtore-houſes, with the goods and merchandize in them. The ſituation of the place, it being ſurrounded on all ſides with the ſea, rendered it more expoſed than any other to the fury of this element; for our only defence againſt the ſea, is a great wall running all along the eaſtern ſide of the town, where we uſed to apprehend moſt danger. This wall is raiſed about nine foot above the ſurface of the water, and is about ſeven foot thick, and for twenty years had proved a ſufficient ſecurity to the town; but in this ſtorm it broke over the wall with ſuch a force as nothing was able to withſtand. Two or three rows of houſes that run parallel to the wall were entirely waſhed away, among which the church, an handſome building, and very ſtrong, was ſo perfectly demoliſhed that ſcarce one ſtone was left upon another. Great part of the caſtle alſo was thrown down, tho' it was of a prodigious thickneſs, and founded upon a rock: And the whole fortreſs was in the utmoſt danger, the ſea breaking over the walls which ſtood thirty foot high above the water.

In the higheſt ſtreets of the town, moſt remote from the ſea, the water was five foot deep, and ſo rapid that the ſtrongeſt man could not ſtem it, ſo that we were obliged to keep in our upper-rooms, tho' we were in danger of periſhing every minute by the fall of the houſes, which ſhook in a very terrible manner, and the roofs were generally blown off.

The morning in which the ſtorm happened, there was a great fleet of merchant ſhips riding in the harbour, moſt of which had taken in their full freight, and were to have returned home in a few days, but the ſtorm left only one veſſel in the harbour, beſides four ſail of men of war; and theſe had all their maſts and rigging blown away; but the moſt ſenſible proof of the irreſiſtible force of the ſtorm was the vaſt quantities of ſtones that were thrown over the town-wall, of which ſuch a prodigious number were forced over, that an hundred Negroes were employed ſix weeks in throwing them back into the ſea, ſome of them being ſo large that nine or ten men could not heave one of them back again over the wall. I am ſenſible this part of the relation will ſeem ſtrange; but I doubt not obtaining your belief when I affirm it to you for a certain truth.

The town of Kingſton alſo received great damage, abundance of houſes being blown down there, and many more ſhattered and uncovered; abundance of rich goods were ſpoiled by rain which fell at the ſame time, and ſome people were killed. And of all the veſſels which rode in Kingſton harbour, which were between forty and fifty ſail, they were either driven on ſhore, or over-ſet and ſunk, abundance of ſea-men loſt, and ſome large ſhips with all their loading were thrown upon dry land. The damage which the trading part of the iſland has ſuſtained by the loſs of their ſhipping and goods is not to be expreſſed: And the planting intereſt has ſhared in the calamity by the loſs of their dwelling-houſes, Sugar works, and otherwiſe; and had the fury of the ſtorm laſted much longer univerſal ruin muſt have enſued.

Buildings.

The buildings of the Spaniards in this iſland were of timber, ſeldom more than one ſtory high, and they fixed the principle poſts deep in the ground to prevent their being ſhook in pieces by earthquakes. On the contrary, the Engliſh build with brick, and frequently pretty high as in England, which has ſometimes proved fatal to them; neither are theſe brick houſes ſo cool as thoſe of the Spaniards were: Their kitchens are always at a diſtance from the houſe, on account of the heat and ſmells occaſioned by their cookery; and they have no chimneys or fire-places in their dwelling-houſes. The houſes of the great planters alſo are at a diſtance from their Sugar-works, to avoid the diſagreeable ſmells: And the Negroes houſes ſtand at a diſtance from their maſters, being only long thatched hutts, furniſhed with mats to lie on, earthen pots to dreſs their food, and ſome calabaſhes, which ſerve them for pails, bowls, and diſhes.

Inhabitants.

The inhabitants are either Engliſh, or of Engliſh extraction born in the iſland, Indians, Negroes, Mulatto's or Meſtize, or the deſcendants of theſe.

Numbers.

The Engliſh, and thoſe of Engliſh extraction, may be fifty thouſand; the Indians are but few, all the natives having been deſtroyed by the Spaniards, and ſome only remaining they imported afterwards for ſlaves, and ſome few the Engliſh have brought hither; the reſt, viz. Negroes, Mulatto's, Meſtize, and their deſcendants, may amount to an hundred and fifty thouſand, or thereabouts.

Habits.

The Engliſh here follow the faſhions of their mother country in their habits, making no allowance for the difference of climate; which Sir HANS SLOANE reproves them for. As to their ſlaves they work naked, except a piece of linen cloth about their loins; but they have a little canvas jacket and breeches given them by their maſters annually at Chriſtmas to wear on holydays.

Food and animals.

The meat of the inhabitants of Jamaica is generally ſuch as in England, namely, beef, pork, and fiſh, flour, and peaſe, ſalted fleſh and fiſh ſent from the Britiſh Colonies on the continent; on which not only the maſters feed, but, according to Sir HANS SLOANE, they are obliged to furniſh their ſervants, both whites and blacks, with three pounds of ſalt beef, pork, or fiſh, every week, beſides Caſſavi bread, yams and potatoes, which they eat as bread, and is the natural product of the country.

There are in the ſavannahs great plenty of cattle; but they cannot keep beef many days, tho' it be ſalted; and freſh beef is ready to corrupt in four or five hours. Butchers always kill in the morning therefore, juſt before day, and by 7 o'clock the markets for freſh meat are over.

Their beef here is well-taſted and good, unleſs when Guinea Hen-weed riſes in the ſavannahs; which is immediately after rains, or when they are ſo parched that cattle can find nothing elſe to feed on.

The Butchers remedy the ſmell of the Guinea Hen-weed in cattle, by putting them into other feeding grounds before they are ſlaughtered.

Veal is very common, but none thought good but what comes from Luidas, where the Calves are white-fleſhed; whether this comes from this place being mountainous, or bleeding and giving them Chalk as in Eſſex, I cannot tell; but the price of it was ſo extravagant, that in the aſſembly they paſt an act that it ſhould not be ſold dearer than twelve Pence per pound.

A great part of the food of the beſt inhabitants, for their own table, is of the produce of the iſland; viz. ſwines-fleſh, and poultry of their own raiſing.

The ſwine are of two ſorts, one running wild in the country amongſt the woods, which feed on the fallen fruits, &c. and are ſought out by hunters with packs of Dogs, and chiefly found in the more unfrequented woody parts of the iſland. After they are wearied by the Dogs and come to bay, they are ſhot or pierced through with lances; then being cut open, the bones are taken out, the fleſh gaſh'd, and the ſkin filled with ſalt and expoſed to the ſun, which is called jirking. It is brought home to their maſters by the hunters, and eats much like bacon if broiled on coals. Theſe hunters are either blacks or whites, and go out with their Dogs, ſome ſalt and bread; and lie far remote from houſes in huts in the woods for ſeveral days, in places where ſwine come to feed on the fruits. The Indians are very expert at this ſport. The ſame method is uſed for wild kine, which are now but very few; and thoſe in the woods on the north-ſide. Wild Goats there are ſome on the Salt-pan Hills, not to be ſeen but in dry ſeaſons when they come down for water.

Swine fed at Crawles are in very great plenty: Theſe Crawles are houſes and ſties built for feeding and breeding Hogs. The ſwine come home every night from feeding on the wild fruits in the neighbouring woods on the third ſound of a Conch-ſhell; where they are fed with ſome ears of Corn thrown amongſt them, and let out the next morning, not to return till night or they hear the ſound of the ſhell.

A Palenque is here a place for bringing up of poultry, as Turkeys, which here much exceed the European, and are very good and well-taſted, Hens, Ducks, Muſcovy Ducks, and ſome very few Geeſe. Muſcovy Ducks are here moſt plentiful, and thrive extremely, they coming originally from Guinea. Theſe poultry are all fed on Indian or Guinea Corn, and Ants neſts brought from the woods, which theſe fowls pick up and devour greedily.

Cattle are penned every night, or elſe in a ſhort time they run wild: Theſe pens are made of palliſadoes, and are looked after very carefully by the planters. The Oxen which have been drawing in their mills and are well-fed on Sugar Cane Tops, are reckoned the beſt meat if not too much wrought. They are likewiſe fatted by Scotch Graſs.

Turtle (Tortoiſes) are of ſeveral ſorts; thoſe of the ſea called Green Turtle, from their fat being of that colour, feed on Conches or Shell-fiſh, and are very good victuals: Theſe are eaten by abundance of the people, eſpecially of the poorer ſort of the iſland. They are brought in ſloops, as the ſeaſon is for breeding or feeding, from the Caymanes, or South Cayos or Rocks near Cuba, in which forty ſloops, part of one hundred and eighty belonging to Port-Royal, are always employed. They are worth fifteen ſhillings a-piece, beſt when with egg, and brought and put into pens or palliſadoed places in the harbour of Port-Royal, whence they are taken and killed as occaſion requires. They are much better when brought in firſt than after languiſhing in thoſe pens.

They infect the blood of thoſe feeding on them; whence their ſhirts are yellow, the ſkin and face of the ſame colour, and their ſhirts under the armpits ſtained prodigiouſly. This, I believe (ſays Sir HANS SLOANE) may be one of the reaſons of the complexion of our European inhabitants, which is changed in ſome time from white to that of a yellowiſh colour, which proceeds from this as well as the jaundice, which is common ſea-air, &c.

Land Turtles are counted more delicate food than thoſe of the ſea, although ſmaller.

All ſorts of Sea-Turtle or Tortoiſe, except the green, are reckoned fiſhy and not good food.

The Manati or Sea-Cow is taken in this iſland very often in calm bays by the Indians; it is reckoned extraordinary good eating.

Fiſh of all ſorts are here in great plenty; but care muſt be taken they are not poiſonous; this is known by the places where they are; if Mancheel Apples are eaten by them they are very dangerous; and theſe Apples frequently drop into the ſea from the boughs of that tree.

Salt Mackarel are here a great proviſion, eſpecially for Negroes; who covet them extremely in Pepper-pots or Oglios, &c.

What is uſed for bread here by the inhabitants is very different from that in Europe; that coming neareſt our bread is made of Caſſavi Flour.

This bread is worth about twenty Shillings and Six-pence the hundred weight; ſometimes double that, according to its ſcarcity. People who feed altogether on this, live as long and in as good health as they who feed on any other ſort of bread; tho' the juice preſſed from this root is rank poiſon.

Plaintains is the next moſt general ſupport of life in this iſland. They are brought in from the Plaintain-walks, or places where theſe trees are planted, ſomewhat green; they ripen and turn yellow in the houſe before they are eaten. They are uſually roaſted, after their firſt being cleared of their outward ſkins, under the coals. They are likewiſe boiled in Oglios or Pepper-pots, and prepared into a paſte like dumplings; and ſeveral other ways. A drink is alſo made of them.

Potatoes are eat as bread in this place; alſo roaſted under the coals, or boiled.

Yams are likewiſe uſed here in lieu of bread, and are prepared as the others; only becauſe they are very large they are uſually cut in pieces.

Grains in uſe here are, 1. Guinea Corn. 'Tis prepared and uſed as Rice, and taſtes as well, and is as nouriſhing. It is alſo the food of the poultry and Pigeons.

2. Indian Corn or Maiz, either roaſted or boiled, is fed on by ſlaves; eſpecially the young ears of it before ripe baked under the coals and eaten; this is thought by them very delicious, and called mutton; but it is moſt uſed for feeding cattle and poultry.

3. Rice is here planted by ſome Negroes in their own plantations, and thrives well; but becauſe it requires much beating, and a particular art to ſeparate the grain from the huſk, it is thought too troubleſome for its price, and ſo neglected by moſt planters.

Peaſe, Beans, and Pulſe, of ſorts different from thoſe in Europe, are here very common. They are eaten when green as ours of Europe; and when dry, boiled, affording the Negroes very good and ſtrong proviſions.

Flour from New-York is counted the beſt; but this as well as all other flour and biſket, are very ſubject to be ſpoiled with Weevils or ſmall Scarabæi, if long kept.

Chocolate is here drank at all times; but chiefly in the morning.

The common uſe of this by all people in the ſeveral countries of America (Sir HANS SLOANE obſerves) proves its being a wholſome food. The drinking of it warm may make it the more ſtomachick; for we know by anatomical preparations that the tone of the fibres are ſtrengthened by dipping the ſtomach in hot Water, and that hot liquors will diſſolve what cold will leave unaffected.

Beſides theſe ordinary proviſions, the Racoon, a ſmall quadrupede, is eaten. Rats are likewiſe ſold by the dozen, and when they have been bred amongſt

Rats eaten in Jamaica.

CHAP. I.

amongſt the Sugar-canes are thought by ſome diſcerning people very delicious victuals. Snakes or Serpents, and Coſſi (a ſort of Worms) are eaten by the Indians and Negroes.

And Snakes.

Liquors.

The moſt common drink is water, and reckoned the moſt wholſome by many, among whom I am one (ſays Doctor SLOANE;) and he ſeems to recommend the drinking a draught every morning. Madera is the next moſt general drink mixed with water. Madera Wines have this particular quality, different from French Wines and all others that are brought hither, that it keeps better in a hot place or expoſed to the ſun, than in a cool cellar; whereas other wines muſt be kept cool here, and if you do they turn ſour in a ſhort time. Syder, Beer, and Ale, are alſo brought hither from the northern colonies, or from England, but do not keep well.

Cool drink made of Moloſſes and Water Perino, Corn-drink, Cane-drink, that made of Sorrel or Pines, are all accounted unwholſome, turning ſour in twelve or twenty-four hours, and owing their ſtrength to the Sugar and fermentation they are put into; although I have known ſome people drink nothing elſe, and yet have their health very well.

Acajou Wine, made of the fruit ſo called, is very ſtrong, keeps not long, and cauſes vomiting; it is reckoned a good remedy in the Dropſy.

Plantin-drink is ſtronger than any of the others except Acajou Wine, though ſubject to grow ſour in a ſhort time.

The common fuddling liquor of the vulgar is Rum-punch. Rum is made of Sugar-cane Juice, not fit to make Sugar of, being eaten with Worms, growing in a bad ſoil, or through ſome other fault; but chiefly of the ſkimmings of the copper in crop-time, or of Moloſſes and water fermented about fourteen days in ciſterns and then diſtilled: It has all the good and bad qualities of Brandy, or any fermented and vinous ſpirit.

Lodgings.

The better ſort of people lie as in England, though more on matreſſes or quilts, and with little covering. They hold here, that lying expoſed to the land breezes is very unhealthy; which I do not believe (ſays my author) to come ſo much from the qualities of the air, either manifeſt or more obſcure, as from this, that the air when one goes to ſleep here being very hot, the ſunbeams having heated it ſo long, it retains this heat for ſome conſiderable time in the night; which afterwards wearing away it grows towards morning very cold, and affects one by the coldneſs ſometimes ſo much as to awake one if ſleeping. This muſt of neceſſity check tranſpiration, and ſo may be the cauſe of many diſeaſes. To avoid this, Negroes and Indians ſleep not without a fire near them.

Hamacas, or hamocks, are common beds of ordinary white people; they were in uſe amongſt the Indians, and are much cooler than beds, ſo cool as not to be lain in without cloaths, eſpecially if ſwung, as is uſually the cuſtom here.

Indians and Negroes lie on the floors, generally on mats made of Ruſhes, with very little or no covering, and a ſmall fire near them in their cottages. Hence the ſervants who lie not in beds are not ſaid to go to bed, but to go to ſleep; and this phraſe has generally obtained all over the plantations.

Beds are ſometimes covered all over with Gauze, to hinder the Moſquitos, or Gnats, from buzzing about, biting, or awaking thoſe lying in them. This is chiefly after rain.

CHAP. I.

It is eſteemed here the wholſomeſt way to go to bed early and riſe early.

Exerciſes.

Exerciſes here are not many becauſe of the heat of the air; riding in the mornings is the moſt ordinary, which by its eaſy moving the Abdomen, and ſo conſequently its contents, and by that means forwarding the depuration of the blood in the ſeveral emunctories there placed, has a very great power in keeping a man in ſound health as well as recovering a man when ſickly and ill.

Vegetables.

The principle vegetables and produce of this iſland are Sugar-canes, Cacoa of which Chocolate is made, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, Palms, Coco Trees, Cotton, Indigo, Tobacco, the Prickle Pear, woods for dying, Salt, Ginger, Cod, Pepper, Piemento Drugs, ſuch as Guiacum, China Root, Sarſaparilla, Caſſia, Fiſtula, Tamarinds, Venella's, gums and roots uſed in medicines and ſurgery.

Here grows the Machineel Tree, which bears a beautiful but poiſonous apple, and the Mohogany, the timber and planks of both which are now in great eſteem with us; and they have the like foreſt trees as are found in the continent of America in the ſame climate.

Animals.

Their animals are Horſes, Mules, Aſſes, Oxen, Sheep and Hogs, Goats and Rabbets; but they have no Deer or Hares.

They have alſo very good ſea and river fiſh, and poultry, Turkeys, Geeſe, Ducks wild and tame, Pigeons, Guinea Hens, Snipes, Parrots, Parokeets, and ſeveral others already mentioned in ſpeaking of their food.

There are alſo Alligators, or Crocodiles, in their waters, and they have ſome Snakes; but the latter are not venomous it is ſaid.

Diſeaſes and remedies.

Sir HANS SLOANE ſpeaking of their diſeaſes and remedies obſerves, that here are the ſame diſeaſes and the ſame methods of cure as in Europe: That fluxes and fevers of all kinds, as well as dyſenteries or bloody-fluxes, are very common here with all kind of people: And for fluxes provided they were moderate, he gave ſome eaſy medicine to forward them; but if attended with a high fever, or there was ſo great an evacuation that the patient was grown weak, he uſed to order bleeding: That very often in this diſtemper, and in the gripes or belly-ach, which is another common diſeaſe in this country, occaſioned chiefly by drinking ſour punch and other pernicious liquors, there was an inflammation in the guts, which often occaſioned a gangreen, if not timely remedied: And in this caſe, beſides the uſual remedies, he uſed to order Rice to be boiled in water for their ordinary drink: And in epidemick dyſenteries he had known flour boiled in Milk, with ſome Wax ſcraped in it, do very great cures. But I muſt refer my reader to Dr. SLOANE's natural hiſtory of Jamaica for a full account of their diſeaſes and cures, it not being conſiſtent with ſo general a work as this to be more particular.

Port-Royal harbour fatal to Engliſh ſeamen.

I ſhall only obſerve further, that the harbour of Port-Royal may well be looked upon as the grave of our marine Officers and ſeamen, many thouſands having periſhed there by the unhealthfulneſs of the place, or their own irregular way of life in a climate ſo different from that of their native country. And it muſt be admitted that let a man be never ſo careful of his health here, both the air and the water are ſo bad near the coaſt, that theſe alone are ſufficient to deſtroy his health; but as I underſtand Dr. SLOANE, both the water and air are good at a diſtance from the ſhores; and the inland country of Jamaica is as healthful as any other, but hither ſea-faring people, who belong either to men of war or merchant men, ſeldom come; their buſineſs obliges them to remain on board in that fatal bay, or at the port-towns bordering upon it, which are not much better.

Hiſtory.

Jamaica was diſcovered by COLUMBUS in his ſecond voyage to America, anno 1493, and planted by the Spaniards ſome few years afterwards. Their firſt colonies were ſettled on the north ſide of the iſland, and here they built a town, giving it the name of Seville; but obſerving that neither the weather nor the ſoil was ſo good as on the ſouth, they built the town of St. Jago de la Vega on the River Cobre, which falls into the bay of Port-Royal, in the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland. This town in time increaſed to a large city, conſiſting of two thouſand houſes; and here they lived in great ſplendour and ſecurity for near a century, having parcelled out the richeſt lands amongſt them, which they planted chiefly with Cacoa for their Chocolate, Corn, Sugar, and delicious fruits that were cultivated by their Negroes, of whom they entertained great numbers: They alſo ſtocked the country with all manner of European cattle, many of which being turned into the woods grew wild, and increaſed prodigiouſly in the mountains.

In the year 1596, being about an hundred years after the Spaniards diſcovered it, Sir ANTHONY SHIRLEY cruizing in theſe ſeas with a ſingle ſhip of war, landed on the iſland of Jamaica, took the town of St. Jago de la Vega and plundered it; ſo little did the Spaniards dream of an enemy here, or provide for their defence, imagining this new world to be all their own, and that no European power durſt diſturb them in the enjoyment of it.

After this misfortune, the Spaniards erected a fort at the mouth of the River Cobre, to which they gave the name of Paſſage-Fort, by which they imagined they ſhould prevent their capital being ſurprized for the future; but Col. JACKSON coming before Port-Paſſage with a fleet of Engliſh privateers, in the year 1635, or as others ſay, 1638, landed five hundred men, drove the Spaniards from their works at Port-Paſſage, and advancing to St. Jago made himſelf maſter of the town and plundered it, obliging the inhabitants to raiſe a conſiderable ſum to ranſom it from burning; after which he retired to his ſhips.

Still the Spaniards remained in poſſeſſion of the iſland till the year 1656, when Admiral PENN and General VENABLES being ſent by the uſurper CROMWELL to reduce Hiſpaniola, and being diſappointed in that attempt, to ſave their credit, invaded Jamaica, and made a complete conqueſt of it.

And the Spaniards have been ſo far from attempting the recovery of the iſland, that they yielded and confirmed it to Great-Britain by a ſubſequent treaty of peace.

Some diſturbance the Engliſh however have met with from time to time from the Negroes in the mountains; for when the Spaniards left the iſland, their Negroes retired to the moſt inacceſſible part of the mountains, and there fortifying themſelves, bid defiance to the Engliſh, who were never able to reduce them entirely, but ſome of them remained there till they were joined by other fugitives of the ſame complexion, ſlaves to the Engliſh planters, and at length increaſed to ſo great a body, that they became formidable to the plantations; in which they committed many murders and robberies. And notwithſtanding his Majeſty has ſent two regiments to the aſſiſtance of the colony, they ſtill maintain their ground I perceive; and all that the ſoldiers can do is to guard the plantations from their ravages.

During King WILLIAM's war alſo, I find, the French from Hiſpaniola landed ſome forces on the iſland in the year 1694, and plundered ſeveral of the plantations: But they were ſoon beat off, and ſome forces being ſent from England to their aſſiſtance, the gentlemen of Jamaica returned their viſit, made a deſcent on Hiſpaniola, and plundered ſeveral places in poſſeſſion of the French, bringing away with them fourſcore pieces of cannon, and a conſiderable booty.

As for the preſent ſtate of Jamaica, we may beſt underſtand it from themſelves, in their addreſs or repreſentation to the throne, viz.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble addreſs and repreſentation of the council of Jamaica.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

The preſent ſtate of Jamaica repreſented in an addreſs to the throne.

We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, your council of Jamaica, having taken into our conſideration the declining ſtate and condition of this iſland, think ourſelves indiſpenſably obliged, in duty to your Majeſty, and in juſtice to ourſelves and our country, humbly to make ſome repreſentation thereof to your Majeſty. We ſhall forbear troubling your Majeſty with the many melancholy reflections the preſent ſituation of our affairs hath naturally led us into, and ſhall chiefly confine ourſelves to the moſt obvious and viſible cauſes of our misfortunes, the increaſe and ſucceſs of our rebellious ſlaves, the decreaſe of our white people, and the decay of our trade and planting intereſt: The firſt hath in ſome part been guarded againſt by your Majeſty's great goodneſs in ſending, and we hope continuing amongſt us, two regiments of ſoldiers for our preſervation. The decreaſe of our people is in great meaſure owing to our loſs of commerce; and therefore we ſhall endeavour to point out ſome of the many cauſes of this latter evil. We are, of late years, deprived of the moſt beneficial branch of our trade, the carrying of Negroes and dry goods to the Spaniſh coaſt; the loſs of this occaſioned the deſertion of a conſiderable number of our ſea-faring men and others from this iſland for want of employment. A farther diſcouragement to our trade is the frequent hoſtilities committed by the Spaniards, who, regardleſs of the ſolemn treaties entered into with your Majeſty, ſpare no Engliſh veſſel they can overcome, and from whom it has hitherto been in vain to attempt the obtaining any ſatisfaction in theſe parts. We likewiſe beg leave to obſerve, that the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, were many years in the poſſeſſion of your Majeſty's ſubjects, and reputed part of the territories depending on your Majeſty's government of this iſland, and gave employment to a conſiderable number of ſhipping and people to cut and carry Logwood from thence; but we have been diſpoſſeſſed of them by the Spaniards, who likewiſe there ſeized, and made prizes of a great number of ſhips belonging to your Majeſty's ſubjects.

The low value of our produce may be very juſtly attributed to the great improvement the

French have made in their Sugar Colonies by the encouragement given them, particularly in allowing them to export their commodities to foreign markets without firſt introducing them into any of the ports of France; and from the lowneſs of their duties, and being under no neceſſity of double voyages, they can afford to underſel us; and likewiſe by the pernicious trade that is carried on from Ireland and your Majeſty's northern colonies to the French Sugar Iſlands.

It is well known, that Sugar and other commodities produced in the French and Dutch Colonies are frequently imported into Ireland without introducing them into the ports of Great-Britain, and paying the duties as your Majeſty's ſubjects of your Sugar Colonies are obliged to do; and conſequently thoſe foreigners are ſupplied with proviſions at eaſier rates than we; and we are in a manner deprived of a very conſiderable market in that part of your Majeſty's dominions.

Your Majeſty's northern colonies import into this iſland great quantities of proviſions and other goods, for which they take no part of our produce in exchange (a ſmall quantity of Moloſſes excepted) but are paid in bullion, which they carry to Hiſpaniola, and buy Sugar, Rum, and Moloſſes for their own uſe. This trade is not only unequal and injurious to us, but prejudicial even to themſelves, and highly ſo to our mother country, and dreins us of ſo much bullion in favour of France, which otherwiſe might have centered in Great-Britain.

We further beg leave to obſerve to your Majeſty, that Cacao was one of the principal commodities of this iſland, and a great encouragement to the ſettling it; but that it is now loſt, which is in a great meaſure owing to the reſtrictions and heavy duties laid on it in Great-Britain; and poſſibly our Sugar, Rum, Ginger, and other produce, may be attended with the ſame ill conſequences, if not timely remedied.

As the induſtrious planters of this iſland have lately introduced Coffee, and begun to make plantations thereof, we humbly beg leave to repreſent it, and to addreſs your Majeſty for ſome encouragement, either by a bounty on importation or otherwiſe, that ſuch ſettlements may be carried on with the greateſt chearfulneſs. (An act has paſſed ſince for encouraging the planting of Coffee.)

We have already taken up too much of your Majeſty's time and patience in this repreſentation; but our zeal for your Majeſty's ſervice in the preſervation of this colony, and the natural love we owe to ourſelves and to our country in which is our all, has encouraged us to lay theſe particulars before your Majeſty. We humbly ſubmit them to your royal conſideration, and hope for ſuch relief as in your Majeſty's great wiſdom ſhall be moſt adviſable, that we, with the reſt of your Majeſty's ſubjects, may enjoy the bleſſings of a reign glorious in itſelf, and ſo capable of making us, and our poſterity, a happy and flouriſhing people.

St. Jago de la Vega,
Nov. 27, 1731.

By order of the council,
Jos. Maxwell,
Clerk of the council.

But it muſt be remembered here, that the trade of the Britiſh northern colonies with the French and other foreigners for Sugar, Rum, &c. is now in ſome meaſure reſtrained by a duty laid on foreign Sugar, Rum, and Moloſſes; and the trade of foreigners to Ireland, with foreign Sugar, &c. is likewiſe in a great meaſure prevented by a late act of parliament; but the Spaniards it ſeems continue at this day to take our ſhips in the Weſt-Indies as formerly; as appears from an addreſs of the Merchants of Jamaica to the honourable John Gregory, Eſq. Preſident and Commander in chief of that iſland; wherein they ſhew,

That the Spaniards have lately (anno 1737.) taken and carried into the Havannah three ſhips all laden in this iſland with the produce thereof, and commodities purchaſed there, or money received of the Agents of the South-Sea Company, for Negroes legally ſold and exported to the Spaniſh ſettlements purſuant to the Aſſiento treaty; and that the ſaid ſhips were all homeward bound to Great-Britain, and not the leaſt pretence of their being engaged in, or attempting to carry on an unlawful trade.

I ſhall conclude the ſtate of Jamaica with ſome account of the Logwood trade, of which his Majeſty's ſubjects have been violently and unjuſtly deprived by the Spaniards: This trade was carried on chiefly by the people of Jamaica, and our right to it has been ſet in a proper light by the Lords of trade and plantations in their repreſentation to his late Majeſty King George I. in the year 1718.

The right to the Logwood trade inſiſted on by the Lords Commiſſioners for trade.

Their Lordſhips inſiſt that the Engliſh have an unqueſtionable right to the Logwood trade; and have always been protected in it by the Kings of England his Majeſty's predeceſſors.

They obſerve that Logwood is the product of Jucatan, a peninſula that extends itſelf an hundred leagues into the North Sea; on each ſide whereof are the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, where this wood is chiefly cut by the Engliſh.

That the Spaniards are poſſeſſed only of the town of Campeachy and two more ſmall places in this part of America, and that the reſt of Jucatan was an uninhabited deſart till our Logwood cutters ſettled at Cape Catoch, the north eaſt promontory of Jucatan, and at Triſt or the Laguna de Terminos in the bay of Campeachy, before or in the year 1667, when a treaty of peace was concluded between Great-Britain and Spain. And thereupon the privateers of Jamaica, who uſed to diſturb the Spaniſh trade, being obliged to quit that way of life, became Logwood cutters, and ſettled with others of their countrymen at Triſt, and the Lake de Terminos aforeſaid; and great quantities of Logwood were afterwards imported from thence to Old and New-England. They obſerve that Sir Thomas Lynch, Governor of Jamaica, under whoſe direction that trade was carried on, in the year 1671, gave his Majeſty King Charles II. the following reaſons for his encouraging this trade. 1. That the Engliſh had then uſed it for divers years. 2. That the Logwood was cut in deſolate and uninhabited places. 3. That it was a right confirmed by treaty with the Spaniards. 4. That thereby we excluded the French and Dutch from that trade. 5. That the Spaniards had not then made any complaint of it. 6. That this employment made the reducing our privateers, who uſed to commit hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards more eaſy. Laſtly, That this trade employed an hundred ſail of ſhips annually, and increaſed his Majeſty's cuſtoms and the trade of the nation more than any of his American Colonies.

Sir Thomas Modyford, the ſucceeding Governor of Jamaica, informed the Lords of the privy council, in the year 1672, that the Engliſh Logwood cutters had uſed that trade for three years, that they had planted Corn, and built houſes for their conveniency; and though they frequently hunted Deer in the country, they had never ſeen a ſingle Spaniard or any other man in that part of the country in all the time they had been there: And concludes, that their felling of wood, building houſes, and clearing and planting the ground, was ſuch a poſſeſſion as in the Weſt-Indies gave them an undoubted right to the countries they thus occupied.

And Sir Thomas, to juſtify his conduct in encouraging this trade, in the year 1672 (when the Spaniards firſt complained of it) ſent home the copies of ſeveral depoſitions he had taken from maſters of ſhips and others concerned in the Logwood trade, with a proclamation he had iſſued for the regulation and ſecurity thereof, as a confirmation of what he had aſſerted. And the Lords of the council thereupon let the Governor know, that they approved what he had done.

The Lords commiſſioners of trade further obſerve, that there is a clauſe in the abovesaid American treaty, which provides, that the King of Great-Britain ſhall keep and poſſeſs, in full right of ſovereignty and propriety, all places ſituate in the Weſt-Indies, or any part of America which he or his ſubjects were then in poſſeſſion of; and that they actually were then, and had been for ſeveral years in poſſeſſion of Triſt, the Lake de Terminos, and ſeveral other places in the province of Jucatan, which the Spaniards begun to ſet up a title to about this time; notwithſtanding they enjoyed the full benefit of what Great-Britain ſtipulated on her part, viz. 1. The ſecuring the trade of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies to them; a point which had never before been yielded. 2. The obliging the privateers to ceaſe their depredations, whereby the Spaniſh trade had been miſerably harraſſed; and this had been effected chiefly by the care of his Majeſty's Governors, and the employing thoſe people in the Logwood trade.

That in 1680 the Spaniards proceeded in a hoſtile manner to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh Logwood cutters of their ſettlements of Triſt, &c. and even of the iſland of Providence, a Britiſh Plantation, to which they had no pretence; but theſe were ſoon repoſſeſſed by his Majeſty's ſubjects, and the Logwood trade in 1682 was greater than ever and was maintained and carried on by the Engliſh till the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, when the adjuſtment and ſettlement thereof came again under conſideration; and it was ſtipulated that (only) ſuch places ſhould be reſtored to the Spaniards as had been taken during the preceeding war, (in the reign of Queen Anne) among which Triſt could not be reckoned one, becauſe the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of it many years before that war commenced; and indeed had been in the actual poſſeſſion of it from 1669 to 1713, except for two or three months in the year 1689, when the Spaniards ſurpriſed and expelled them by force as related above.

They further repreſented, that by a clauſe in the treaty of commerce concluded in November 1713, the American treaty of 1670 is confirmed and ratified; and it was thereby declared, that this ſhould be underſtood to be without prejudice to any liberty or power which the ſubjects of Great-Britain enjoyed before, either through right, ſufferance, or indulgence; and the Engliſh having long enjoyed the liberty of cutting Logwood without interruption, either through right, ſufferance, or indulgence, they are by this treaty intitled to the ſame in as plain and expreſs words as can be imagined.

Then the Lords Commiſſioners proceeded to ſhew the importance of the Logwood trade to Great-Britain by the following account of what Logwood had been imported ſince the late war, viz.

Importation of Logwood from 1713 to 1716.

	Tons	C.	Qt.	lb.
In 1713,	2189	15	3	22
In 1714,	4878	14	3	24
In 1715,	5863	12	1	14
In 1716,	2032	17	2	0
	14965	0	3	4

Price reduced from 40 l. to 16 l. a ton. Once 100 l. a ton.

That is communibus annis 3741 tons, which cannot be computed at leſs than 60,000 l. per ann. tho' the price is already reduced from 40 l. to 16 l. per ton; and before your Majeſty's ſubjects were ſettled there, it was worth 100 l. the ton.

Nor is this trade leſs neceſſary than beneficial to your Majeſty's dominions, by reaſon of the great encouragement it gives to our ſeamen and ſhipping, which at all times require a particular attention; but now eſpecially, when it is daily obſerved that very many Britiſh mariners either through defect of the laws for want of employment at home, or in hopes of greater advantage abroad, enter themſelves into foreign ſervice.

Upon the whole therefore we are humbly of opinion,

Opinion of the board of trade.

That the ſubjects of this your Majeſty's kingdom for ſome years before as well as after the concluſion of the American treaty in 1670, did enjoy an uninterrupted liberty of cutting Logwood in the Laguna de Terminos, and in other places not inhabited by the Spaniards in the province of Jucatan, either through right, ſufferance, or indulgence.

That the ſaid American treaty did eſtabliſh a right in the crown of Great-Britain to the Laguna de Terminos and the parts adjacent; thoſe places at the time of the treaty, and for ſome years before, being actually in poſſeſſion of the Britiſh ſubjects. Signed

Whitehall, Suffolk, J. Molesworth,
Sept. 25th, J. Chetwynd, D. Pulteney,
1717. Charles Cooke, M. Bladen.

Government and laws.

Jamaica is a royal government. The King appoints both the Governor and council. Their aſſembly of repreſentatives has nothing to do in the election of theſe, as they have in the charter governments; and I look upon this Iſland as the moſt profitable government in the diſpoſal of the crown of England, next to that of Ireland. There have been Governors who have made ſeven or eight thouſand Pounds a year by their ſalary and perquiſites, ordinary and extraordinary, if not more.

Their laws are much the ſame as thoſe in the colonies on the continent; both the one and the other I perceive have recourſe to tortures in the puniſhment of their ſlaves. Theſe are not treated as ſubjects of Great-Britain; but as if they were creatures of a different ſpecies, ſuch exquiſite torments are afflicted on them (according to Sir Hans Sloane) as muſt raiſe the utmoſt horror and deteſtation of the practice in Engliſhmen; who have not loſt all humanity and compaſſion for their fellow-creatures.

The Knight relates, that for rebellion they lay the offender on the ground, and having extended his legs and arms, faſten them to the earth, and then applying fire gradually to his hands and feet burn them up to his head, whereby he ſuffers the moſt exquiſite pain.

For crimes of a leſs nature they geld the offender, and cut off half his foot with an ax; and for negligence only they whip him; and when his back is raw they ſtrew Pepper or Salt on their wounds to make them ſmart; and ſome planters will drop melted wax on their ſkins, which puts them to moſt intolerable pain.

And theſe cruelties the Doctor juſtifies, by telling us the Blacks are a very perverſe generation, and merit ſuch torment. Thus we find the late Czar of Muſcovy alſo juſtifying the barbarous uſage of his own ſubjects, from the obſtinacy of their tempers. And we have known Engliſh Officers affirming the like of their ſoldiers, and treating even ſubjects of Great-Britain, over whom they had no authority, with equal cruelty.

We cannot wonder, after this barbarous treatment of their bodies, the planters have ſo little concern for the ſouls of theſe poor creatures, as to neglect the inſtructing them in the Chriſtian religion; or that their Negroes have ſo little inclination to embrace the religion of a people who uſe them ſo barbarouſly.

CHAP. II.

Of the iſland of Barbadoes.

CHAP. II.
Barbadoes.

THE Caribbee-Iſlands, of which Barbadoes is one of the chief, were ſo called by the Spaniards, from the Caribbees or Canibals that were ſuppoſed to inhabit them; but upon the ſtricteſt inquiry, and a full ſurvey of every country in America, I can meet with no tolerable evidence that there ever was a nation of Canibals either here or on any part of the continent or iſlands of this new world. The firſt diſcoverers indeed agreed unanimouſly in relating that the natives were Canibals in almoſt every province and diſtrict of America; the reaſon whereof I have already conſidered. But later travellers meet with no Canibals either in thoſe countries that have been ſubdued by the Europeans, or in thoſe parts of America where the natives are ſtill maſters, and ſtill retain the reſt of their ſuperſtitious rites. In Florida particularly, where the people were repreſented as the moſt barbarous of human race, and charged with ſacrificing their own children, now we are better acquainted with them, it appears they have no ſuch cuſtom.

The name.

As to this iſland in particular, it is imagined by ſome, that the Spaniards or Portugueſe gave it the name of Barbadoes from the barbarous inhabitants they found upon it; but who diſcovered it, or gave it this name, or whether there were any inhabitants upon it when the Europeans diſcovered it, is very uncertain. All that I can learn concerning the name is, that it was called Barbadoes by the Spaniards, Portugueſe, Engliſh, Dutch and French, who frequently paſſed by it, or touched at it in their voyages to the continent long before it was planted, none of them imagining it would turn to account to take poſſeſſion of it. But to proceed:

Situation and extent.

The iſland of Barbadoes is the moſt conſiderable of all the Britiſh iſlands in America, next to that of Jamaica: It is ſituated in the Atlantick-Ocean, in 13 degrees north latitude, and 59 degrees of weſtern longitude, being of a triangular form, about twenty five miles in length from ſouth to north, and fifteen in breadth from eaſt to weſt where broadeſt. It is a plain level country for the moſt part, with ſome ſmall hills of an eaſy aſcent, and ſcarce any wood upon it at preſent: It was covered with woods indeed when the Engliſh firſt ſent colonies thither, but they are all cut down to make room for plantations of Sugar-canes, which take up almoſt the whole iſland at preſent, nothing elſe being cultivated in any great quantities; their very Corn, fleſh and fiſh being imported for the moſt part from the northern colonies.

The face of the country.

Coaſt and harbours.

There is ſcarce an harbour in the iſland; the beſt is that of Bridge-Town in Carliſle-Bay, on the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland, and this lies open to the weſtward. However, it is ſecure from the north-eaſt, which is the conſtant trade-wind here, and blows from morning till evening, except during their tornados and hurricanes, which happen uſually about midſummer, and in July and Auguſt, and blow from every quarter. The ſhips in the bay at ſuch times are pretty ſure of being wrecked on ſhore if they cannot get out to ſea, and therefore ſeldom attempt to ride out theſe ſtorms. The coaſt is defended on the eaſt by rocks and ſhoals from the invaſion of an enemy; and on the weſt, where it is more expoſed to a deſcent, breaſtworks and redoubts are erected for its ſecurity; but the repair of them is too much neglected.

Winds.
Hurricanes.

Rivers, Wells, &c.

There is ſcarce a ſtream in the iſland that deſerves the name of a river; however we find two on the eaſt-ſide, to which they have given the names of Scotland-River and Joſeph's-River. They have good water in their wells almoſt all over the iſland, and do not dig very deep for it. They have alſo large ponds and reſervoirs, where they preſerve rain-water.

Weather.

They have generally fine ſerene weather; their rains fall as in other parts of the torrid Zone, chiefly when the ſun is vertical; and after the rains are the proper ſeaſons for planting. Their heats are not ſo exceſſive as in the ſame latitude on the continent, being conſtantly refreſhed by the ſea breezes in the day-time, which increaſe as the ſun advances, and abate as the ſun declines: And they have this further ſatisfaction, that their days ſeldom exceed twelve hours. But there being no mountains in the iſland, there are no land-winds in the night as in Jamaica.

Bridge-Town.

The only town of any conſequence in the iſland is that of Bridge-Town, or St. Michael's, ſituate in Carliſle-Bay. It was formerly encompaſſed with a moraſs, which rendered it unhealthful; but this has been drained in a great meaſure; however, the low ſituation makes the town ſtill ſubject to inundations. It is ſaid to contain a thouſand or twelve hundred houſes, tolerably well built of brick or ſtone. They have commodious wharfs and keys for loading and unloading of goods, and three forts or caſtles for its defence; which, if kept in repair, would render the town no eaſy conqueſt.

Produce o the iſland

The chief produce and manufacture of the iſland as has been intimated already, is Sugar of the Moloſſes or Droſs, whereof they make great quantities of Rum. They have alſo ſome Cotton, Indigo, Ginger, and Piemento; and formerly Tobacco was planted here in good quantities, but very little at preſent. Foreſt-trees they have ſcarce any left. Their fruits are Oranges, Limes, Citrons, Pomegranates, Pine-Apples, Guavas, Plantains,

Trees and plants.

Plaintains, Cocoa-nuts, Indian Figs, Prickle-Pears, Melons, and almoſt all manner of roots and garden-ſtuff, but very few flowers.

Animals.

Food.

Their Horſes they import from New-England, &c. and have a ſlight breed of their own. They have alſo ſome Aſſes, Cows and Sheep, but the laſt do not thrive here. They have a good number of Hogs, the fleſh whereof is the beſt meat that is eaten in thoſe hot climates. Here are alſo good ſea-fiſh and poultry, but no freſh water fiſh; and in general all manner of proviſion is very dear. There is no dining at an ordinary under a Crown a head. Freſh meat is a rarity, and chiefly the food of people of condition; the reſt are glad of ſalt beef, pork and fiſh imported from the northern colonies; from whence alſo comes their Wheat-Flower, Indian Corn, Peaſe, Beans, &c. They make bread alſo of the Caſſavi root; and the Negroes feed on Yams, Potatoes, Plaintains, and other roots and fruits. The liquor drank by the gentry here is chiefly Madera Wine, or wine and water; and great quantities of Punch are drank by the vulgar. They have alſo ſtrong Beer imported from Old and New-England, and liquor made of their Maize aud fruits, as in Jamaica.

Government.

The government here alſo reſembles that of Jamaica and the reſt of our American Iſlands; having a Governor and council appointed by the crown, which, with the houſe of repreſentatives, are veſted with a legiſlative power, and make laws for the government of the iſland.

Number of people.

Forces.

Their trade, revenues, &c.

The numbers of white people here are ſaid to have been once forty thouſand and upwards, and are computed to be near thirty thouſand at preſent; the Negroes, Mulattos and Meſtize ſlaves about an hundred thouſand. Their militia conſiſts of fifteen hundred horſe and three thouſand foot, or thereabouts. As to their preſent trade, revenues, ſtrength of the iſland, and fortifications, theſe will be ſeen in the controverſy between the Sugar Iſlands and the northern colonies, of which I ſhall give an abſtract hereafter; and proceed now to inquire into the firſt plantation of the iſland, and the vaſt improvements made in it.

Hiſtory.

The Caribbee-Iſlands as has been obſerved already, were firſt diſcovered by COLUMBUS in his ſecond voyage to America: But this of Barbadoes lying ſo far ſouth, probably was not ſeen by him: And whether the Spaniards or the Portugueſe firſt diſcoverd it in their voyages to the continent of America is uncertain: There is no doubt but one or both of them touched here (tho' they did not think it worth while to plant colonies in the iſland) for the Engliſh found Hogs at Barbadoes when they firſt arrived there; and it appears to have been the conſtant uſage of the Spaniards and Portugueſe to ſtock ſuch iſlands with Hogs as lay in their way, that they might not want freſh proviſions in their long voyages.

The firſt Engliſhmen that landed here, it is ſaid, were ſome of Sir WILLIAM CURTEEN's ſeamen that were cruizing in theſe ſeas in the latter end of the reign of King JAMES I. who reporting, at their return to England, that the ſoil was fruitful, ſome adventurers went thither with an intent to plant it, but finding the iſland covered with wood, and ſcarce any other animals upon it than Hogs, it did not anſwer their expectations a great while.

The propriety of this iſland was afterwards granted by King CHARLES I. to JAMES Earl of Carliſle, in the firſt year of his reign, of whom ſeveral adventurers purchaſing ſhares, tranſported themſelves thither, and firſt fell to planting Tobacco; which not thriving here as they expected, they proceeded to try Cotton, and Indico, which yielded them a conſiderable profit; but they made little Sugar till 1647, when Colonel MODIFORD, Colonel DRAX, Colonel WALROND, and ſeveral other Cavaliers, finding there was no living with any ſatisfaction in England under the uſurpers, converted their eſtates into money, and tranſported themſelves to Barbadoes with ſuch machines and implements as were proper to carry on Sugar-works there. Colonel DRAX, it is ſaid, in a few years acquired an eſtate of ſeven or eight thouſand Pounds per ann. and married the Earl of Carliſle's daughter, then proprietor of the iſland: And the adventurers fixing their principle ſettlement on the great bay in the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland, gave it the name of Carliſle-Bay, in honour to their proprietor, which it ſtill retains.

The iſland was afterwards divided into four circuits and eleven pariſhes, each pariſh being allowed to ſend two repreſentatives to the general aſſembly; and every pariſh had its church and an incumbent, with an handſome maintenance aſſigned him. In the year 1650, the white inhabitants of the iſland are ſaid to have increaſed to between thirty and forty thouſand, beſides Negroes, which were much more numerous, and frequently plotted the deſtruction of their maſters; but their plots were conſtantly diſcovered, and the moſt terrible puniſhments inflicted on the ring-leaders; which did but increaſe the diſaffection of the reſt, and laid the foundation of freſh conſpiracies: But notwithſtanding the repeated plots of their ſlaves, never any plantation of ſo ſmall an extent arrived to that riches and grandeur as Barbadoes did in the ſpace of twenty or thirty years. CROMWELL apprehended this iſland of ſuch conſequence during his uſurpation, that he ſent a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war thither, ann. 1651, under the command of Sir GEORGE ASCUE, who compelled the Lord Willoughby (appointed Governor by King CHARLES II.) to ſurrender the iſland upon condition the royaliſts ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates and liberties; and Mr. SEARL was conſtituted Governor by the uſurpers. The Dutch war ſucceeding ſoon after, the colony was prohibited trading with the Hollanders, with whom they had principally trafficked hitherto; for the Dutch it ſeems conſtantly furniſhed the iſland with Negroes till this time, and taught the Barbadians how to plant and manage their Sugars to the beſt advantage; taking moſt of it off their hands, with which they ſupplied themſelves and the reſt of Europe: But after the uſurpers quarrelled with the Dutch, the Barbadians were compelled by an ordinance of Parliament to bring all their Sugars directly to England, which was imitated by the miniſtry after the reſtoration of King CHARLES II. and was the foundation of the act of navigation, which requires all the Britiſh Colonies to bring their Sugars and Tobacco directly to England; and prohibits their trading with foreigners in theſe and ſome other articles.

King CHARLES II. purchaſes the property of the iſland.

In the year 1661, King CHARLES II. purchaſed the propriety of this iſland of the Lord Kinowl, heir to the Earl of Carliſle, and appointed the Lord Willoughby of Parham Governor again; ever ſince which Barbadoes has been a regal government. And the colony granted a duty of four and a half per cent. for the ſupport of the civil government of that iſland, and maintaining the forces and fortifications thereof: Which duty (according to my author) amounts to ten thouſand pounds a year; but inſtead of being applied to the purpoſes it was given, it is diſpoſed of in penſions to courtiers (as he ſuggeſts) to the irreparable damage of that colony, no other iſland having laid ſo high a duty on their Sugars. In the year 1664, De Ruyter, the Dutch Admiral, with a great fleet of men of war, treacherouſly attempted to ſurpriſe the iſland of Barbadoes, tho' England was then in full peace with Holland; but he was bravely beat off by the Barbadians, and obliged to abandon that enterprize.

The trade of Negroes monopolized.

In the year 1674, Sir Jonathan Atkins being made Governor, had orders to ſeize all ſhips trading in Africa for Negroes, that trade being granted to the Royal African company about that time, excluſive of all others; and ſeveral ſhips belonging to the Merchants of Barbadoes bringing over Negroes afterwards were condemned as forfeited; being denominated interlopers, which that colony complained of as a great grievance, the African company ſetting what price they pleaſed upon their Negroes: But this was not redreſſed 'till after the revolution, when that trade was laid open to all the ſubjects of England, paying 10 per cent. towards the charge of their forts. The Barbadians alſo ſuffered great loſſes by a terrible hurricane that happened there on the 10th of Auguſt, 1674, when three hundred houſes were blown down, two hundred perſons killed, moſt of their Sugar-works and plantations deſtroyed, and all their wind-mills for grinding Canes were blown down, except thoſe that were built of ſtone; eight ſhips alſo ſuffered ſhipwreck in the harbour: Inſomuch that the Barbadians were diſabled making much Sugar the two ſucceeding years. Another calamity with which the Barbadians were afflicted, was an epidemical diſtemper that reigned ſeveral years in the iſland, differing very little from the plague: This began about the year 1691, and occaſioned a great decreaſe of the white inhabitants, which they have not recovered from that day to this. It ſeems the miniſtry in England ſending a ſquadron of men of war to Barbadoes, with a body of land forces on board, to protect the trade of the Caribbee-Iſlands, which had ſuffered very much by the depredations of the French privateers; the Barbadians on their arrival concerted an enterprize with the Commanders againſt the French Iſlands of Guadalupe, Martinico, St. Chriſtopher's, &c. and joining the King's forces with ſome of their own, formed a body of four or five thouſand men, with which they made a deſcent on Guadalupe and St. Chriſtopher's, and ruined ſeveral French ſettlements; but did not make a conqueſt of any of them as was expected: And what was ſtill more unfortunate, the diſtemper abovementioned broke out in the army, which the Soldiers brought back to Barbadoes, and almoſt depopulated that iſland of white men. The King's ſhips alſo loſt ſo many of their men that there were not hands enough left to carry them home. But this diſtemper the Barbadians comfort themſelves was brought into the iſland from abroad; and did not begin there, aſſuring us that their country is generally exceeding healthful.

The iſland depopulated by a plague.

The people oppreſſed by their Governors.

There is another calamity which the Barbadians ſeem to lament as much as any of the former; and that is, the oppreſſion of ſeveral of their Governors; and particularly of Colonel Francis Russel, brother to the late Earl of Orford in the year 1695, whoſe extortions exceeded thoſe of any Governor that had gone before him; but he had the good fortune to die before he was called to account.

We meet with very ſevere reflections alſo on Henry Worsely, Eſq; another of their Governors, in the report of the committee appointed to prepare a repreſentation of the grievances of this iſland, made on the 15th of February, 1730, wherein they ſet forth, "That in the year 1722, when his excellency Henry Worsely, Eſq; took the adminiſtration of the government upon him, and for many years before, the gentlemen of the iſland having been harraſſed with parties and diviſions, in hopes to put an end to the ſame, and to obtain the redreſs of ſeveral grievances, were wrought upon to ſubmit to a ſettlement of ſix thouſand Pounds ſterling per ann. on the ſaid Governor, during his reſidence here in the quality of his late Majeſty's Governor; a ſettlement ſo very extravagant, and ſo much more than what the country could afford, that the inhabitants could not long ſupport themſelves under the ſame; but which however they had chearfully ſubmitted to for ſeveral years, notwithſtanding the iſland had been ſo far from reaping any advantage from their indiſcreet generoſity, that on the contrary, the publick good had been entirely neglected, and no meaſures taken to redreſs the grievances of the iſland: But his excellency and his creatures had thereby been the better enabled, and more at leiſure, to oppreſs the inhabitants; the militia had been totally neglected; the forts, breaſt-works, and batteries were gone to ruin; the publick ſtores were embezzled and waſted; and all perſons, in office under his Excellency, buſied in nothing but how to raiſe fortunes from the ruins of the people, by inventing new fees and perquiſites, and by increaſing the former fees and emoluments of their ſeveral offices. And the ſaid petition further ſets forth, that the freeholders of the iſland, moved at laſt with a juſt ſenſe of their danger and ill uſage, had in the month of July, 1727, choſen ſuch perſons to repreſent them in the general aſſembly, as might inquire into and attempt to procure a redreſs of ſome of their moſt crying grievances; and that when the ſaid aſſembly were ſitting about that affair with all the calmneſs and moderation imaginable, and with due deference and regard to his Excellency, he had ſought all occaſions to exaſperate, male-treat, inſult, and abuſe the aſſembly, who however reſolved to overlook all indignities for the good of their country; and that the ſaid Governor finding he could not provoke them to return the ill treatment they met with from him, had, on the 5th of October then laſt paſt, commanded them to adjourn for four weeks; and tho' upon the application of the aſſembly (who upon that occaſion humbly repreſented to him that ſeveral bills, and other affairs of great conſequence to the publick, were then depending before the houſe, and therefore prayed the adjournment might not be for ſo long a time) he had been pleaſed to ſhorten the adjournment by the ſpace of two days only; yet, before the time of their meeting came, he had prorogued them to the 9th of December; and from thence, by ſeveral repeated prorogations, to the month of June, 1728; and then diſſolved them, apparently to prevent any in-

6000 l. per ann. extorted for the Governor's ſalary.

Fortifications run to ruin. Various oppreſſions.

“ quiry into, or repreſentation of his male-adminiſtration.”

As to the diet and cloathing, the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants of Barbadoes, whether white people or Negroes, they are much the ſame as in Jamaica; only there is not ſo great plenty of proviſions in Barbadoes as there is in Jamaica.

CHAP. III.

Of the iſlands of St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, Tobago, Barbuda, and Anguilla.

CHAP. III.

St. Vincent.

SAINT Vincent is ſituated twenty leagues and upwards to the weſtward of Barbadoes, and may be ſeen from thence in a clear evening, being about twenty miles in length from north to ſouth, and almoſt as broad from eaſt to weſt. The Engliſh and Dutch had formerly ſmall ſettlements upon it; whether they have any at preſent I am not informed; but thus much is certain, that neither of theſe nations have thought fit to cultivate the ſoil ſo as to render the traffick thither of any conſequence.

St. Lucia.

St. Lucia lies about five and twenty leagues north weſt of Barbadoes, and has two high mountains in the middle of it, which may be ſeen from thence in a fine day. The ſoil is ſaid to be good, and yet the Engliſh and French have poſſeſſed and quitted it alternately more than once. It was, however, held by the Engliſh to be part of the dominions of the crown of Great-Britain, and as ſuch inſerted in the Governor of Barbadoes's commiſſion: And Sir HANS SLOANE relates, that when he was there, in the year 1687, it was inhabited by a ſmall number of people from Barbadoes (within ſight of which it lies) who kept it on account of its wood, which it has in plenty, and they at Barbadoes very much want. It has been diſputed by the French, ſays Sir HANS SLOANE, whether the Engliſh were proprietors of it or they; but I was told, that being in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh at the time of the ſigning of the treaty of neutrality with France, it ought to remain quietly in the hands of the Engliſh. However, in the reign of King GEORGE I. when his grace the preſent Duke of Montague had been at forty thouſand Pounds expence to plant that iſland and fix a colony there, the French from Martinico obliged the Engliſh planters to quit the iſland; and the court of Great-Britain did not think fit to aſſert their title to it, but gave his grace ſome equivalent; partly lucrative partly honorary, for his loſs. What ſatisfaction the reſt of the adventurers had for their loſſes and diſappointment I could never learn; but we ſeem, by acquieſcing in this outrage, to have yielded up our intereſt in the iſland to the French.

Dominica.

The iſland of Dominica, ſo called by the Spaniards from their diſcovering it on a Sunday, is ſituated in 15 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, about thirty miles to the northward of Martinico. This is another ſmall iſland which the Engliſh have not thought fit to cultivate yet to any degree, tho' they may have ſome inconſiderable ſettlements upon it.

Tobago.

The iſland of Tobago, ſo called from its yielding a good ſort of Tobacco, is ſituated in 11 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, forty leagues due ſouth of Barbadoes, being about thirty-two miles in length and 12 in breadth.

The temperature of the air and fruitfulneſs of the ſoil in this iſland is much commended: and it is ſaid to be well ſtocked with all manner of European cattle, and to be well furniſhed with ſea-fiſh, eſpecially Manati and Turtle. It is alſo covered with excellent timber, viz. Cedar, Mohogany, Ebony, Lignum-Vitæ, White-wood, Box, Braſil, Caſſia, &c. and that it has or will produce Sugar, Tobacco, Indico, Ginger, and every other plant that the beſt of the Caribbee-Iſlands do. This iſland was granted by King CHARLES II. to JAMES Duke of Courland, on condition that none ſhould inhabit the ſaid iſland but the ſubjects of the King of England and the Duke of Courland; and Captain JOHN POYNTZ contracted with the Duke, that the ſaid POYNTZ and company would ſettle one hundred and twenty thouſand acres of land in the ſaid iſland on certain conditions: And POYNTZ thereupon publiſhed propoſals to encourage planters to go over and ſettle colonies in the ſaid iſland; and ſome adventurers thereupon went over thither. The Dutch alſo obtained a grant of part of it from the Duke of Courland, and planted it; but both the Engliſh and Dutch were ſo harraſſed by the Caribbees from the continent of Guiana or Caribbiana, from which it is not above forty leagues diſtant, that they were compelled to quit the iſland: And whether we have any ſettlements upon it at preſent I am not informed. Certain I am, neither the produce or traffick of that iſland is of any conſequence at preſent, tho' why we ſhould not improve and cultivate ſo profitable and deſirable an iſland, now we are no longer under any apprehenſion of the Caribbees, I cannot conceive. If we do not in a little time, poſſibly the French will raviſh this iſland alſo from us, as they have done St. Lucia; eſpecially ſince they ſee the Engliſh tame enough to put up every affront, and all manner of ill uſage from the moſt contemptible naval power in Europe.

Barbuda.

Barbuda is ſituated in 18 degrees north latitude, about 15 leagues north of Antego, being about twenty miles in length and twelve in breadth. It produces the ſame fruits as the reſt of the Caribbees; but the inhabitants inſtead of cultivating Sugar-Canes, apply themſelves to breeding of cattle and raiſing proviſions, for which they meet with a very good market at Barbadoes and the reſt of the Caribbee-Iſlands. This is the property of the CODRINGTON family, who have a great number of Negroes on this iſland as well as in Barbadoes; and it was their anceſtor, Colonel CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON, Governor and Captain-General of the iſland of Barbadoes, who dying in the year 1710, gave and deviſed two plantations in Barbadoes, and alſo part of this iſland of Barbuda, of the value of two thouſand Pounds per annum and upwards, to the ſociety for the propagation of the Goſpel, partly for the inſtruction of Negroes in the Chriſtian religion, in Barbadoes and the reſt of the Caribbees; and partly for the erecting and endowing a college in the iſland of Barbadoes, for propagating the Chriſtian religion and teaching the liberal arts, particularly Phyſick and Surgery: And a college has accordingly been erected there by the ſociety, in purſuance of the donor's will; for which unparalleled benefaction his name will ever be gratefully remembered by all good Chriſtians.

Colonel CODRINGTON's benefaction for a college and the converſion of the Negroes.

Anguilla.

Anguilla, the moſt northerly of all the Caribbee-Iſlands belonging to the Engliſh, lies in 18 degrees odd minutes north latitude, twenty leagues north-eaſt of St. Chriſtopher's, and is about ten leagues long and three broad. There is very little Sugar raiſed in this iſland, the inhabitants applying themſelves to feeding of cattle, planting Indian Corn, and other kinds of huſbandry.

CHAP. IV.

Of the iſlands of Antego, St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat.

Caribbee-Iſlands proper.

THESE do not lie far aſunder, and are ſubject to the ſame Governor, uſually ſtyled Governor of the Caribbee-Iſlands; for tho' Barbadoes be in reality one of the Caribbee-Iſlands, yet that and two or three iſlands more dependant on it, having a diſtinct Governor, the name of Caribbee-Iſlands ſeems now to be reſtrained to Antego, St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, Montſerrat, and ſome of the reſt of the ſmall iſlands which lie near them.

Antego.

Antego, or Antigua, is ſituated in 17 degrees odd minutes north latitude. and 61 degrees of weſtern longitude, being of a circular form, and about ſixty miles in circumference. The chief towns are St. John's, ſituate on the harbour of St. John's, in the north-weſt part of the iſland; and Falmouth, which lies on a bay on the ſouth ſide of the iſland. They raiſe a great quantity of Sugar here, but the ſcarcity of freſh water, and the unhealthfulneſs of the climate, make it not ſo deſirable as it would otherwiſe be. They were alſo the laſt year in great danger of being maſſacred by their Negroes, the plot being diſcovered but very little before the time it was to have been executed.

St. Chriſtopher's.

St. Chriſtopher's is ſituated in 17 degrees odd minutes north latitude, twenty leagues weſt of Antego, to which the celebrated CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS gave his Chriſtian name. It is about twenty miles in length and ſeven in breadth, an exceeding pleaſant iſland, having high mountains in the middle of it; and declining every way to the ſea-ſide. It is watered with rivulets from the hills, and has ſome hot ſprings in it, as well as others, and produces great quantities of Sugar, beſides Cotton, Ginger, Indico, &c.

Nevis.

Nevis is ſituated two or three leagues ſouth-eaſt of St. Chriſtopher's, being about ſix leagues in circumference, and produces Sugar alſo in proportion to its dimenſions.

Montſerrat.

Montſerrat was ſo named by the Spaniards from a mountain in it, reſembling that of Montſerrat in Catalonia, and is ſituated about ten or twelve leagues ſouth-weſt of Antego. It has been computed by ſome, that there are in Antego ten thouſand white inhabitants, in St. Chriſtopher's ſix thouſand, in Nevis three thouſand, and in Montſerrat four thouſand, and at leaſt three times as many Negroes; but this calculation is by others ſaid to be much too large.

A late Governor of the Caribbee-Iſlands (Lieutenant General MATHEWS) gives the following ſhort account of them.

The preſent ſtate of the Caribbee-Iſlands.

St. Chriſtopher's was formerly jointly poſſeſſed by the Engliſh and French, but by the treaty of peace made at Utrecht, anno 1713, the whole iſland was yielded to the Engliſh. 'Tis about twenty-two miles long, and its greateſt breadth is not much above ſeven miles: The middle part is ſo full of hills that there is but twenty-four thouſand acres of land fit for Sugar. They make Communibus Annis ten thouſand Boucaux (hogſheads) of Sugar. Nevis is about twenty-four miles in circuit, Montſerrat about eighteen, and Antego about forty-five. They reckon at Antego ſeventy thouſand acres of land in all; and they make Communibus Annis ſixteen thouſand hogſheads of Sugar there, ſix thouſand at Nevis, and twenty-five hundred at Montſerrat. The Militia is regulated thus: At St. Chriſtopher's a regiment of foot containing about ſeven or eight hundred men, a troop of Horſe of two hundred and twenty men, and another of about an hundred and twenty Dragoons. There are ſeveral forts, but that called Souphriere; or Brimſtone-Hill, is now finiſhed, and ſaid to be impregnable: 'Tis well provided with ciſtern water, and has a large well dug in it. There is at Antego a troop of about one hundred and twenty troopers and three regiments of foot, in all twelve hundred men, beſides a regiment of foot which his Majeſty keeps there, viz. five companies at Antegoa, two at St. Chriſtopher's, two at Nevis, and one at Montſerrat. The fortifications of Monks-Hill at Antegoa are now finiſhed, and the Governor-General of the Caribbees reſides in this iſland, becauſe it is by nature and art the ſtrongeſt of all the iſlands, tho' it is not very wholſome; and they have ſcarce any freſh water but what they can ſave when it rains.

But the ſtate of the Britiſh Caribbee-Iſlands, as well as that of our plantations on the continent, will be beſt underſtood from the late diſpute between theſe iſlands and the northern colonies before the two houſes of parliament, of which I ſhall give an abſtract in this place.

The caſe of the Sugar Iſland ſtated by themſelves.

A bill was brought into the houſe of Commons, on the petition of the Merchants and planters concerned in the Sugar Colonies, in the year 1731, for ſecuring and encouraging the trade of the ſaid colonies: The intent whereof was to enable them to ſupply foreign markets with Sugar as cheap as the French; which they ſuggeſted might be done by prohibiting the exportation of Horſes, proviſions and lumber from our northern colonies on the continent of America to the French and Dutch plantations, and by prohibiting the importation of all foreign Sugar, Rum and Moloſſes to our northern colonies; for the permitting of this, they ſuggeſted, was giving the French and Dutch at leaſt twenty-five per cent. upon the whole produce of their Sugar Colonies, and thereby enabled them to afford their Sugar at foreign markets cheaper than our own Sugar Colonies can. It was finding them plantation neceſſaries, as well as money to pay for them (that is) the foreign colonies paid our northern colonies for their Horſes, proviſions, and lumber, with Moloſſes and Rum, which otherwiſe the French muſt throw away, as they did formerly.

To induce the parliament to paſs this bill, the advocates for the Sugar Colonies endeavoured to ſhew the vaſt importance theſe colonies are to Great-Britain, obſerving, that they produced at an average eighty-five thouſand hogſheads of Sugar annually at leaſt, which at ten pounds a hogſhead amounted to eight hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds. This ſum, or much the greateſt part of it, as they affirm, is ſpent here by the ſeveral proprietors of eſtates in the Weſt-Indies who live in England, or is ſent out annually in the manufactures of Great-Britain, either directly to the Sugar Colonies, or to the coaſt of Guinea, to purchaſe Negroes for the uſe of theſe colonies.

Beſides, this neat produce of Sugar, another vaſt advantage ariſing from the Sugar Colony trade is the great number of ſhips and ſeamen employed and maintained in the courſe of our commerce with them: And they calculate that there are three hundred ſail of ſhips ſent from Great-Britain (not to mention thoſe from other places) every year to our Sugar Colonies, which are navigated by about four thouſand five hundred ſeamen: And that the freight, from the Sugars brought hither, amounts to an hundred and ſeventy thouſand Pounds a year; and the duties, commiſſions, &c. to little leſs than two hundred thouſand Pounds more, which, upon the whole, is a good one million two hundred thouſand Pounds a year profit and advantage to Great-Britain.

But beſides this conſiderable article of Sugar, they obſerve that thoſe iſlands produce great quantities of Cotton, Ginger, Indigo, Aloes, &c. which are all brought to Great-Britain; where the whole profit of all our plantation product does and muſt center. They have been equal, they inſiſt, to the mines of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and have contributed in a particular manner to the trade, navigation, and wealth of this kingdom.

What they will do for the future, they ſaid, muſt depend in a great meaſure on the event of this bill.

At preſent they were in a very bad and languiſhing condition; their duties high, their planters poor, their ſoil worn out, and their fortifications deſtroyed.

They had been true and faithful drudges for Great-Britain; but the time of their viſitation ſeemed to be at hand, unleſs they received ſome timely and effectual relief from the parliament of Great-Britain.

They obſerve further, that the French Sugar Iſlands are much larger, more fruitful, better inhabited, pay leſs duties, and have greater encouragement from France than ours have from Great-Britain.

And that if our Sugar Iſlands, for want of being put in a poſture of defence, ſhould either be taken, as ſome have been, or moulder away and come to ruin, it would be one of the greateſt blows this kingdom ever received.

It would then loſe the benefit of all their product imported hither; it would loſe the exports of our Woollen and other manufactures thither, to the amount of ſeveral hundred thouſand Pounds a year; it would loſe, in a great meaſure, the trade to Guinea; it would loſe the employing and maintaining of many hundred Britiſh ſhips, and many thouſand Britiſh ſeamen every year. And laſtly, it would loſe one of the moſt conſiderable and main branches of our funds, the deficiency of which muſt be made good, and the weight and burthen fall entirely on our lands.

The caſe of New-York ſtated in an addreſs.

On the other hand I meet with an addreſs and repreſentation of the Preſident, council, and general aſſembly of New-York to his preſent Majeſty on the ſame ſubject; wherein they ſay.

With grief and concern we have heard of the monopoly aimed at by the Sugar Colonies, which if obtained will, we conceive, tend to the ruin of this colony, and be prejudicial to the trade and navigation of Great-Britain: For

They affirm that they take off more Britiſh manufactures than all the Sugar Colonies except Jamaica.

There is imported yearly into and conſumed in this colony a very large quantity of the Woollen manufacture of Great-Britain, for our cloathing and preſervation from the exceſſive cold of our winters; and ſo great is our conſumption of thoſe commodities, that we have reaſon to believe the whole Sugar Colonies (excepting Jamaica on account of the Spaniſh trade) do not conſume the like quantity; and ſhould we be diſabled to pay for that manufacture, we muſt be reduced to nakedneſs, or to make our own cloathing.

That they traffick with our own and the foreign Colonies.

The product of this and the neighbouring colonies of New-Jerſey and Penſylvania, is proviſions, Horſes, and lumber, which are exported to the Britiſh and foreign Sugar Colonies; and in exchange for them, are had monies, Rum, Sugars, Moloſſes, Cacao, Indigo, Cotton, &c. whereof, the Rum and Moloſſes are chiefly conſumed in this colony, and the monies and other merchandize are moſt applied to make good the balance of our trade to Great-Britain; and ſo great a part of that balance is paid in money, that we have reaſon to believe that all the Britiſh Sugar Colonies together (except Jamaica) do not import ſo much Silver and Gold into Great-Britain as this ſingle colony.

They import more Silver and Gold than all the iſlands except Jamaica.

The Britiſh Sugar Colonies cannot take off half their proviſions, or ſupply them with Rum. If that Monopoly is eſtabliſhed, they ſhall get nothing for their produce.

We are well aſſured, that the Britiſh Sugar Colonies cannot take off the one half of the proviſions which this and the other two Bread Colonies do export; nor are they able to ſupply the northern colonies with the Rum and Moloſſes there conſumed, without vaſtly diminiſhing the quantity of Sugar which they now make; and though we be not by expreſs words in the monopoly aimed at, or reſtrained from exporting our proviſions to the foreign Sugar Colonies, yet the reſtraining us from taking any part of that product in exchange will as effectually do it.

And they ſhall be diſabled to pay for Britiſh manufactures.

Wherefore we have reaſon to apprehend, that if the monopoly aimed at be obtained, our product now exported to the foreign Sugar Colonies will be as loſt to us; and that we ſhall have little more from the Britiſh Sugar Colonies for all our proviſions that they can conſume, than the Rum, Moloſſes, and Sugar, which we want to conſume among ourſelves; ſeeing the glut of our product with them muſt greatly lower the price thereof, and the great demand of Rum and Moloſſes muſt vaſtly enhance the price of them, and diſable us to pay for the Britiſh manufactures we have already had and owe for, and diminiſh the conſumption of the Britiſh Woollen manufacture, and the navigation now employed in bringing it to us, and in carrying our product to the foreign Sugar Colonies, and will enhance the price of Sugar ſo much, that Britain will probably be diſabled to export any part of it.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

We implore your moſt ſacred Majeſty, the father of all your ſubjects, who has the care and proſperity of all of them equally at heart, and who will be far from countenancing any endeavours to make one part of them the ſlaves and bondmen of another (with whatever ſpecious pretence it may be aimed at) to have pity and compaſſion upon us your poor but moſt loyal and dutiful ſubjects of theſe Bread Colonies; upon the Merchants of Great-Britain to whom we are greatly indebted; upon them and the many tradeſmen and ſeamen of Great-Britain who get their living by the Britiſh trade with us; and to grant us your moſt gracious protection againſt this attempt, which in its conſequences would tend, we humbly conceive, to deprive them of their juſt debts and future ſupport, and to cut us off from being of any other uſe to our mother country than to be the bondmen and ſlaves of her Sugar Colonies, by confining us to them for the vent of the produce of our induſtry, and in conſequence obliging us to take what price for it they pleaſe, and to give what price they pleaſe for what we receive in exchange.

Objections made by the reſt of the northern colonies to the bill.

There were other advocates for the northern colonies, who made the ſame and ſome further objections againſt the ſaid bill. They objected, 1. That ſuch a prohibition as was deſired by the bill would put the French upon ſupplying themſelves with lumber from their own ſettlements, and the Britiſh Colonies on the continent would thereby loſe this trade, in which many ſhips and ſeamen were employed.

Obj. 2. A ſecond objection was of the like tenour as that made by New-York: That the Britiſh Sugar Colonies could not take off their lumber, or ſupply them with Rum for their fiſheries, their trade with the Indians, and what they wanted in harveſt-time.

Obj. 3. That the reſtraining the northern colonies from diſpoſing of their Horſes, proviſions and lumber to the French and Hollanders, might draw them into employments prejudicial to Great-Britain.

Obj. 4. That the French would diſtill their Moloſſes themſelves, and ſupply the fiſheries with Rum, if the northern colonies did not.

Obj. 5. If the northern colonies did not take off the French Sugars, they would carry them to market themſelves.

Obj. 6. If the importation of French and Dutch Rum and Moloſſes into New-England was prohibited, and they could go to no other market for Rum, or ſell their lumber and proviſions any where elſe, the Engliſh Sugar Colonies, like other monopolies, would exact an unreaſonable price for their Rum, and beat down the price of lumber and other goods as low as they ſaw fit.

Obj. 7. That the French and Dutch Colonies furniſh the northern colonies with money, which they bring to Great-Britain, and lay out in our manufactures.

Obj. 8. That the luxury and extravagance of the Sugar Colonies was the occaſion of their declining.

Obj. 9. That the trade of the Sugar Colonies is ſtill vaſtly profitable, inſtancing in Barbadoes, which, in the year 1730, imported 22,769 hogſheads of Sugar into England, valued at 340,396 l. and that this was the net profit they inſiſted, becauſe it was admitted that the Rum and Moloſſes of a Sugar plantation bears the charges of it; the Sugar planters therefore could have no reaſon to complain, when ſo ſmall an iſland as Barbadoes produced ſo vaſt a net profit.

Theſe objections anſwered by the Sugar Colonies.

1. To the firſt of theſe objections, that the French would ſupply themſelves with lumber from their own ſettlements, if the northern colonies did not furniſh them with it:

The advocates for the Sugar Colonies anſwered, That the French could not be ſupplied with lumber from their own ſettlements; or if they could, it muſt be at great charge and expence; the only places they can pretend to be ſupplied from are Cape Breton and Quebeck.

Some indeed have gone ſo far, and been ſo extravagant as to imagine that the French Iſlands may be ſupplied with lumber from the bay of Apalachi, or the ſettlements at Miſſiſſipi.

But we muſt conſider that great ſnows (which the French have not at their colonies on the Miſſiſſipi or the bay of Apalachi) are neceſſary, both for drawing down trees to the ſides of the rivers, and (likewiſe upon the ſnows melting) for floating them down to the mills; and if they had ſnows, thoſe countries do not produce any quantity of ſuch wood as is proper to work into lumber; nor have they any ſaw-mills, which are expenſive to build; and the labour and time required to manufacture ſuch trees into lumber would make it extremely dear to the French.

Beſides, the navigation to and from theſe places to Martinico and the French Iſlands, ſo much to wind-ward, would be ſo difficult and long for ſuch veſſels as are proper to carry lumber by reaſon of the calms, contrary-winds, and ſtrong currents againſt them, that ſuch a project would probably end in the ruin of the people concerned in it.

As to Cape Breton, tho' it has the advantage of ſnows, yet it has no other convenience; it produces little wood; they have few rivers, and thoſe longer froze and ſooner dried than in New-England; it is thinly inhabited, and is a ſmall inconſiderable iſland, commodious only for fiſhing.

And as for Quebeck, allowing it all the advantages the other places want, and all that our northern colonies have with reſpect to wood and mills, yet the navigation of the river St. Lawrence (which is practicable only a few months in the year) is ſo very long and dangerous, that all the lumber from thence muſt be exceeding dear.

And tho' ſome may think that theſe difficulties may in time be removed, and the navigation of that river become ſafe and eaſy; it were to be wiſhed the French had no ſupply of lumber till theſe difficulties were removed; but theſe difficulties muſt always continue, from the nature of the coaſt, the rocks, ſhoals and ſands in that river, and from the inclemency of the air, and other natural cauſes, which will make that navigation for ever unſafe.

If then the French cannot be ſupplied at all with lumber, or at leaſt not upon any reaſonable terms, how much will this give our Sugar Colonies an advantage over the French? But let us ſuppoſe the worſt and utmoſt that can be, that they can be ſupplied with lumber from their own ſettlements, yet what muſt this lumber be bought with? Not with Rum and Moloſſes, but with money.

So that if this prohibition of foreign Rum and Moloſſes takes place, ſo much clear profit and gain will be loſt to the French plantations; becauſe they can have no vent for their Rum, as interfering with Brandy.

But what ſtronger argument can we have that the trade carried on by ſome of the northern colonies is a prejudicial trade, than the permiſſion of it by the French themſelves?

They underſtand the whole compaſs of trade perfectly well; and to do them juſtice, ſteadily and unalterably purſue their intereſts.

They know that their colonies either cannot be ſupplied at all with Horſes, lumber, and other plantation neceſſaries, or elſe they muſt purchaſe them at a great expence: They find they have them for Rum and Moloſſes, which is all clear gains to them; that they ſave at leaſt 25 per cent. in having lumber and Horſes ſo conveniently from the northern colonies, and get 25 per cent. by their Rum and Moloſſes, which elſe would be all loſt to them; and what is more, they plainly perceive that this trade muſt ſhortly and moſt effectually deſtroy and ruin our Sugar plantations, by enhancing the price of our plantation neceſſaries, and ſtopping the vent of our product and manufacture.

However ſpecious therefore the arguments may be in favour of this trade, nothing leſs than a prohibition of Horſes and lumber, as well as of foreign Sugar, Rum and Moloſſes, will be of any real ſervice or benefit to our Sugar Colonies.

For if you allow them to carry lumber, what muſt they have in exchange for it but Sugar, Rum, or Moloſſes? And how will it be poſſible on ſo long a coaſt of ſeven or eight hundred miles, as that of theſe northern colonies, where there are ſo many bays, creeks, and rivers, and ſo few Officers, to prevent the running of theſe goods, let your penalties be never ſo ſtrict.

A permiſſive trade will be an inlet to all the fraud imaginable, and deſtroy the act; and your forfeitures and penalties will be only like ſcare-crows and paſteboard Soldiers, which may ſeem to be ſome ſecurity, but in reality are none at all.

But they'll ſay, perhaps, that France will allow them to carry their Rum to their own ſettlements on the continent; but that is altogether as improbable, and as unlikely, as that we ſhould ſuffer Ireland to ſupply our plantations with Woollen manufactures.

Thoſe colonies there are abundantly ſupplied with Brandy from France very cheap; and which is a ſpirit much better liked, and what they have been uſed to.

2. As to the ſecond objection, that the Engliſh Sugar Colonies cannot take off their lumber, or ſupply them with Rum,

The advocates for the Sugar Colonies anſwered, if the trade and navigation from the Britiſh Colonies on the continent to the foreign colonies be prejudicial to the Britiſh Sugar Colonies, and conſequently to Great-Britain; and if the reſtraining it will effectually cramp and check our rivals the French in the Sugar trade, it ought to be prohibited, tho' ſome few traders ſhould ſuffer hardſhips and inconveniences by it. The owners of Wool might complain that the government would not ſuffer them to carry Wool to France; but it muſt be admitted, however, that the prohibition of exporting Wool is abſolutely neceſſary in order to our ſupplying foreign markets with the manufactures of Great-Britain.

As to the diſpoſal of their lumber, the Sugar Colonies have more reaſon to apprehend that they ſhall find a want of it, than that the New-England people will have too much lie upon their hands.

For we have for many years been alarmed with the ſcarcity of lumber in New-England; and we have felt the effects of it in the advanced price we have paid for it for ſome time.

Thoſe who were principally concerned there in the lumber trade, complained laſt year of the great want of Oak and Fir near the rivers on which their ſaw-mills ſtand: And as they are reſtrained by ſeveral acts of parliament from cutting the King's trees, they will hardly be able to ſupply us long with lumber of private property at any reaſonable rate.

The laſt letters from Newberry in New-England inform us, that lumber was riſen there from three Pounds per thouſand foot to five Pounds ten Shillings; and that ſome ſhips have ſailed from thence to the Weſt-Indies, without being able to get their loading at any price; and that others continue there in hopes to get a loading, tho' it is very uncertain whether they will or no.

The other part of this objection, that our Sugar Colonies are not able to ſupply them with a ſufficient quantity of Rum, is as groundleſs as the former.

A gentleman of diſtinction at St. Chriſtopher's informed the committee, that he himſelf made only two thouſand gallons of Rum a year; but that if he had encouragement, he could make twenty thouſand gallons. And that other gentlemen of St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis and Montſerrat, who made little or no Rum now, could make a very great quantity, had they a demand for it.

Therefore the queſtion that was aſked by a New-England gentleman, whether we have any Rum left on our hands at the end of the year, is not at all to the purpoſe.

We ſay they have ſometimes. But that is not the point: They have little left becauſe they make but little; and they make but little becauſe there is not a demand for more, French Rum or Moloſſes being cheaper. But where thoſe iſlands make now but one gallon of Rum, they could upon encouragement make ten.

And notwithſtanding they make but little Rum, they would ſtill have a good deal upon their hands every year, if they did not ſend it to Great-Britain and other places, becauſe nothing waſtes more than Rum: And after they have exported it, they have frequently the mortification of finding it produce not above Two-pence a gallon clear of all charges, to their very great loſs.

The diſtillers in New-England find this trade in ſpirits made of foreign Moloſſes a gainful one, and for that reaſon raiſe objections which have nothing in them, in order to make Boſton the great ſtaple for Rum; For ſhould the prohibition take place on foreign Rum and Moloſſes, then our Sugar Colonies might ſend again their Rum to Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, and Newfoundland, as they did before, and ſave the lives of many hundreds of poor wretches, who if this trade be not ſtopped, will probably be deſtroyed by this pernicious ſpirit made of foreign Moloſſes; which is ſo very unwholſome, that it commonly goes by the name of Kill-Devil in that country.

If we ſhould admit for argument ſake, that the French Sugar Colonies, and Surinam (belonging to the Dutch) do take off one half of the New-England lumber (which by the way is more than can be proved) the deficiency then of the demand of lumber will be one moiety. Now if it can be proved that the Britiſh Sugar Colonies upon a proper encouragement might be improved ſufficiently to make as much more Rum and Sugar as they now do, it will follow that the Britiſh Sugar Colonies may take off all the New-England lumber.

Barbadoes, one of the Britiſh Sugar Colonies, is allowed to be at its perfection, and perhaps incapable of being farther improved ſo as to increaſe its annual product.

Antigua (all people that know it will acknowledge) is capable of further improvement, and may enlarge its product of Sugar, according to the beſt computations, at leaſt one fifth part per ann. As to the product of Rum there, it may certainly be enlarged near one half upon proper encouragement; for the Rum it now makes is not quite one half of its product of Sugar; that is to ſay, if Antigua makes twenty thouſand hogſheads of Sugar per ann. its product of Rum is not quite ten thouſand: But it is evident from the experience of Barbadoes, that out of twenty thouſand hogſheads of Sugar there ought to be made near fourteen thouſand hogſheads of Rum; and this increaſe, both of Sugar and Rum in Antigua, would certainly be made, if there was proper encouragement.

Montſerrat, Nevis, and St. Chriſtopher's, for want of encouragement, do not make (as may appear by the cuſtom-houſe books of each iſland) one hogſhead of Rum for three hogſheads of Sugar: Whereas it is evident by the experience of Barbadoes, that three hogſheads of Sugar ought to produce two hogſheads of Rum; conſequently the product of Rum in theſe three iſlands might be, upon proper encouragement, increaſed to as much more as it now is.

Add to this, the improvement to be made in thoſe iſlands by which the quantity of Sugar would be increaſed, it will follow ſtill farther, that the quantity of Rum which thoſe iſlands are capable of making would be above as much more as they now make, and conſequently the demand for lumber would be proportionate.

Jamaica, the largeſt of all the Britiſh Sugar Colonies (nay bigger than all the reſt put together) is yet but in its infancy, having now as much land uncultivated as would produce above three times its preſent product, were it cultivated; as it certainly would be, upon proper encouragement.

But farther, as to the Sugar Colonies not being able to furniſh the colonies on the continent with Rum, it appeared by the cuſtom-houſe books, that all the Britiſh Sugar Colonies do produce about one hundred thouſand hogſheads of Sugar, per ann. and they ought in proportion to make about ſeventy thouſand hogſheads of Rum; a quantity more than ſufficient to ſupply the New-England fiſhery and Indian trade, even according to their own hyperbolical computation. But the preſent product of the Sugar Colonies under all the incumbent diſadvantages is more than the New-England caſuiſts can prove to be neceſſary for both thoſe trades; nay, on the contrary, they will have a proof ſooner than deſired, that their fiſhery and Indian trade do not take off one half of the Rum now actually made in the Sugar Colonies.

A gentleman who had reſided a great while at South-Carolina affirmed, that that colony traded with eight thouſand Indians, and yet nine hundred hogſheads of Rum was the moſt they ever imported in one year, both to ſupply their home conſumption, all their trade with theſe eight thouſand Indians, and to trade to other ports with; and yet this is a colony that is the hotteſt, has the largeſt harveſt of Rice, &c. and not ſupplied ſo well with Beer, &c. as the other northern colonies are.

So let us allow this colony of South-Carolina theſe nine hundred hogſheads, North-Carolina one thouſand hogſheads, Virginia and Maryland three thouſand hogſheads, New-York and Philadelphia four thouſand hogſheads, Rhode-Iſland and New-England ten thouſand hogſheads, which calculation, both by their reſpective cuſtom-houſe accounts, and by the largeſt eſtimates that ever have been made, are too large; and yet the whole amounts but to eighteen thouſand nine hundred hogſheads.

The ſame perſon atteſted that the Engliſh Sugar Colonies, under their preſent improvement, did make forty thouſand hogſheads of Rum per ann. and could make (had they a demand for it) about fifty five thouſand hogſheads per ann. beſides what thoſe large tracts of uncultivated land would produce, ſhould they have encouragement to plant 'em.

It was obſerved alſo, that the New-England people thus taking from the French their Moloſſes, Rum, and Sugar, and ſupplying all the other northern colonies as well as New-foundland, Great-Britain, Ireland, and Africa, with large quantities thereof, was a very great hurt to the revenue, for if theſe places were not thus ſupplied they muſt be ſupplied from our own Sugar Colonies, and then every thouſand Pound value of Rum or Moloſſes, of our own growth muſt pay his Majeſty a duty of forty five Pounds, and every thouſand Pound value of Sugar a duty of one hundred and twenty Pounds. It might have been added, that it was likewiſe a great hurt to the trade and navigation of this kingdom, as well as to the Sugar Colonies, that we cannot ſupply thoſe places with Rum, Sugar and Moloſſes of our own growth, and in ſhips and veſſels of this kingdom, without the diſadvantage of paying for our Rum and Moloſſes, a duty of four and a half per cent. and for our Sugar a duty of twelve per cent. when New-England can ſupply all the markets with Rum, Sugar and Moloſſes of foreign growth without paying any of theſe duties. Was it not for this advantage they have over us, a great many of our veſſels that miſs a freight of Sugar in the Weſt-Indies for London, would take ſome Rum, Moloſſes and Sugar, and go to New-foundland and barter it for fiſh or oil, and then proceed to ſome other market with it, and might probably employ themſelves to advantage, or might, with a little Rum, Sugar and Moloſſes, go to North-Carolina, &c. and barter them for a cargo of Pitch, Tar and ſkins, and bring to Great-Britain.

3. As to the third objection, that the reſtraining the northern colonies from diſpoſing of their Horſes, proviſions and lumber to the French and Hollanders, might put them upon ſome employments prejudicial to Great-Britain:

The advocates for the Sugar Colonies anſwered, that it had been ſhewn already we have more reaſon to fear that our iſlands will not be ſupplied with lumber, as they ought to be, than that the northern colonies will want a vent for their lumber; but if the Britiſh Sugar Colonies could not take off all their lumber, they might ſend it to Spain or Portugal, or to Great-Britain, where it might be imported duty free. They might employ themſelves in raiſing naval ſtores, the government hath given them a large bounty to go upon that trade, which would be of vaſt advantage to our navigation, and ſave the nation three or four hundred thouſand Pounds a year, which is ſent out annually to purchaſe naval ſtores from the north: But this favourite trade with the foreign Sugar Colonies hath diverted them from this excellent deſign to the enriching of the French, and to the great prejudice and almoſt ruin of our own colonies.

4. As to the fourth objection, that the French would diſtill their Moloſſes themſelves, and ſupply the fiſheries with Rum, if the northern colonies did not, it was anſwered, that the French diſtilled but very little Rum at preſent, and knew little of the matter; worms, ſtills, and other diſtilling utenſils coſt a great deal of money, and this muſt be a work of time and a very great expence: However, a poſſibility of an inconvenience that might happen, ought not to have that regard paid to it as to prevent our own colonies being relieved in a point ſo very prejudicial to them,

as well as to the Malt ſpirits of Great-Britain, with which the fiſheries were formerly ſupplied.

5. To the fifth objection, that if the northern colonies did not take off the French Sugars, they would carry them to other markets themſelves; it was anſwered, the French do already carry as much Sugar to foreign markets as they can ſell to advantage; and the ſurplus, which foreign markets won't take off, goes to our northern colonies, to purchaſe what is abſolutely neceſſary for them, and what they could not have conveniently from any other place.

But even here the profit of the freight is gained not by Great-Britain, but by the northern colonies only, which is a very ſmall advantage in compariſon of the damage done by this means to our Sugar Colonies; eſpecially as the French can afford their Sugars cheaper than ours, and as the high duties paid for our Sugars in our plantations make it impoſſible for us to ſend any to the northern colonies.

6. To the ſixth objection, that if the importation of French and Dutch Rum and Moloſſes was prohibited, and they could have none but what they bought of the Engliſh Sugar Iſlands, or ſell their lumber and proviſions any where elſe; then the Engliſh Iſlands, like other monopolizers, would ſet what price they pleaſed upon their Rum, and beat down the price of their lumber and other goods as they ſaw fit:

It is anſwered, if the caſe was juſt as the objection ſtates it, the Britiſh Sugar Colonies would be only upon a level with New-England; for as that place is the only market from whence lumber is imported to the Sugar Colonies, New-England, by a parity of reaſon, is a monopoly of the lumber trade, and therefore does exact an unreaſonable price for its lumber.

But this is not, nor ever can be, the truth of the caſe, either with regard to New-England or the Sugar Colonies; for as in a place of ſuch extent as New-England is, where the lumber-trade is carried on by a multitude of people with a view to each trader's ſeparate intereſt, a monopoly of lumber cannot properly be made: So in the Sugar Colonies that lie at a vaſt diſtance from each other, and are rivals to each other by the production of the ſame commodities, a monopoly is impracticable.

The New-England traders have no leſs than ſix different Britiſh Iſlands to go to for Rum and Moloſſes: Each of thoſe iſlands is as independent upon the other in its polity as diſtant in ſituation. There is little or no intercouſe, and leſs commerce between thoſe of them which are ſituated the neareſt to the others, and no intercouſe at all between the remoteſt of thoſe iſlands; becauſe the produce of them all being the ſame, there can be no exchange of Commodities, and conſequently no commerce or intercourſe. It follows therefore were there is no intercourſe there can be no combination, no monopoly. On the contrary (as has been obſerved) each iſland is a rival to its neighbour, producing the ſame commodities, and will in common prudence uſe all proper means to have its full ſhare of trade, to which end nothing can be more conducive than to ſell its produce at the cheapeſt rate imaginable.

7. As to the ſeventh objection, that the French and Dutch Colonies furniſh our northern colonies with money, which they bring to Great-Britain, and lay out in our manufactures:

They anſwered, that there is no money among the French and Dutch Sugar Colonies, is as true as there are no Gold or Diamond mines in New-England: How therefore they can bring money from places where there is not enough for the common uſes of life among the inhabitants, is a paradox which they muſt explain before the world will take it upon their word.

If then that aſſertion be not founded in truth, it follows that they do not lay out money brought from thoſe places in the manufactures of Great-Britain. Their traffick for fiſh in the Streights, (a trade in which they have ſupplanted Great-Britain) may furniſh them with money, but we deny that ſuch money is laid out by them in the manufactures of Great-Britain. On the contrary, it is to be preſumed, that their money is laid out with the French and Dutch in Europe for Eaſt-India goods, French Silks, and other foreign commodities; for as it appeared by their own evidence, at the bar of the houſe of commons, they import ſuch wares into New-England; and we muſt ſuppoſe they pay for them in money or fiſh, till they can prove that lumber is a valuable commodity in France and Holland.

But ſuppoſing the New-England people do lay out their product of fiſh in Britiſh manufactures, is that a ſufficient compenſation to Great-Britain for robbing her of the fiſh-trade to the Streights? Does not the New-England people by their confeſſion acknowledge by implication, that they reap the profit both in navigation and trade up the Streights, which uſed to be enjoyed by Great-Britain itſelf? What advantage is it to Britain to have this money laid out in her manufactures? Would it not be a far greater to be the carrier of theſe manufactures to the Streights, and to bring home this money in her own ſhips, navigated by her own ſailors?

8. To the charge, that the luxury and extravagancy of the Engliſh Sugar Colonies is the real occaſion of their declining:

It was anſwered, that the people of New-England may be both induſtrious and parſimonious; for if we will take their own words for it, they are very poor, and cannot be otherwiſe. But is it a virtue to be very frugal when a man has no money to ſpend? ——— perhaps it is a New-England virtue.

The inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies, 'tis ſaid are very rich and very luxurious: That the product of theſe Colonies is of the richeſt ſort, and is a mine to Great-Britain is allowed, and has been fully proved; but that the proprietors of the ſoil and manufactures are far from being rich is evident from the proofs already made to the parliament, that they do not clear five Shillings for every hundred pound weight of Sugar they make.

This the New-England traders would think but a moderate profit upon one of their ſhort voyages; but it is too much for an inhabitant of the Sugar Colonies, who runs infinite more riſque on the heat of the torrid zone, does the duty, and is liable to all the hazards of a camp in time of war, and in time of peace lives the moſt careful life of any of the inhabitants under the ſun. That this is truly the caſe of the planter in the Sugar Colonies, all mankind that are well acquainted with them will atteſt; but it may be evinced, from the nature of a Weſt-Indian eſtate itſelf, which is ſubject to ruin by the French, to fire from the combuſtible nature of the Sugar Canes, which are its product; from the vaſt expence of buildings and materials for making Sugar and Rum, from the like expence in Negroes, cattle and Mules; from the riſque of mortality in this part of their property, which is always half the value of a well ſettled plantation. And laſtly, the expence of feeding, the care, anxiety, and prudent conduct of governing two or three hundred Negroes with ſtrict juſtice and humanity, and with advantage to himſelf, is the ſtation of a planter: And is not this a ſtation that requires as much fortitude, induſtry, and œconomy as catching fiſh, or buying ſkins from the Indians of New-England? In ſhort, without a good ſhare of all the qualifications neceſſary to conduct an affair the moſt complicated in its nature, ſurrounded with difficulties and hazards, and in which the niceſt œconomy and order muſt be obſerved, it is impoſſible a planter can reap any profit from his eſtate. Therefore if planters are rich, they muſt be the beſt œconomiſts, and the moſt induſtrious men in the world.

But let us hear what all gentlemen that have travelled to the Sugar Colonies and to New-England will ſay of the inhabitants of both. To them let the appeal be made, as being impartial obſervers of a country to which they are attached by no prejudice of education. It will apppear, by their teſtimony, that the inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies are a polite people, being generally educated in England in the beſt manner: And if virtue and morality be the reſult of a good education, they are as well entitled to both as the ſubjects of England, and more than the people of New-England, who are educated in their own mean ſeminaries.

To all impartial ſtrangers we appeal whether the inhabitants of the Britiſh Sugar Colonies are not the moſt benevolent hoſpitable people in the world, and whether every ſtranger, and eſpecially Engliſhmen, be not received there with ſingular regard? On the contrary, let them ſay whether the inhabitants of New-England, and eſpecially of Boſton, do not always expreſs a jewiſh antipathy to ſtrangers, even to their fellow ſubjects of England and the Sugar Colonies, whom they call by the invidious name of foreigners; and indeed treat them accordingly.

But perhaps hoſpitality is not in the New-England catalogue of virtues, but ſtands for a vice, and goes by the name of luxury or profuſeneſs; ——this miſtake of hoſpitality for that vice was perhaps the reaſon why the New-England people thought it applicable to the inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies.

9. To the ninth objection, that the trade of the Engliſh Sugar Colonies is in their preſent circumſtances vaſtly profitable; for that little iſland of Barbadoes, in the year 1730, imported twenty-two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-nine hogſheads of Sugar, of which they made 340,396 l. clear profit.

It is admitted to be true, when Rum and Moloſſes bear a reaſonable price, then a plantation may with the niceſt œconomy pay its own charges out of theſe articles. But if the New-England traders take Rum from foreigners, and Moloſſes to be diſtilled into Rum by themſelves, then the Rum and Moloſſes will be ſo far from bearing ſuch a charge, that on the contrary, they will bear no charge at all, but the Moloſſes muſt be given to the Hogs, as the French uſed to do till New-England taught them how to make a better profit of it. Have not then the Barbadians reaſon to complain?

By the aſſiſtance of the New-England traders, the French now have that great advantage, and the French plantations are increaſed above one third in the annual value purely by that pernicious trade. This increaſe to foreigners is a proportionable diminution of our own Sugar Colonies, and conſequently a diſadvantage to Great-Britain.

But is the product of that little iſland Barbadoes no leſs than 340,396 l. brought into the ports of Great-Britain in one year? What then muſt be the net product of all the Sugar Colonies? --- an immenſe ſum no doubt. And is this all brought into the ports of Great-Britain? What a fountain of treaſure muſt this be to the kingdom, even by the confeſſion of the enemies to our Britiſh Sugar Colonies! Do therefore the New-England traders imagine that the parliament of Great-Britain will ſacrifice this immenſe treaſure to the advantage of a few New-England diſtillers? Or if it was a diſadvantage to all New-England (from whence Great-Britain derives no advantage in compariſon of that) would it not be juſt policy to ſupport the Sugar Colonies? But when the preſent oppoſition is conſidered as founded on a trade with the French the natural and implacable enemies of this kingdom, what honeſt Engliſhman will look upon it without diſdain? eſpecially after it has appeared evident from reaſon, from undoubted teſtimony, and even by the implicit confeſſion of the New-England people concerned in this oppoſition, that the French have increaſed one third per annum in their wealth by this very trade; that our Sugar Colonies have declined in proportion, as has been proved already; and to complete the misfortune, the New-England traders have drained even the Britiſh Sugar Colonies of all their current caſh, for no other purpoſe but to purchaſe Moloſſes and Rum of the French. This is a fact known by all the inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies, who are ready to prove it in the moſt ſolemn manner.

The two houſes having heard the ſeveral facts ſtated, with the proofs, and conſidered the arguments and inferences drawn from them, paſſed an act of the following tenour.

An act paſſed in favour of the Sugar Colonies.

That after the 25th of December, 1733, there ſhould be paid a duty of nine Pence a gallon for all Rum and ſpirits made in any of the plantations not ſubject to Great-Britain on the importation of them into any of the Britiſh plantations. That ſix Pence a gallon ſhould be paid for all foreign Moloſſes and Syrups imported; and five Shillings per hundred weight Engliſh money, for Sugar and Paneles imported: And that no Sugars, Paneles, Syrups, or Moloſſes, ſhould be imported into Ireland, unleſs ſhipped in Great-Britain.

And an allowance of two Shillings per hundred weight is allowed more than heretofore on the exportation of refined Sugars. But the importation of Spaniſh or Portugueſe Sugars into Great-Britain is ſtill permitted by the ſame act.

Since the paſſing the aboveſaid act, the Merchants and planters concerned in the Britiſh Sugar Colonies preferred a petition to the houſe of commons, ſetting forth, that by two acts of parliament, paſſed in the 12th and 22d of Car. II. the inhabitants of the ſaid colonies were reſtrained from ſending Sugars to foreign markets before they are firſt landed in Great-Britain.

That how prudent ſoever this reſtraint may have been at the time the Sugar trade in the Weſt-Indies was entirely in our hands; yet now that our Sugar Iſlands are in a declining condition, chiefly by the increaſe of the French ſettlements, it would be highly beneficial to Great-Britain, as the petitioners apprehend, to put the Britiſh ſubject in a capacity of diſputing foreign markets with the French, and to permit him to carry his Sugars earlier and cheaper to theſe markets than he can now do under the reſtraint aforeſaid.

That the Sugar Colonies import yearly into this kingdom Sugar enough for our own home conſumption, and alſo a large ſurplus for re-exportation to foreign parts; but the demand from abroad has greatly decreaſed within theſe few years, and the markets for that commodity have been foreſtalled by the French; not only to the prejudice of the Sugar trade, but alſo of the general trade of Great-Britain.

That if Britiſh ſhips were permitted to go to foreign markets under proper reſtrictions, without unloading here, the whole charge, and in a great meaſure the riſque of a double voyage, would be ſaved, and the obliging ſuch ſhips to return to Great-Britain, unload and take their clearance here, before their proceeding on another American voyage would be attended with this farther good effect, that they muſt afford to carry freight at the cheapeſt rates, or return home empty; ſo that this regulation (as the petitioners conceive) would extend our navigation, and contribute to make us the carriers of Europe, without prejudicing the revenue, all the duties on Sugar being drawn back on the re-exportation of it to foreign parts.

For theſe reaſons the petitioners humbly pray this honourable houſe, that a liberty may be granted of carrying Britiſh Sugar from our Sugar Colonies in America directly to any foreign markets to the ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre, upon the ſame conditions that the people of Carolina are permitted to carry their Rice to the ſaid markets, and alſo of carrying ſuch Sugars to any foreign markets to the northward of Cape Finiſterre, after firſt touching at Great Britain, giving in a manifeſt of their cargo, and entering into bond to return to Great-Britain before they proceed on another Weſt-India voyage.

But I dont find the parliament are yet inclined to indulge our Sugar Colonies, ſo far as to alter the acts of navigation in their favour; nor did they think fit, by the act they paſſed in the year 1733, to prohibit the Britiſh Colonies on the continent to carry their Horſes, lumber and proviſions to the French and Dutch ſettlements, tho' they laid duties on Sugar, Rum and Moloſſes imported from thence.

CHAP. V.

Of the Lucayo or Bahama-Iſlands; of Bermudas or the Summer-Iſlands; and of the Iſland of Newfoundland.

CHAP. V. Bahama Iſlands. Situation.

THE Lucayo's or Bahama-Iſlands, the chief whereof are Bahama, Lucayo, Eleathera or Long-Iſland, the iſlands of Andros, Providence, St. Salvador or Cat-Iſland, Samana, Maquana and Heneago, are ſituated in the Atlantick-Ocean, north of Cuba, extending from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt; between 21 and 27 degrees of north latitude, and between 73 and 81 degrees of weſtern longitude. There are ſaid to be ſeveral hundreds of them; but then I preſume every little rock that appears above water is taken into the account; however, there are about thirty of them (of which Lucayo is the largeſt) that make a tolerable figure, ſome of them twenty or five and twenty leagues in length, but moſt of them very narrow.

Bahama.

The iſland of Bahama, which communicates its name to the reſt, is ſituated between 26 and 27 degrees north latitude, twenty or thirty leagues to the eaſtward of the continent of Florida, being about twenty leagues in length, but ſcarce four in breadth. Neither this or any of the reſt are conſtantly inhabited, except Providence and three or four more near it in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

St. Salvador.

Guanahani, to which COLUMBUS gave the name of St. Salvador, is ſituated in 24 degrees north latitude, and 76 degrees of weſtern longitude: This and the reſt of the Bahama-Iſlands are ſaid to enjoy a good air and ſoil; but having no Gold or Silver in them, and being ſurrounded by rocks and ſhoals which render the navigation difficult, the Spaniards did not think them worth the planting after they had extirpated the natives.

Providence.

Providence, the chief of theſe iſlands poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, is ſituated in 25 degrees north latitude, and 78 degrees weſtern longitude, being about eight leagues in length and three in breadth. The reaſon the Engliſh choſe to plant this rather than ſome of the larger iſlands, I preſume, was becauſe here was a good harbour capable of being defended by a ſmall force, and ſo ſituated that a ſhip cant paſs from Spaniſh America to Europe, without being met with by cruizers ſtationed here in time of war. At leaſt theſe were the views the pirates and privateers had who reſorted hither before the Engliſh eſtabliſhed a regular government in theſe iſlands, and erected fortifications for their defence. Nor do the Engliſh confine themſelves to the iſland of Providence only, but have plantations in ſeveral of the neighbouring iſlands which lie more expoſed to the ravages of an enemy in time of war; but upon apprehenſion of an invaſion, I preſume, the people in them, with the beſt of their effects, may retire to Providence for protection.

History of the Bahama Iſlands.

Theſe iſlands, as has been hinted already, were diſcovered by COLUMBUS on the 11th of October 1492, of which the iſland of Guanahani being the firſt iſland he made, the Admiral altered the name of it to that of St. Salvador, in memory of his deliverance; for his men began to grow mutinous, looking upon themſelves as loſt in a boundleſs ocean; and the Admiral, it ſeems was at that time under apprehenſions they would throw him over-board for engaging them in ſo hazardous an undertaking.

The Admiral relates, that he found the iſland populous, well planted and watered, but generally flat, low land, without hills: That the people were perfectly naked, of a middle ſtature and olive complexion; their eyes and hair black, and ſome of their faces and bodies painted with a kind of vermilion: Their principal ornament being a thin gold plate faſhioned like a creſcent, which hung over the upper-lip, and their arms were ſpears pointed with the bones of fiſhes; but that they were an exceeding inoffenſive hoſpitable people, bringing the Spaniards ſuch proviſions as their iſland produced; that they had no other merchandize to exchange for their European goods, but Cottons and Parrots; and there were no four-footed animals on theſe iſlands, unleſs ſome little Cur-dogs. The Spaniards therefore having learnt that they had their Gold from the ſouth left theſe iſlands for the preſent, and ſet ſail for Cuba and Hiſpaniola; but diſcovering afterwards that there were pearl fiſheries in theſe ſeas, and finding the inhabitants of the Bahama-Iſlands were excellent divers, they employed them in diving for pearl Oyſters; and obliging them frequently to continue in the water beyond their ſtrength, by this and other oppreſſions they deſtroyed all the Indians in the Bahama-Iſlands; inſomuch that in a few years there was not a man left upon them: And they remained deſtitute of inhabitants for many years, only the Spaniards from Cuba and Hiſpaniola, viſited them now and then for ſuch fruits and proviſions as the country afforded.

Providence.

Providence and the neighbouring iſlands afterwards became the refuge of privateers and buccaneers; but about the year 1667, Captain WILLIAM SAYLE being driven hither by ſtreſs of weather, and acquainting the proprietors of Carolina with the commodiouſneſs of the ſtation, they obtained a grant of it from King CHARLES II. and colonies were ſent thither, which were often attacked by the Spaniards; and in the laſt war both French and Spaniards uniting their forces, took and demoliſhed the forts erected on Providence, carrying off great part of the inhabitants and their Negroes; but quitting the iſland afterwards, the Engliſh who eſcaped returned and rebuilt their forts, and being reinforced from England, made the iſland ſtronger than ever; and Providence being now a royal government, and found to be ſo commodiouſly ſituated to command the navigation of thoſe ſeas through which the Spaniards bring all their wealth to Europe, there is no doubt to be made but the government will render this iſland as ſtrong as poſſible, and make it a ſtation for their cruizers in caſe of a rupture with the French and Spaniards.

Bermuda.

The Bermuda or Summer-Iſlands, ſo called from Sir GEORGE SUMMER, who happened to run his ſhip a-ground here in a voyage to Virginia in the year 1609, are ſituated in the Atlantick-Ocean in 32 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and in 65 degrees of weſtern longitude, about two hundred and fifty leagues eaſt of Charles Town in South-Carolina. Biſhop BERKLEY, who was about to erect a College here for the benefit of the Indians on the neighbouring continent, informs us, that they are a cluſter of ſmall iſlands lying in a very narrow compaſs (almoſt in the ſhape of a Shepherd's crook) containing about twenty thouſand acres, walled round in a manner with rocks, which render them inacceſſible to pirates or enemies; there being but two narrow entrances, both of them well guarded by forts.

That no part of the world enjoys a purer air or a more temperate climate, the heat being moderated by conſtant ſea-breezes, ſo that the whole year is like the latter end of a fine May in England, and the iſlands reſorted to for health as the Montpelier of America; nor are they more remarkable for their health than their plenty, their being beſides beef, mutton, and poultry, a great abundance of garden-ſtuff of all kinds in perfection, and a variety of good fiſh taken on their coaſts; and the people at the ſame time are repreſented (by Dr. BERKLEY) as a plain, contented and eaſy people, free from avarice and luxury, and corruptions that attend thoſe vices; and ſays, they ſhew more humanity to their ſlaves, and charity to one another, as well as a better ſenſe of religious matters, than the Engliſh in the other plantations: One reaſon whereof is ſuppoſed to be, that condemned criminals who are employed in the manufactures of Sugar and Tobacco are never tranſported hither. And among a people of ſuch a character, and in a ſituation thus circumſtantiated, he apprehended a ſeminary of religion and learning (for the inſtruction of the natives of America) might very fitly be planted; eſpecially as it was a place where neither riches nor luxury abounded to divert them from their ſtudies, none of thoſe rich commodities of Sugar or Tobacco. All the employment of the inhabitants was, the making of Joyner's-work, the building of ſloops, making hats of the Palmeto leaves, raiſing Corn, fruit, garden-ſtuff, and other proviſions, which they ſent to the plantations that wanted them.

A college intended to be erected here.

The ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel had ſo good an opinion of the propoſal made them by Biſhop BERKLEY (then Dean of Kerry, in Ireland) of erecting a college or ſeminary at Bermudas, that they aſſiſted him in procuring a patent for it from King GEORGE I. and contributed to the expence of the undertaking. And the Doctor with three fellows of Trinity College in Dublin, viz. the Rev. Mr. WILLIAM THOMPSON, JONATHAN ROGERS, and JAMES KING, Maſters of Art, with ſeveral of the Doctor's relations, who were people of fortune, embarked for Bermudas, in order to lay the foundation of the intended college; but they were unfortunately driven by a ſtorm to Long-Iſland, in the province of New-York, from whence the Doctor with his companions viſited Boſton and ſeveral other great towns in New-England, where they preached and performed other parts of their function. But the erecting a college at Bermudas was at length entirely laid aſide: Doctor BERKLEY returned home without effecting any thing of that kind, and is now a Biſhop in Ireland.

The deſign of a college laid aſide.

I am not fully acquainted with the reaſons that brought the Doctor back, but have heard it ſuggeſted by ſome, that he found the deſign of erecting a college at Bermudas impracticable, without a much larger ſtock than he carried with him; and ſome great men that had promiſed to contribute largely to the deſign did not anſwer his expectations; tho' they made him ſome amends for his diſappointment, by procuring him the biſhoprick he enjoys. Whether the Reverend gentlemen that went over with him returned to England, or had cures aſſigned them in our plantations abroad, I am not informed.

No iſlands were better covered with fine groves of Cedar than theſe, when the Engliſh firſt arrived here: They built their houſes and ſloops with ſcarce any other wood; but it is almoſt all cut down, and the iſland thereby more expoſed to ſtorms and hurricanes than formerly, which ſometimes deſtroy the fruits of the earth.

Chief town.

The chief town is that of St. George, ſituated in the north-weſt part of theſe iſlands, and contains about a thouſand houſes, with a town-houſe, or guild-hall, in which their aſſembly and courts of juſtice ſit, the government being the ſame here as in the Britiſh-Iſlands. They have alſo a handſome church in the town, and a good library, ſaid to be chiefly the benefaction of Dr. BRAY; and the inhabitants may amount to eight or ten thouſand people in all the iſlands. Their principal grain is Indian Corn, and they have almoſt all manner of plants and fruits that grow in the oppoſite continent of South-Carolina, with plenty of European cattle, fiſh and fowls. The water preſerved in their ponds or reſervoirs in the time of rains, is ſaid to be preferable to their ſpring-water.

New-foundland. Situation.

New-foundland is ſituated in the Atlantick-Ocean, between 47 and 52 degrees north latitude, and between 55 and 60 degrees of weſtern longitude, bounded by the Streights of Belle-Iſle, which ſeparates it from New-Britain on the north, by the Atlantick-Ocean on the eaſt and ſouth, and by the Bay of St. Lawrence, which ſeparates it from Canada, on the weſt. This iſland is of a triangular form, about three hundred and fifty miles in length from north to ſouth, and about two hundred miles in breadth at the baſe or broadeſt part from eaſt to weſt.

Extent.

Climate.

Notwithſtanding this iſland lies more to the ſouthward than England, the winters are much colder, and the earth covered with ſnow for a great depth for four or five months annually, inſomuch that it is ſcarce habitable when the ſun is in the ſouthern ſigns; the reaſon whereof muſt be, that it lies near the coaſt of New-Britain, a vaſt frozen continent, over which the north-weſt wind blowing for many hundred miles, makes the countries that lie on that ſide of the Atlantick much colder than thoſe on this ſide that ocean in the ſame latitudes; however, at Midſummer it is ſaid it is much hotter in Newfoundland than it is with us.

Face of the country.

The face of the country is high and mountainous, covered for the moſt part with woods of Pine and Fur; and where it is cleared of wood it is all a barren heath, on which neither Corn or graſs will grow: There is not, however, any want of good freſh water, and the coaſt affords abundance of commodious bays and harbours, particularly thoſe of Bonaviſta, Trinity, Conception, St, John's and Bull-bay on the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland; and thoſe of St. Mary's, Placentia and Fortune's-bay on the ſouth. The fiſhing-banks of Newfoundland have proved an inexhauſtible fund of wealth to the Engliſh, French, and other nations of Europe for an hundred years paſt, there being ſeldom leſs than five or ſix hundred ſail of ſhips that load with Cod-fiſh here every ſeaſon for the Mediterranean and other parts of Europe.

Harbours.

Fiſhery.

Banks.

The chief bank lies about twenty leagues from Cape Race the ſouth-weſt promontory, and is about an hundred leagues in length, and five and twenty in breadth. There is another to the weſtward called Verte-bank, about twenty-five leagues in length, and twelve in breadth; and the ſeaſon of fiſhing continues from the vernal 'till the autumnal equinox, and of late ſomething longer.

Inhabitants.

There are but very few native Indians on the iſland; but at the ſeaſon for hunting, the Indians from New-Britain paſs the Streights of Belle-Iſle and come over hither to hunt.

Chief towns.

The chief towns or harbours are, 1 Bonaviſta, on the eaſt ſide of the iſland. 2. St. John's, the capital, ſituate in 47 degrees north latitude, on the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland. And, 3. Placentia, ſituate on a bay of the ſame name, which belonged to the French, 'till it was yielded to Britain with all the reſt of the iſland then in the hands of the French, by the treaty of Utrecht, ann. 1713.

It is ſo cold and uncomfortable a country, that there do not above four or five hundred families of Engliſh remain here all the year, beſides the garriſons that are kept in St. John's, Placentia, and other fortreſſes; but in the fiſhing ſeaſon there may be eight or ten thouſand people more here, which come over hither either to take, or cure the fiſh, and make them fit for market: Theſe all lived without divine worſhip, 'till the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel ſent a Miſſionary thither lately, who reſides at Bonaviſta uſually; but he is a kind of itinerant preacher, viſiting Trinity-Harbour, Placentia, and other inhabited places, as he has opportunity.

Miſſionary.

The ſoil.

The ſoil of this country is a mixture of gravel, ſand, and ſtones, and as has been obſerved, yields ſcarce any Corn, graſs, or fruits; but here is great plenty of fiſh, fowl, and veniſon. As for other neceſſaries, the inhabitants receive them from England annually at the return of the ſhipping.

Hiſtory.

Newfoundland was claimed as part of the dominions of Great-Britain, by virtue of Cabot's diſcovery of it in the reign of Henry VII. and ſome voyages that were made thither in the ſucceeding reigns by Engliſh adventurers, who brought from thence Furrs and fiſh; but the Engliſh making no ſettlements there, the Portugueſe and French uſed to fiſh upon the banks, and trade with the Indians for Furrs and ſkins at the proper ſeaſons: Whereupon the Engliſh revived their claim to the country again, and actually ſeized ſeveral Portugueſe ſhips on the coaſt of Newfoundland, bringing them to England as lawful prizes. In the year 1610, King James I. made a grant to the Earl of Northampton, and others, of that part of the iſland which lies between Cape Bonaviſta and Cape St. Mary's, and the grantees being incorporated and formed into a company, ſent a colony thither; but the ſeverity of the weather, ſickneſs, and ſcarcity of proviſions, obliged the planters to return to England: And in the year 1620, Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, obtained a patent of that part of the country which lies between the bay of Bulls and Cape St. Mary's; and Sir George ſent a colony to Ferriland, being within the limits of his patent, where they built houſes, and erected a ſalt-work: And in 1623, the Lord Baltimore himſelf went over with his family, and erected a fort for the ſecurity of his plantation; and other Engliſh adventurers came over and ſettled on the iſland. In the mean time, the Engliſh inſiſted on the ſole right of fiſhing on the coaſt; and having a ſquadron of men of war ſent thither for their protection, in the reign of King James I. drove all others from thence: But in the reign of King Charles II. the French were ſuffered to ſettle at Placentia, and afterwards poſſeſſed themſelves of great part of the iſland. In the war that happened after the revolution, there were perpetual ſkirmiſhes between the Engliſh and French at Newfoundland, both by ſea and land; ſometimes the Engliſh attacked the French Colonies, but to little purpoſe; and the French from Placentia returned their viſits with better ſucceſs, making themſelves maſters of ſeveral Engliſh ſettlements: And in Queen Anne's reign, in the year 1705, they burnt St. John's, the Engliſh capital, but could not however take the fort which commanded the town: And at the peace of Utrecht, anno 1713, the Queen obliged the French to yield up all that part of the iſland they poſſeſſed to Great-Britain, by an article of the following tenour, viz.

The iſland of Newfoundland, with the adjacent iſlands, ſhall belong of right wholly to Britain: But the ſubjects of France ſhall be allowed to catch fiſh and dry them on the land, in that part only of the ſaid iſland, and no other, which ſtretches from the place called Cape Bonaviſta to the northern point of the ſaid iſland, and from thence running down by the weſtern ſide reaches as far as the place called Point Riche; but the French ſhall not fortify any place in Newfoundland, or erect any buildings there, beſides ſtages made of boards, and huts neceſſary and uſual for drying of fiſh; or reſort to the ſaid iſland beyond the time neceſſary for fiſhing and drying of fiſh.

The ſtate of the fortifications in the Britiſh Colonies.

As to the ſtate of the fortifications in the Britiſh plantations four years ago, and particularly thoſe of the iſlands, this may in a great meaſure be gathered from a proteſt of the houſe of Lords in the year 1734, upon its being carried in that houſe not to give the committee power to take the ſecurity of the plantations into their conſideration.

To which reſolution ſeveral noble Lords diſſented, for the following reaſons:

1. Becauſe we apprehend that the power propoſed to be given to the committee was not only expedient but abſolutely neceſſary, ſince (by the account given by ſeveral Lords who attended the committee, and contradicted by none) it appeared to the houſe, that, from the information of Merchants of undoubted credit, Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward-Iſlands, were in ſo defenceleſs and miſerable a condition that they might be taken in twenty-four hours; and we conceive that ſuch imminent danger of ſuch valuable poſſeſſions required an immediate and minute examination, in order to diſcover the cauſes and nature of the danger, and to apply proper and adequate remedies.

2. Becauſe we conceive that the chief reaſon urged in the debate againſt this inquiry, is the ſtrongeſt argument imaginable for it, viz. That it might diſcover the weakneſs of theſe iſlands in the preſent critical juncture of affairs, and invite our enemies to invade them: Whereas, we think, that this critical juncture calls upon us to put our poſſeſſions in a ſtate of defence and ſecurity in all events; and ſince we cannot ſuppoſe that their preſent defenceleſs condition is unknown to thoſe powers who are the moſt likely to take the advantage of it, we apprehend it to be both prudent and neceſſary that thoſe powers ſhould at the ſame time know, that the care and attention of this houſe was employed for providing for their ſecurity: We conceive likewiſe, that ſuch an argument may tend to debar a houſe of parliament from looking into any of our affairs either foreign or domeſtick, if in any tranſaction at any time there ſhall appear to have been a weak, treacherous, or negligent management, the directors will never fail to lay hold of that argument to ſtop any parliamentary inquiry; and the fear of diſcovering a national weakneſs may be urged only to prevent the detection of a miniſterial negligence or guilt.

3. Becauſe we have found by experience that we can never be too attentive to the preſervation of the poſſeſſions and dependencies of this kingdom, ſince treaties alone will not bind thoſe powers, who from the proximity of their ſituations, from favourable opportunities or other inducements, may be tempted to attack or invade them. But the interpoſition of a Britiſh parliament will be more expected, and more effectual, than the occaſional expedients of fluctuating and variable negotiations, which, in former times, have been often more adapted to the preſent neceſſities of the Miniſter, than to the real honour and laſting ſecurity of the nation.

4. Becauſe we apprehend the debarring this houſe from any inquiry into the conduct of Miniſters for the time paſt, or from giving their advice in matters of great concern to the publick for the time to come, tends to deſtroy the very being of this houſe, and of conſequence the whole frame of our conſtitution: And how melancholy a view muſt it be to all his Majeſty's ſubjects, to ſee the private property of ſo many particulars, and ſo advantageous a trade to the whole, refuſed to be brought under the inſpection of this houſe; and yet (as far as it appears to us) totally neglected by the adminiſtration? And we are the more ſurprized to find this backwardneſs with regard to the intereſt of our colonies, ſince we are perſuaded that the balance of trade is at preſent againſt us in moſt parts of the world, and only compenſated in ſome degree by what we gain by our Weſt-India trade: Neither can we allow that they ought to be left to look after themſelves, ſince they have a right to claim even more than the protection of their mother country, by the great wealth they annually tranſmit to it, and the great duties they pay to the increaſe of the publick funds and the civil liſt: And we are fully convinced, that if this beneficial trade ſhould once be loſt, it will be irrecoverably loſt, to the infinite damage of this kingdom: For though the iſlands ſhould be reſtored to us afterwards, the utenſils and ſtock of Negroes being carried away, it would take up a long tract of time, and would be a very great expence to the publick, to reinſtate them in their preſent condition: We rather think it impracticable to reſtore them; tho' we can by no means ſuppoſe it difficult, by timely precaution, to prevent their deſtruction.

What has been done towards putting the fortifications of the Britiſh plantations in a better ſtate than they were in the year 1734, I confeſs I am not informed; but I hope they will no longer be ſuffered to lie open to the inſults and invaſions of our enemies, and of every petty pyrate.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
FRENCH COLONIES
On the CONTINENT of
NORTH-AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

CHAP. I.

THE French Colonies in America may be divided into three claſſes. 1. Thoſe on the continent of South-America. 2. Thoſe on the continent of North-America; and, 3. Their iſlands in the Atlantick-Ocean.

Southern colonies. 1. Their colonies on the continent of South-America, which lie between the Dutch Colonies of Surinam on the north, and the mouth of the river Amazon on the ſouth, to which they have given the name of Equinoctial France, from its ſituation under or near the Equator, have been already deſcribed in treating of Terra-Firma, in the former part of this volume.

Northern colonies. 2. Their colonies on the continent of North-America are vaſtly large, if we comprehend all the countries the French claim a right to there; but if we reſtrain their territories to what they have actually planted and poſſeſſed themſelves of, thoſe of Great-Britain are ſeven times as large.

The French call all thoſe countries their own which lie between the mouth of the river St. Lawrence and the bay of St. Lewis on the north-weſt part of the gulph of Mexico, extending their dominions from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-weſt, near four thouſand miles, and from the ſouth-eaſt of Florida to the north-weſt of Canada, being an extent of land very little ſhort of the former.

Limits of Louiſiana, and of New-France, according to the French. The countries included within theſe limits, which formerly went under the general names of Canada and Florida, the French have changed into New-France and Louiſiana. New-France or Canada they ſeem to divide from Louiſiana or Florida by an imaginary line drawn directly from the Britiſh plantations on the eaſt, to New-Mexico on the weſt, in 39 degrees of north latitude. In the grant of Louiſiana to Monſ. **CROZAT**, by **LEWIS** XIV. anno 1712, the bounds of it are ſaid to be the river and lake of Illinois on the north, Carolina on the eaſt, the gulph of Mexico on the ſouth, and New-Mexico on the weſt. As to Canada or New-France, the French would ſcarce admit it had any bounds to the north on this ſide the pole, till they were limited on that ſide by an article in the treaty of Utrecht, which aſſigns New-Britain and Hudſon's Bay on the north of Canada to Great-Britain. And commiſſioners on both ſides afterwards aſcertained the limits by an imaginary line running from a Cape or promontory of New-Britain in the Atlantick-Ocean, in 58 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and running from thence ſouth-weſt to the lake Miſcoſink, or Miſtaſin, and from thence further ſouth-weſt indefinitely to the latitude of 49, all the lands to the north of the ſaid line being aſſigned to Great-Britain, and all to the ſouth of that line, as far as the river of St. Lawrence, to the French.

CHAP. I.

The eaſtern boundaries of New-France or Canada the French admit are the Britiſh plantations of Nova-Scotia, New-England, &c. the ſouthern boundary, the line which divides New-France from Louiſiana; and to the weſtward the French extend the country of New-France as far as the Pacifick-Ocean; and the Aſiatick continent of Aſia ſhall be found hereafter to be contiguous to North-America.

But how far they will admit the Britiſh plantations to extend to the weſtward, or the Spaniſh territories of New-Mexico to extend to the eaſt, this they do not inform us. If we leave it to the

French to ſettle the limits, no doubt the dominions of Great-Britain and Spain in North-America will be confined within very narrrow bounds. There is an honeſt French writer that freely declares, when the Miſſiſſipi adventure was ſet on foot they were ſanguine enough to expect that all North-America would in a few years become a province of France, and conſequently they had in view the ſwallowing up both the Britiſh and Spaniſh territories in that part of the world; and if this ſhould ever be effected, it is not to be ſuppoſed they would put a ſtop to their conqueſts till they had ſubdued all the Spaniſh provinces in South-America, and become maſters of the mines of Potoſi.

The real limits of the French territories in North America.

I ſhall enquire in the next place what the French are really poſſeſſed of in North-America that can ſupport their claim to all thoſe fine countries which lie between the Britiſh plantations on the eaſt, and New-Mexico on the weſt; or what colour they have to oppoſe the Engliſh extending their colonies weſtward as far as they can agree with the Indians for their lands; or to oppoſe the Spaniards in extending their dominions from New-Mexico to the eaſtward as far as the river Miſſiſſipi.

I cannot find that the French have yet five towns in all that vaſt extent of country that lies between the Britiſh and the Spaniſh dominions in North-America; and it is very well known that the Spaniards poſſeſſed the weſt ſide of North-America, and the Engliſh the eaſt, long before the French had a ſettlement in the country. Indeed the French have ſince crept into the mouth of St. Lawrence on the north-eaſt, and into the river Miſſiſſipi on the ſouth-weſt, and have built a town or two with ſome forts on theſe rivers and on the neighbouring lakes which run through this vaſt continent; and no doubt, were they ſtrong enough in thoſe parts, they would elbow both the Spaniards and Engliſh out of Canada and Florida. But if the firſt diſcovery, and the actual poſſeſſion and improvement of a country can give a Prince or ſtate any title to it, the Spaniards and Engliſh muſt have a better right to it than the French, eſpecially where the natives have put themſelves under the protection of either nation, and acknowledged themſelves ſubjects of the reſpective Sovereigns. Now moſt of the nations on the eaſt of the rivers Miſſiſſipi and St Lawrence, it appears, voluntarily have acknowledged themſelves ſubject to the crown of England, and the countries weſt of the Miſſiſſipi have moſt of them ſubmitted to the Spaniards: Where then ſhall we find the countries of New-France and Louiſiana, unleſs it be within the reach of the great guns of their forts on the rivers of St. Lawrence and Miſſiſſipi; and here they have ſcarce any other title to the country than what they obtained by uſurpation, or a lawleſs force, very ſeldom aſking leave of the natives to ſettle in their country; which alone can give a foreigner a juſt right to the dominion of it. I look upon it, therefore, that the French have the leaſt pretenſions to Florida or Canada of any of the three powers already mentioned. However, as they have actually been poſſeſſed of ſome countries in Canada between the river of St. Lawrence and New-Britain or Hudſon's Bay for about an hundred years, and theſe countries ſeem to be confirmed to them as far as the Engliſh had a right to confirm them, I ſhall readily allow their title to that part of Canada. But as to the reſt of Canada and Louiſiana, I cannot admit they have a right to any part of them, notwithſtanding the forts they have erected on thoſe rivers. The eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſipi is the property of the Indians ſubject to Great-Britain, and the weſtern ſide of it belongs to the Indians who are under the dominion of the Spaniards; and we find the Spaniards aſſerting their title to it by demoliſhing the forts that Monſ. De Sale and D' Ibberville erected on the weſt ſide of that river, and have as much right to demoliſh the forts the French have erected on the weſt ſide of it.

Rivers.

The chief rivers in this vaſt extended country are, 1. The river St. Lawrence. 2. The river Miſſiſſipi. 3. The river Illinois. 4. The Oubach. 5. The Hohio. 6. The Peliſipi; and, 7. The Hogohegee.

Miſſiſſipi.

1. The Miſſiſſipi, or river St. Lewis, according to the French accounts, riſes in the north-weſt part of Canada, taking its courſe firſt to the ſouth-eaſt, and in 45 degrees, turning almoſt due ſouth, continues that courſe till it diſcharges itſelf into the gulf of Mexico in 30 degrees north latitude, and 95 degrees of weſtern longitude, by four or five mouths, ſeveral large rivers falling into it both from the eaſt and weſt. The Miſſiſſipi is agreed to be a very large deep river; and ſome French writers add, that it is a gentle ſtream, and navigable for large veſſels from the ſource almoſt to the mouth. But other French writers, and ſome Engliſh ſeamen, aſſure me, that it has a very rapid ſtream, and that there are cataracts in ſeveral parts of it which obſtruct the navigation; and that there are ſuch ſhoals at the mouth of the river that large ſhips cannot enter it.

St. Lawrence.

2. The river of St. Lawrence iſſues out of the lake Ontario or Frontenac, in 45 degrees of north latitude, and 78 degrees of weſtern longitude; and taking its courſe to the north-eaſt by Montreal and Quebeck, diſcharges itſelf into the bay or gulph of St. Lawrence, in 51 degrees north latitude, being navigable for large veſſels as high as Montreal; but near that town there is a cataract which interrupts the navigation.

Illinois.

3. The river Illinois is another navigable river, which riſing near the lake of the ſame name, takes its courſe to the ſouth-weſt and falls into the Miſſiſſipi.

Oubach and Hohio.

4. And 5. The rivers Oubach and Hohio are two navigable rivers, which riſing near the lake Erie unite their ſtreams, and fall into the Miſſiſſipi in 36 degrees north latitude.

Peliſipi and Hogohegee.

6. And 7. The Peliſipi and Hogohegee riſe in the Apalathian mountains, and uniting their ſtreams, flow almoſt due weſt till they meet with the Hohio, a little before it falls into the Miſſiſſipi, in 36 degrees north latitude; at the mouths of which rivers ſtands a French fort, called the Old Fort.

Lakes.

This country alſo has ſeveral ſpacious lakes, the chief whereof are, 1. The lake of Ontario or Frontenac. 2. The lake Erie. 3 The Huron Lake. 4. The Illinois Lake; and, 5. The Upper Lake, any of which are ſeveral hundred miles in length. The lakes of Ontario and Erie have been already deſcribed in treating of New-York.

Ontario and Erie.

Hurons. Illinois. Upper Lake.

3. The lake of Hurons has a communication with that of Erie, and with the lakes of Illinois and the upper lake: And the river Illinois riſing near the lake of the ſame name, and falling into the Miſſiſſipi, the French propoſed by this means to have an eaſy communication between the rivers of St. Lawrence and Miſſiſſipi, and to unite

New-France and Louiſiana into one province. But as there is no paſſage by water from the lake Ontario to that of Erie, on account of the cataract of Niagara; and that there are ſeveral cataracts in the rivers St. Lawrenceand Miſſiſſipi, and they muſt take ſo vaſt a compaſs to the north-eaſt in ſuch a journey to paſs through the lakes of the Hurons and Illinois, and that there is a conſiderable ſpace between the lake and the river Illinois, I queſtion whether it would not this way take up five or ſix months for a ſingle man to travel from Quebeck to the mouth of the river Miſſiſſipi: And probably it would be impracticable for a great body of men to march the ſame ground in twice that time.

No ſubdiviſion of New-France or Louſiana.

I do not find the French pretend to have divided this vaſt continent of North-America into provinces yet, only they are pleaſed to call the north part of it New-France, and the ſouth Louiſiana. In the former they have had ſettlements for upwards of an hundred years; in the latter they had not one till the year 1717, if we except two or three forts built in the bay of Spirito Sancto, and at the mouth of the river Miſſiſſipi by Meſſieurs DE SALE and D' IBBERVILLE; which were demoliſhed by the Spaniards ſoon after they were erected. Towns. And as for towns, I meet with the names of no more than three in Canada, viz. 1. Quebeck the Capital. 2. Montreal; and, 3. Trois Rivieres; and in Louiſiana only the town of New-Orleans lately erected.

Quebeck.

1. Quebeck, the capital, is ſituated in 47 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and in 71 degrees of weſtern longitude, on the north ſhore of the river of St. Lawrence, about two hundred leagues ſouth-weſt of the mouth of it; being divided into the upper and lower town, both of them about three miles in circumference, and defended by a caſtle which ſtands on an eminence: There being in the upper town five churches, beſides the cathedral; the Biſhop and twelve Prebends reſiding together in the chapter-houſe, which, it is ſaid, is a moſt admirable ſtructure.

This city is the metropolis of the French dominions in North-America as well as a Biſhop's ſee; the Vice-roy who reſides here, aſſuming the title of Governor and Captain-General both of New-France and Louiſiana, which, according to the French, comprehends all Canada and Florida; except ſome little portions they are pleaſed to permit Great-Britain to poſſeſs, till they are in a condition to drive our colonies from thence into the ſea, in the language of one of their writers.

Montreal.

2. Montreal is ſituated on an iſland in the river of St. Lawrence, ſixty leagues ſouth-weſt of Quebeck; the iſland being about fourteen leagues in length and five in breadth. The whole iſland is full of fine plantations, and the town ſtrongly ſituated; at leaſt we find it was ſtrong enough to defend itſelf againſt the attacks of the Iroquois or five nations, when they burnt and plundered all the French ſettlements in the iſland but this town, in the year 1688: And I do not doubt but the fortifications have been ſince improved, as it is the principal frontier garriſon of the French againſt the Iroquois or Indians under the protection of New-York. The river of St. Lawrence is not navigable above Montreal on account of ſome cataracts and the rapidity of the ſtream.

Trois Rivieres.

3. Trois Rivieres is a town ſo named from its ſituation at the confluence of three rivers, one whereof is that of St. Lawrence, and lies almoſt in the midway between Quebeck and Montreal: It is ſaid to be a well built town, and conſiderable mart, where the Indians exchange their ſkins and Furrs for European goods.

New Orleans.

As to the town of New-Orleans, ſaid to be erected lately near the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, in Louiſiana, I confeſs I have not met with any particular deſcription of this or any other French ſettlements on that ſide.

As to the air, the Indian inhabitants, the animals, vegetables, and produce of French Canada, theſe are much the ſame as in New-England, New-York, and Nova-Scotia, which lie contiguous to them; and Louiſiana, or French Florida, in like manner reſembles Carolina in theſe articles. However, I ſhall preſent the reader with ſome of thoſe accounts the French give us of theſe countries, and inquire what is to be depended upon either in their relations or ours.

The Indians of Florida or Louiſiana deſcribed.

Monſieur JOUTEL, who accompanied DE SALE in his diſcoveries in the bay of Spirito Sancto to the weſtward of the Miſſiſſippi, gives the following character of the natives: Allowing, ſays this gentleman, that there are ſome Barbarians leſs wicked and brutal than others, yet there are none good, nor thoroughly capable of ſuch things as are above the reach of our ſenſes; there is no relying on them; there is always cauſe to ſuſpect them: And in ſhort, before a ſavage can be made a Chriſtian, it is requiſite to make him a man; and we look upon theſe ſavages as having neither King nor laws, and what is moſt deplorable, no GOD: for if we rightly examine their ſentements and their actions, it does not appear they have any ſort of religion, or well formed notion of a Deity; if ſome of them upon certain occaſions do ſometimes own a firſt or ſovereign being, or do pay ſome veneration to the ſun. As to the firſt article, they deliver themſelves in ſuch a confuſed manner, and with ſo many contradictions and extravagancies, that it plainly appears they neither know or believe any thing of it. And as for the ſecond, it is only a bare cuſtom, without any ſerious reflections on their part.

The ſame traveller ſpeaking of an interview he had with the Chiefs of another nation to the weſtward of the river Miſſiſſipi, ſays, their elders came to meet us in their formalities, which conſiſted in ſome Goats ſkins dreſſed and painted of ſeveral colours, which they wore on their ſhoulders like belts, and plumes of feathers of ſeveral colours on their heads like coronets. Six or ſeven of them had ſquare ſword blades like the Spaniſh, on the hilts whereof they had faſtened great plumes of feathers, and ſeveral Hawks bills; ſome of them had clubs, which they called headbreakers; ſome only their bows and arrows; others pieces of white Linen reaching from ſhoulder to ſhoulder. All their faces were daubed with black or red: There were twelve elders who walked in the middle, and the youth and warriors in ranks on the right and left of the old men.

Being come up to us in that manner, he that conducted us made a ſign for us to halt, which when we had done, all the old men lifted up their right hands above their heads, crying in a moſt ridiculous manner; but it behoved us to have a care of laughing. That done, they came and embraced us, uſing all ſorts of endearments.

The whole company conducted us afterwards to their Chief's cottage; and after we had ſtaid there a ſhort time, they led us to a larger cottage a quarter a quarter of a league from thence, being the hut in which they have their publick rejoycings and great aſſemblies. We found it furniſhed with mats for us to ſit on. The elders ſeated themſelves round about us, and they brought us to eat ſome Sagamite, which is their pottage, little Beans, bread made of Indian Corn, and another ſort they make with boiled Flower; and at laſt they made us ſmoak.

Their buildings.

The cottages that are inhabited are not each of them for a private family, for in ſome of them there are fifteen or twenty; each of which has its nook or corner-bed, and other utenſils to itſelf, but without any partition to ſeparate it from the reſt: However, they have nothing in common beſides the fire, which is in the midſt of the hut, and never goes out. It is made of great trees, the ends whereof are laid together, ſo that when once lighted it laſts a long time; and the firſt comer takes care to keep it up.

The cottages are round at the top, after the manner of a Bee-hive or a rick of hay. Some of them are ſixty foot in diameter. In order to build them, they ſet up long poles as thick as a man's leg, tall and ſtraight, and placing them in a circle join the tops together; then they faſten and cover them with weeds. When they remove their dwellings they generally burn the cottages, and build new ones on the ground they deſign to inhabit.

Moveables.

Their moveables are ſome Buffaloes or Bullocks hides, and Goats skins well cured, ſome mats cloſe wove, wherewith they adorn their huts; and ſome earthen veſſels, which they are very skilful at making, and wherein they boil their fleſh, roots, and Sagamite, or pottage. They have alſo ſome ſmall baskets made of Canes, ſerving to put their fruit and other proviſions in. Their beds are made of canes raiſed two or three foot above the ground, handſomely fitted with mats and Bullocks hides, or Goats skins, which ſerve them inſtead of feather-beds, quilts, and blankets; and thoſe beds are parted one from another by mats hung up.

Huſbandry.

Their tillage conſiſts in breaking up juſt the ſurface of the earth with a wooden inſtrument like a pick-ax, which they make by ſplitting the end of a thick piece of wood that ſerves for a handle, and putting another piece of wood ſharp pointed at one end into the ſlit. This inſtrument ſerves them inſtead of a hoe and ſpade, for they have no iron tools. When the land has been thus broke up, the women ſow and plant the Indian Corn, Beans, Pompions, Water-Melons, and other grain, and garden-ſtuff,

Perſons of the Florida Indians.

The Indians are generally handſome, but disfigure themſelves by making ſtreaks on their faces from the top of the forehead down the noſe to the tip of the chin; which is done by pricking the skin till it bleeds, and then ſtrewing fine powder of Charcoal on the skin, which ſinks in and mixes with the blood. They alſo make, after the ſame manner, the figures of living creatures, of leaves and flowers, on their ſhoulders, thighs, and other parts of their bodies; and paint themſelves, as has been ſaid before, with black or red, and ſometimes both together.

Their women.

The women are generally well ſhaped, and would not be diſagreeable did they adhere to nature; but they diſguiſe themſelves as ridiculouſly as the men, not only with the ſtreaks they have like them down their faces, but by other figures they make at the corners of their eyes and on their bodies, particularly on their boſoms.

The women do all the work in the cottage, either in pounding the Indian Corn, and baking their bread, dreſſing their other proviſions, drying, parching, or ſmoaking their fleſh, fetching the wood they have occaſion for, or the fleſh of wild beaſts killed by their huſbands in the woods, which are often at a great diſtance.

I did not obſerve that the women were naturally given to lewdneſs; but their virtue is not proof againſt ſome of our toys when preſented them, as needles, knives, and more particularly ſtrings of beads, whereof they make necklaces and bracelets: That temptation is rarely reſiſted by them, and the leſs, becauſe they have no religion or law to prohibit the practice. It is true, their huſbands when they take them in the fact, ſometimes do puniſh them either by ſeparation or otherwiſe; but that is rare.

Habits.

The country of theſe Indians being generally warm, almoſt all of them go naked; unleſs when the north wind blows, then they cover themſelves with a Buffaloe's hide or Goat's skin cured. The women wear nothing but a skin, mat, or clout hanging round them like a petticoat, and reaching half way down their legs before and behind. On their heads they have nothing but their hair platted and knotted behind.

Genius and temper.

As for their temper, it may be ſaid of theſe as of all other Indians of that great continent, that they are not miſchievous unleſs wronged or attacked; in which caſe they are all fierce and revengeful. They watch all opportunities to be revenged, and never let any ſlip when offered, which is the cauſe of their being continually at war with their neighbours, and of that martial humour ſo predominant among them.

Religion.

As to the knowledge of a GOD, they did not ſeem to us to have any fixed notion of him. It is true, we met with ſome in our way, who, as far as we could judge, believed there was ſome ſuperior being which was above all things, and this they teſtified by lifting up their hands and eyes to heaven; yet without any manner of concern, as believing that the ſaid exalted being does not regard at all what is done here below. However, none of them having any places of worſhip, ceremonies, or prayers, to manifeſt their devotion, it may be ſaid of them all, that they have no religion, at leaſt thoſe that we ſaw.

Particular ceremonies.

They obſerve ſome ceremonies it is true, but whether they have any regard to a ſuperior being, or whether they are only popular and proceeding from cuſtom, is what we were not able to diſcover. Thoſe ceremonies are as follows: When the Corn is ripe, they gather a certain quantity in a basket, which is placed on a ſtool dedicated to that uſe, and ſerving only upon theſe myſterious occaſions, which they have a great veneration for.

The basket with the Corn being placed on that honoured ſtool, one of the elders holds out his hands over it, and talks a long time; after which the ſaid old man diſtributes the Corn among the women, and no perſon is allowed to eat of the new Corn 'till eight days after that ceremony. This ſeems to be in the nature of offering or bleſſing the firſt-fruits of their harveſt.

At their aſſemblies, when the Sagamite or pottage, which is the moſt eſſential part of their meal, is boiled in a great pot, they place that pot on the ſtool

ſtool of ceremony abovementioned, and one of the elders ſtretches out his hands over it, muttering ſome words between his teeth for a conſiderable time, after which they fall to eating.

When the young folks are grown up to be fit to go to the wars, and take upon them to be Soldiers, their garment conſiſting of ſome skin or clout, together with their bow, quiver, and arrows, is placed on the aforeſaid ſtool, an old man ſtretches out his hands over them, mutters the words as above, and then the garments, bows, quivers, and arrows, are given to the perſons they belong to. The ſame ceremonies are uſed by them in the cultivating of their grain and product, but particularly of the Tobacco.

Uſage of their priſoners.

Monſieur JOUTEL ſpeaking of two women taken priſoners in their wars, ſays, that one of them was ſuffered to return home, but the other woman was kept to fall a ſacrifice to the rage and vengeance of the women and maids; who having armed themſelves with thick ſtakes, ſharp pointed at the end, conducted that wretch to a by-place, where each of thoſe furies began to torment her, ſometimes with the point of their ſtaff, and ſometimes laying on her with all their might. One tore off her hair; another cut off her finger; and every one of thoſe outragious women endeavoured to put her to ſome exquiſite torture, to revenge the death of their huſbands and kinſmen who had been killed in the former wars; ſo that the unfortunate creature expected her death-ſtroke as mercy.

They compel their ſlaves to eat their fleſh.

At laſt one of them gave her a blow with a heavy club on the head, and another run a ſtake ſeveral times into her body, with which ſhe fell down dead on the ſpot. Then they cut that miſerable victim into morſels, and obliged ſome ſlaves of that nation they had been long poſſeſſed of to eat them; which to me is a very ſtrong argument againſt their being Canibals in Florida, as the firſt adventurers reported; for here we ſee the Indians, inſtead of devouring the fleſh of their enemies, compelling their ſlaves to eat it, as being a morſel they moſt deteſted and abhorred; ſo far were they from having a guſt for human fleſh themſelves. Had they in the heat of their fury taken the heart of their priſoner, broiled and eat it, as the Dutch did DE WIT's, then there would have been ſome colour to have denominated theſe people Canibals. But as they in this inſtance declare human fleſh only fit for ſlaves and the vileſt of mankind to eat, and did not ſhew any inclination to taſte it themſelves, DE WIT's executioners ſeem to have a much better title to the name of Canibals than the Florida Indians, who were certainly moſt groſly miſrepreſented by our firſt voyage-writers.

Character of the Illinois.

As for the manners and cuſtoms of the Illinois, they are, in many particulars, the ſame as thoſe of the other nations we have ſeen. They are naturally fierce and revengeful; and among them the toil of ſowing, planting, carrying of burthens, and doing all other things that belong to the ſupport of life, appertains peculiarly to the women. The men have no other buſineſs but going to the war, and hunting.

The nations I have ſpoken of before (ſays the ſame writer) are not at all or very little addicted to thieving; but it was not ſo with the Illinois. It behoves every man to watch their feet as well as their hands, for they know how to turn any thing out of the way dextrouſly. They are ſubject to the general vice of all the other Indians, which is to boaſt very much of their warlike exploits; that is the main ſubject of their diſcourſe, and they are very great liars.

Their behaviour to the dead.

They pay a reſpect to the dead, as appears by their care in burying them, eſpecially ſuch as are conſiderable among them. This is alſo practiſed among the Accancea's, but they differ in this particular, that the Accancea's weep and make their complaints for ſome days, whereas the Chahouanous and other people of the Illinois nation do juſt the contrary; for when any of them die, they wrap them up in skins, and then put them into coffins made of the barks of trees, then ſing and dance about them for twenty four-hours, thoſe dancers tying calabaſhes or gourds about their bodies, with ſome Indian Wheat in them to rattle and make a noiſe, and ſome of them have a drum made of a great earthen pot, on which they extend a Goat's skin, and beat thereon with a ſtick.

During that rejoicing they throw their preſents on the coffin, ſuch as bracelets, pendants, or pieces of earthen-ware and ſtrings of beads, encouraging the ſingers to perform their duty well. If any friend happens to come thither at that time, he immediately throws down his preſent and falls a ſinging and dancing like the reſt. When that ceremony is over, they bury the body with part of the preſents, making choice of ſuch as may be moſt proper for it. They alſo bury with it ſome ſtore of Indian Wheat, with a pot to boil it in, and repeat the ſame ceremony at the years end.

Remarks on the relations of deſigning adventurers.

I have not troubled the reader with the voyages of the Baron LA HONTAN and HENNEPIN thro' Canada and Florida, becauſe their accounts are now generally agreed to be fabulous, and in the moſt material articles, particularly religion, directly contradict each other. With equal reaſon I have omitted the accounts the French gave us of Louiſiana in the memorable Miſſiſſipi year, 1717, when they repreſented that country as a perfect paradiſe, in order to engage the bubbled adventurers in the project of planting that country: Nor is this the only inſtance of abuſing people with partial accounts of new-diſcovered nations. It is the caſe of almoſt every enterpriſe of this kind. The undertakers, who have ſome particular views to their own private advantage, obſerving that it is impracticable to bring them about without the hands and purſes of others, draw the moſt agreeable landskips of the country they intend to viſit to invite others to join with them: This was Sir WALTER RALEIGH's conduct when he was about to plant colonies in Virginia and Guiana, where he expected to acquire immenſe treaſures; and in this he did but imitate the Spaniards that went before him. Thus did the New-England adventurers alſo deſcribe that country, and the celebrated PENN his Penſylvania: And thus of late did PURRY the Swiſs amuſe his countrymen: He made them believe that the climate of Georgia was free from the inconveniences of heat or cold: That the ſoil in a manner produced Corn and fruits ſpontaneouſly, and that eſtates might be raiſed on a ſudden with very little labour: But when the people he carried over came to be ſenſible of the labour and fatigue of clearing plantations, the hazard of being attacked by Indians and Spaniards, and the neceſſity of erecting forts for their ſecurity, as well as of building houſes for themſelves, they began to curſe the man that led them thither. And if PURRY had not in good time died a natural death in his new-erected town of Purryſburg, he would have run the hazard of being pulled in pieces by his deluded countrymen, as a gentleman who lately come from Carolina aſſured me.

I would not be underſtood by theſe reflections, however, to diſcourage the further planting of Carolina or Georgia. I know there is a rational proſpect of conſiderable advantage to the nation from this attempt, ſince we find theſe countries will produce thoſe very articles we moſt want, ſuch as ſilks, wine, oil, rice, furrs, ſkins and naval ſtores; but I would not have our people that go thither deceive themſelves, as if nothing was to be done there, no inconveniences to be met with, or hazards to be run; for in the firſt planting and eſtabliſhing colonies in the beſt countries this muſt be expected: And it is well if the firſt generation live to ſee any thing brought to perfection, though they may have this ſatisfaction, that they are laying a foundation of laſting benefits which will hereafter probably accrue to their mother country in general, and to their own poſterity in particular, by theſe glorious toils.

Reflections on the ſtate of the French Colonies on the continent.

To return to the French plantations on the continent of North-America. It is obſervable that the inhabitants of the Britiſh Colonies are or affect to be thought under ſome apprehenſions, that the French are ſo ſituated on the back of the Engliſh ſettlements, that it is, or will ſoon be, in their power to ruin our trade with the Indians, and by harraſſing the Britiſh Dominions on that ſide, oblige us to quit that continent: That the French will draw a line from the mouth of the River St. Lawrence to the gulph of Mexico, and ſo ſtrengthen it with forts and redoubts, that they will in time drive our people into the ſea: And to heighten our terror of the French, they repreſent their colonies as conſiſting of two hundred thouſand ſouls at leaſt, ſupported by great bodies of regular forces from France, againſt which 'tis impoſſible, they ſuggeſt, to defend our frontiers. And I muſt confeſs, that converſing with ſeveral Weſt-India Merchants, who ſeemed to be in the ſame way of thinking, I was once of opinion our colonies were in ſome hazard of being ſwallowed up by the French; but upon taking a more particular ſurvey of the country, and the circumſtances of each nation, I am inclined to think that this is an event which we have a great deal of reaſon to ſuppoſe will never happen, unleſs our colonies ſhould find themſelves ſo ill uſed by their mother country as voluntarily to throw themſelves into the arms of France; which on many accounts can never be ſuppoſed.

Theſe gentlemen, who talk of drawing a line from the gulph of Mexico to the bay of St. Lawrence, a tract of between three and four thouſand miles, and rendering it ſtrong enough to reſiſt the forces of the Britiſh Plantations, muſt ſurely imagine that New-France is as well peopled as the Old, and maintains as many regular forces; and that the Engliſh ſettlements are deſtitute of inhabitants; whereas the caſe is the very reverſe.

Some gentlemen, 'tis true, have calculated, that the French in North-America amount to two hundred thouſand ſouls; tho' it is probable they are not half that number: But admitting there was as many as is pretended, we cannot ſuppoſe there are forty thouſand men fit for war amongſt them, and of theſe but few can be ſpread from the buſineſs of their plantations. How then ſhould the French defend a line of three thouſand miles extent, much leſs raiſe a force ſufficient to ſubdue our plantations, where they muſt admit we have three times the number of men they have in theirs? And theſe many of them brave hardy fellows, uſed to the ſea and other laborious and hazardous employments. Another great advantage we have of them is, that we can raiſe good bodies of Horſe and Dragoons, which they cannot; and if they could it would be impracticable to march them over ſuch vaſt deſarts and mountains as there are in moſt parts of that country (from north to ſouth) to come at us.

The frontiers, it is true, of ſome of our colonies may be expoſed to the ravages of the French Indians, and it will be prudence in us to erect forts or keep ſome troops on foot in ſuch places as lie moſt open to their incurſions, particularly on the Lake of Champlain, on the frontiers of New-York, and on the Lakes of Ontario and Erie; and to have ſome armed veſſels upon theſe Lakes, which would not only defend the frontiers, but protect our Indians on that ſide, and prevent their deſerting over to the French. It might be proper alſo to erect forts on the paſſes of the Apalathian mountains on the back of Virginia and Carolina for the ſame end; but I ſhould by no means be for extending our plantations beyond this natural barrier. There is as much land within it as we can ever plant to advantage, and we ſhall only weaken our ſettlements by endeavoring to enlarge thoſe bounds. If the French are determined to eſtabliſh themſelves on the banks of the Miſſiſſipi and in the bay of Apalathy, the beſt reaſon we have to oppoſe this project is, leſt they ſhould one day penetrate to the Spaniſh Mines, or make themſelves maſters of the navigation of the gulph of Mexico; which will enable them to put what terms they pleaſe upon Spain. It will then be in their power to compel his catholick Majeſty to give them the trade of Old-Spain and of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, and to exclude the ſubjects of Britain and all other European nations from ſending their manufactures to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies by the flota and otherwiſe; and poſſibly they will not reſt ſatisfied till they have compelled his catholick Majeſty to let them into a ſhare of his mines.

But as to their raiſing Silk or Wine, Sugar or Tobacco, in the country they have denominated Louiſiana, I am apt to think the French are too wiſe to attempt any of them.

It might be prudent indeed in Britain to attempt the raiſing Silk and Wine in Carolina, becauſe we have none of our own; but why the French ſhould promote theſe in Florida I can ſee no more reaſon than that we ſhould encourage the Woollen or Iron manufactures there: And as for Sugar, the French ſeem to have more already than they know how to diſpoſe of; and they will ſurely never be able to raiſe good Tobacco cheaper than we do in Virginia; where I'm informed the planter ſells it frequently for a Penny a Pound.

The Engliſh alſo have this farther advantage in raiſing Wine, Silk &c. in their own plantations, that they lie upon the mouths of numerous rivers, and may embark the produce of theſe countries immediately for England with very little trouble and expence; whereas the navigation to Louiſiana or to Canada is much longer and more hazardous. The French are not maſters of two rivers that fall into the Atlantick-Ocean, from whence I conclude they will never plant that extenſive country of Louiſiana far from the coaſt; and if they ſhould, it will not anſwer their expectations, or be very prejudicial to Great-Britain.

CHAP. I.

Remarks on the ſtate of our frontiers againſt the Spaniards.

As to the Spaniards attacking our plantations on the ſide of Georgia, with which we have lately been alarmed, what they do of this nature muſt be done very ſuddenly if at all; for that frontier will be put into ſuch a poſture of defence in a very little time that it will not be in the power of Spain to hurt us. The crown of Great-Britain has never interpoſed with that vigour in defence of any of her colonies as it has in behalf of Georgia, and that with very good reaſon, it being the King's peculiar property as well as both the Carolina's, all of which will be ſecured by this barrier; and the lands of thoſe colonies conſequently rendered of ten times the value they were when they lay expoſed to the ravages of the Spaniards and Indians. As to the French, they have a deſart country of three or four hundred miles to paſs over from their ſettlements on the Miſſiſſipi and the bay of Apalach, before they can reach the frontiers of Georgia and Carolina. We have no reaſon therefore to be under any great apprehenſions from them at preſent. The Spaniards, both on the eaſt and weſt of Florida, are much more in danger of the French than the Britiſh Colonies are, and they will probably one day be made ſenſible that their ſafety conſiſts in a ſtrict union with Great-Britain; that there is no other way left to defend their mines in North America from the incroachments of the French, if they eſtabliſh themſelves on the northern ſhores of the gulph of Mexico, and on the banks of the Miſſiſſipi.

CHAP. II.

Of the French Iſlands in the Atlantick-Ocean.

CHAP. II.

Of the French Iſlands.

THE third and laſt diviſion of French America I propoſed to deſcribe, is that of their iſlands in the Atlantick-Ocean, viz. of the Caribbees taking them from ſouth to north. 1. Granada. 2. Martinico. 3. Marigalante. 4. Guadalupe. 5. Deſiada or Deſirada. 6. St. Bartholomew. 7. Sancta Cruz; and, 8. St. Martin; beſides which they have three iſlands of ſome conſequence in the bay of St. Lawrence on the coaſt of Nova-Scotia, viz. 9. Cape Breton. 10. St. John's; and, 11. Anticoſte.

Granada.

1. Granada is ſituated in 12 degrees north latitude, about thirty leagues ſouth-weſt of Barbadoes, and about the ſame diſtance north of Caribiana or New-Andaluſia. This iſland is 25 leagues in circumference, and has ſeveral good bays and harbours, ſome of which are fortified. It is eſteemed a fruitful ſoil, and well watered, producing Sugar and ſuch other plants as are found in the reſt of the Caribbee-Iſlands. There are abundance of very ſmall iſlands that lie at the north-end of Granada, which are called the Granadilla's.

Martinico.

2. Martinico is ſituated between 14 and 15 degrees of north latitude, and in 61 degrees of weſtern longitude, lying about forty leagues north-weſt of Barbadoes. It is twenty leagues in length, but of an unequal breadth, the in-land part of it hilly; and at a diſtance appears like three diſtinct mountains, being exceedingly well watered by numerous rivulets which fall from the hills; and there are ſeveral commodious bays and harbours on the coaſt, ſome of them ſo well fortified that they bid defiance to the Engliſh when they made a deſcent here with ſeveral thouſand men in the laſt War: They were forced to return to their ſhips after they had burnt and plundered ſome plantations in the open country.

CHAP. II.

The produce of this iſland is the ſame with that of Barbadoes, viz. Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, Indigo, Aloes, Piemento, &c. And as it is much larger has many more inhabitants, and produces greater quantities of Sugar than Barbadoes. This iſland was repleniſhed with Indians when the French firſt attempted to ſettle here, anno 1635, and many battles were fought between them and the natives with various ſucceſs; but the French at length over-powered and extirpated the ancient inhabitants, and it is now the chief of all the French Caribbee-Iſlands, and the ſeat of their Governor-General.

Marigalante.

3. Marigalante is ſituated in 16 degrees north latitude, a little to the ſouth-weſt of Guadalupe, and is about five leagues in length and four in breadth. It was diſcovered by Columbus in his ſecond voyage to America, anno 1493, and named by him Marigalante, or the Gallant Mary, after the name of his ſhip. The French began to ſend colonies thither about the year 1647; and having expelled the natives after ſeveral years wars, the French remained in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the iſland, the produce of which is the ſame with the reſt of the Caribbees.

Guadalupe.

4. Guadalupe ſo named by Columbus from its hills, reſembling thoſe of that name in Spain, is ſituated in 16 degrees north latitude, and 61 degrees of weſtern longitude, about 30 leagues north of Martinico, and almoſt as much ſouth of Antegoa. It is ſaid to be the largeſt of all the Caribbee-Iſlands, being twenty two leagues in length, and half as much in breadth at each end, but almoſt cut in two by a deep gulph or bay on each ſide; ſo that the ends are joined together by a very narrow iſthmus. This, like Martinico, abounds in Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, Ginger, &c. and is in a very flouriſhing condition; and agreeable to the conſequence it is of to the French they have taken care to fortify it with ſeveral regular forts and redoubts, which were in ſo good a condition when the Engliſh Admiral Benbow made a deſcent here with a conſiderable body of land forces, anno 1702, that he did not think fit to attack them; tho' he deſtroyed a great many of their plantations and open villages.

The French began to ſend colonies to this Iſland about the year 1632, but knew ſo little what the ſoil was good for then, that for many years they were in danger of ſtarving, and afterwards the planters by their diviſions almoſt ruined one another; ſo that this iſland did not make any great figure till the preſent century; ſince the beginning of which it has vaſtly increaſed, and makes more Sugar now than any of the Britiſh iſlands except Jamaica.

Deſiada.

5. Deſiada, or Deſirada, the deſirable iſland, ſo called by Columbus, becauſe it was the firſt land he diſcovered in his ſecond voyage to America, anno 1493. It is ſituated about ten leagues north-eaſt of Guadalupe, a little inconſiderable iſland not ſo fruitful as ſome others which belong to the French.

St. Bartholomew's.

6. St. Bartholomew's is a ſmall iſland about ten leagues north of St Chriſtopher's, taken by the Engliſh under the command of Sir Timothy Thornhill, in the year 1689, but reſtored to the French at the peace of Ryſwick.

Santa Cruz.

7. St. Croix or Sancta Cruz, another ſmall iſland ſituated in 17 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, about twenty leagues eaſt of St. Chriſtopher's, and has been contended for by the Engliſh, Dutch, Spaniards and French, but is now in the

peaceable poſſeſſion of the French Weſt-India company.

St. Martin's.

8. St. Martin's another iſland of no great conſequence belonging to the French, ſituate a little to the north-weſt of St. Bartholomew's.

Dutch Caribbee Iſlands of Saba and St. Euſtace. Danes Iſland of St. Thomas.

The Dutch have alſo two very ſmall iſlands among the Caribbees, named Saba and St. Euſtace, ſituated between the iſlands of St. Croix and St. Chriſtopher's; and the Danes have another ſmall iſland called St. Thomas, at the eaſt end of the iſland of Porto Rico; but I could never underſtand that the product or traffick of any of them are very conſiderable.

We have already ſeen the declining ſtate of the Britiſh Sugar Iſlands, which once furniſhed France and moſt of the nations of Europe with Sugar: But are now in a manner beat out of that trade by the French, who have not only cultivated this commodity with great application of late years in their Caribbee-Iſlands, but in the great iſland of Hiſpaniola, as has been obſerved already in the deſcription of that iſland; where they have land enough to furniſh themſelves and all Europe with Sugar, and do actually cultivate as much as they can diſpoſe of; in which they have ſome great advantages of the Engliſh, as 1. Their paying little or no duty, not above one per cent, on the exportation of Sugars; whereas the Engliſh pay very high duties, as appears from the diſpute between the Britiſh Sugar Colonies and the northern countries. 2. They are allowed to export their Sugars directly to foreign markets without bringing them home firſt, which ſaves a very great charge the Engliſh are forced to be at, and enables the French to carry their goods to foreign markets much ſooner than the Engliſh poſſibly can. 3. The Britiſh northern colonies take Sugar, Rum, and Moloſſes from the French Iſlands, which formerly thoſe iſlands had no vent for; whereby the demand for theſe articles from the Britiſh Iſlands is continually diminiſhed, and the demand from the French Iſlands increaſed; the northern colonies taking ſcarce any Sugar, Rum, or Moloſſes, from the Britiſh Sugar Iſlands, but purchaſe them with their lumber, proviſions, and Horſes, and often with money, of the French, or of the Dutch at Surinam.

And laſtly, as the French Iſlands, particularly that of Hiſpaniola (of which they poſſeſs two thirds at preſent) Martinico, and Guadalupe, are larger than the Britiſh Caribbee-Iſlands, and conſequently there is room to raiſe great part of their proviſions in them, while the Engliſh receive their proviſions from abroad for the moſt part: This is another great advantage on the ſide of the French. They have alſo a great deal of timber growing on the iſland of Hiſpaniola, which is an article the Engliſh Sugar Iſlands want, and muſt pay dear for; from all which conſiderations it is but too evident, that unleſs the Britiſh Legiſlature think fit to alter the acts of navigation in their favour, and to ſuffer our Sugar Colonies to carry their produce directly to foreign markets, take off the duties upon them, and reſtrain the northern colonies alſo from dealing ſo much with the French and Dutch for Sugar, Moloſſes, and Rum, the Britiſh Caribbee-Iſlands muſt ſtill decline; ſince they will never have any demand for their produce, but what Britain itſelf takes off. And unleſs we put the fortifications of our iſlands in a better poſture of defence than they are at preſent, we ſhall run the hazard of loſing the iſlands themſelves, as well as the traffick they were once ſo famous for. No Engliſh gentleman will be fond of having an eſtate in the Caribbees, or contribute much to the promoting the Sugar manufacture there; while thoſe colonies lie under ſuch diſcouragements in point of trade, and he is in danger of loſing his eſtate and all the expence he ſhall be at upon the firſt rupture with any European power.

The French northern Iſlands. Cape Breton.

But to proceed to the French Iſlands which remain yet to be deſcribed, viz. Cape Breton, St. John's and Anticoſte.

Cape Breton is ſituated between 45 degrees and an half and 47 degrees and an half north latitude, ſeparated from Acadia or New-Scotland by the narrow ſtreight of Canſo on the ſouth-weſt, and the other paſſage or ſtreight of Cape Ray ſeparates it from Newfoundland on the north-eaſt: It is indented on every ſide by large bays of the ſea, which cut almoſt through it in ſome places, and form ſeveral commodious harbours. This Iſland is about one hundred and twenty miles in length, and fifty in breadth; a barren deſart-land, affording ſcarce any trees or herbage, and has very few rivers; nor would it ever have been planted, probably, if it had not lain ſo convenient for the French to preſerve their communication with the river of St. Lawrence and Canada, and to protect their fiſheries, as well as to diſturb the trade and fiſheries of Great-Britain in time of war: For here are ſeveral harbours where the French cruiſers and privateers may lie ſecurely, and from hence interrupt the Britiſh trade and fiſheries of New-England, New-Scotland, and Newfoundland, at their pleaſure. Nor do I ſee how it is poſſible for an Engliſh Squadron to protect them intirely upon ſuch extenſive coaſts: All that can be done, in time of war, is to make repriſals on the French by our cruiſers and privateers; and as our merchantmen, and fiſhermen are much the moſt numerous, we muſt expect to be the greateſt ſufferers, as we always were in the late wars, the French taking three prizes for one we took from them.

The New-England gentlemen therefore cenſure Queen ANNE's Miniſters that they did not inſiſt more ſtrenuouſly on this iſland's being yielded to Great-Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, and will ſcarcely acknowledge the benefits they received by thoſe articles which gained us the ſole property of Nova-Scotia or Acadia, and Newfoundland: Though they were very loud in their complaints heretofore; that they were perpetually haraſſed by the French and their Indians from Nova-Scotia, ſuggeſting that nothing could be of greater advantage to New-England, and the reſt of the northern colonies, than the reducing Nova-Scotia: Which, now they ſee it in our hands, they ſeem as little ſatisfied as before, becauſe ſufficient care is not taken, they ſay, to plant and people Nova-Scotia: But ſurely none lie more conveniently to do this than the New-England men themſelves. And I am of opinion they would have done it long e'er this, if it had been annexed to the province of the Maſſachuſets, as they once expected it would have been: But their natural averſion to a regal government, which they find their colonies muſt be ſubject to, if they ſend any to Nova-Scotia, I am ſatisfied prevents their planting that country; but then they ought to ceaſe their complaints, that it is no better planted.

As to the French King's yielding up Cape Breton and the other iſlands in the bay of St. Lawrence, it muſt be conſidered, if he had parted with theſe at the treaty of Utrecht, he could no longer have had a communication with Canada or New-France than we ſaw fit; and it could ſcarce be expected he ſhould exclude himſelf from all commerce with his colonies of North-America, how low ſoever he was brought: However, I find it to be acknowledged on all hands, that if we plant and people Acadia, and erect ſome forts for its protection, our colonies there will be able, with the aſſiſtance of a Britiſh ſquadron in time of war, in a great meaſure to maintain the dominion of thoſe ſeas, if they cannot entirely prevent the depredations of the French.

St. John's.

Anticoſte.

The iſland of St. John's lies between Cape Breton and the coaſt of New-Scotland, and is about twenty leagues in length. The iſland of Anticoſte is a much larger iſland, lying juſt before the mouth of St. Lawrence River: Theſe, and the leſſer iſlands in the bay of St. Lawrence, do not ſeem to be of any other uſe to the French, than to preſerve their communication with Canada; I do not find they have any towns or plantations upon them.

THE
CONCLUSION
OF THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
AMERICA.

The concluſion.

UPON a review of the whole work, it appears that never any people were poſſeſſed of ſo fine a country, and ſo happily ſituated, as that which is ſubject to the crown of Great-Britain on the other ſide of the Atlantick-Ocean; a country of fifteen hundred miles extent; where every thing that is neceſſary, every thing deſirable in life, is, or may be produced in the greateſt abundance, and brought to the metropolis of the three kingdoms with as little labour and expence almoſt as they may be brought from any diſtant county of England; it being but a ſix weeks voyage in an open ſea, not ſubject to the interruptions and accidents of coaſting voyages.

The eaſtern ſhores of North-America, on which our colonies are ſituated, abound in commodious harbours and navigable rivers; inſomuch that ſhips take in their lading in many places at the planters doors, and then falling down into the ocean, ſail directly home: Whereas both the French and Spaniards have a much longer and more difficult navigation to and from thoſe parts of that continent which are poſſeſſed by them.

It is evident to a demonſtration, that in theſe countries it is in our power to raiſe Silk, Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tar, Wine, Oil, Raiſins, and other fruits; and that the Sugar and Tobacco Colonies and fiſheries we already have in that part of the world, bring us in an inconceivable treaſure.

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But it is as evident theſe articles are not conſidered with that attention their importance ſeem to demand.

Every one, who has made any calculation of our national expences, knows that we lay out annually with foreigners four millions of money and upwards in Silks, Linen, Lace, Wine, naval-ſtores, and other merchandize, which we might make ourſelves if our colonies were encouraged to raiſe the materials; and it is computed, that thoſe materials would employ half a million of people at home, who are now a burthen to their country.

It is obvious, our people are vaſtly increaſed of late years; and tho' multitudes, when rightly employed, are the ſtrength and riches of a nation, many of ours are become an intolerable charge upon the land, purely for want of being ſet to work on proper materials under the direction of ſkilful maſters.

If it be demanded what is the reaſon we import ſuch vaſt quantities of Lace, Linen, naval-ſtores, &c. from foreigners, when our own terri-

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tories would produce them; and ſuffer our people at home to ſtarve, or be a burthen to the nation, when we might find employment for all of them and as many more, and not only eaſe our lands from this burthen, but vaſtly inrich the nation by their labour?

The uſual anſwers we meet with are theſe, 1. That it will coſt ſome money, and be ſome time before we can raiſe Silk, Flax, Wine, &c. and eſtabliſh manufactures: And 2. That foreign goods pay great duties to the crown, which duties would be diminiſhed if we produced the like materials, and eſtabliſhed the like manufactures at home, or in our plantations.

And I confeſs more formidable objections cannot be made: For how advantageous ſoever a propoſal may be to the nation in general, yet if money is required to carry it on, or it may affect the publick revenue, it cannot be expected it ſhould meet with much countenance from gentlemen whoſe buſineſs it is to advance the revenue; but as the body of the people ſeem now convinced that it is their intereſt to raiſe and manufacture their own conſumption, and to ſupport and encourage our plantations in order to furniſh them with materials, I ſhall nor deſpair but the thing will be effected one time or other, whatever obſtacles may be thrown in the way by intereſted or deſigning men.

It is admitted on all hands that the poor's rates, though paid by the tenant, are in reality a charge upon every gentleman's eſtate. If the rate amounts to one, two, or three Shillings in the Pound, the gentleman muſt abate proportionably in his rent, or the tenant cannot hold his farm.

Whatever leſſens the poor's rates therefore is an advantage to the landed intereſt; and by keeping the poor employed, you do not only ſave a great expence, and inrich your country, but you prevent their taking vicious courſes: You ſave them from the gallows, and your perſons and eſtates from violence and rapine: You improve the morals of your people, and muſt live with more ſatisfaction and ſecurity among ſuch men, than among an unhappy generation whoſe neceſſities compel them to become thieves and beggars. Let us conſider the multitudes that would be employed in theſe manufactures: And if the goods ſhould not be altogether ſo fine as the Linen, Lace, and Silks of France or the Low-Countries at firſt, they will probably prove as well wrought as theirs in time, if ſuitable encouragements are given to thoſe that excel; but if they ſhould be ſomething coarſer, why ſhould we not imitate France and other kingdoms, who are content to wear coarſe Woollen-cloth, rather than impoveriſh their countries by importing our fine cloths. Is it of as much importance to the kingdom, that our ladies ſhould appear in foreign Linen, Lace, and Silks, as that the people, by being employed in theſe manufactures at home, ſhould be kept from ſtarving, and two or three millions of money annually ſaved to the nation?

Let us conſider alſo, that the riches of the plantations are our riches, their forces our forces, and their ſhipping our ſhipping; as theſe proſper, ſo will their mother country proſper of courſe; hither all their wealth flows in the end. They either bring their eſtates over to England, if they meet with ſucceſs, or they live in an elegant manner there and import our manufactures. We ſhould need ſcarce any other foreign trade; therefore we ſhould want nothing that other countries produce if the plantations were encouraged: For the materials they might raiſe would abundantly employ all our idle hands, and furniſh us with every thing that contributes to the ſupport or conveniences of life. Can we then do too much for our colonies, when in ſupporting them we moſt effectually ſerve ourſelves? Let us not be afraid of leſſening the revenue by prohibiting foreign manufactures, if it tends to enrich the nation; for the richer the people are, the better able will they be to ſupport the government; and the legiſlature can never be at a loſs for ways and means to raiſe money, if the people have it in their purſes.

But let us ever be cautious of laying high duties on our own produce and manufactures, whether at home or in our colonies; for this has totally deſtroyed ſome branches of trade, and prevents others from flouriſhing: By this we find the people of Jamaica were entirely beat out of the Cacao or Chocolate trade, other nations being able to afford it cheaper than they could on account of the duties: By the like conduct it is apprehended the Sugar and Tobacco trade may be loſt, the duties on which are ſo conſiderable a branch of the revenue. And were it not better to take a ſmall duty, than to loſe all the duties and the trade together? And here at home, is it not the duty on paper made here that damps the progreſs of that manufacture, and ſtill obliges us to import moſt of our paper from abroad? And, indeed, we may ruin all our trade, and all our manufactures by high duties; and when that is done, how is the government to be ſupported? How ſhall we find money to purchaſe even neceſſaries of foreigners? And how ſhall we maintain thoſe multitudes of poor that a failure in our manufactures and plantation trade muſt occaſion? But next to high duties, nothing ſurely can be a greater diſadvantage to our manufactures or plantation trade than the locking up our money in banks and funds, which, till theſe were eſtabliſhed were employed in commerce. The man who lives purely on the intereſt of his money in theſe banks, is the moſt contemptible and uſeleſs member in the common wealth: Inſtead of increaſing his own and the common ſtock, he chuſes a ſlothful indolent way of life; he takes no pains to ſerve himſelf, his friends, or his country; but like a certain animal he reſembles, is only uſeful when he dies, and his ſubſtance is transferred to perſons of a more publick ſpirit.

As to ſuch gentlemen and ladies as have ſmall fortunes in the publick funds, theſe might by employing them in our manufactures at home, or in the plantations abroad, make a much better figure in the world than they can by the intereſt of their money. What will five hundred or a thouſand Pounds produce in the funds? An ordinary Porter or Cobler gets more by his labour; but ſuch ſums employed in any manufacture at home, or a plantation abroad, would produce an handſome ſubſiſtence. It were pity therefore, even for the ſake of theſe whoſe condition has been ſo much lamented of late, but intereſt were ſtill lower, that they might be compelled to take their fortunes out of the funds, and employ them more to the advantage of themſelves and their country.

And as to gentlemen who have but ſmall eſtates, or ſuch as are incumbered, were they duly apprized that with the money ariſing by the ſale of one hundred Pounds per ann. they might purchaſe a plantation which would yield three hundred

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dred Pounds per ann. in Britiſh America; or, that by applying part of the money they take upon their eſtates in the improvement of a plantation, they might in a ſhort time clear off their debts and live in plenty, they would never drag about a miſerable being in neceſſity and diſgrace at home, but venture a little abroad and improve their eſtates; after which they might return, make a figure in the decline of life, and leave ample fortunes to their poſterity.

I am not here inviting gentlemen to run the hazards, or to undergo the fatigues that uſually attend new diſcoveries; there is more land diſcovered already than we can poſſibly cultivate; nor would I adviſe them to ſettle upon the frontiers of our colonies that are liable to the invaſions of the French and Spaniards, or the Indians: This is a poſt aſſigned to the neceſſitous and hardy Highlanders and Swiſs, who richly deſerve the lands aſſigned them for ſecuring the reſt of the provinces: But let a gentleman go over, and take a view of New-England, New-York, the Jerſeys, Penſylvania, Virginia, or Carolina, and he will in any of them meet with farms ready planted to his hand, by the purchaſe of which he may double and treble his fortune with a very little application; and when he has ſettled them to his mind, may return to England again if he ſee fit, and have the produce of them ſent over hither. This many have done, and continue to do to this day; and it is ſurpriſing more do not follow their example.

Among the ancients the greateſt men travelled and run many hazards for the improvement of arts and ſciences, of huſbandry or traffick; and whoever brought home any thing of this kind was looked upon as a good angel, and in after-ages worſhipped as a God. And were our gentlemen and men of quality, when they travel, as uſefully employed, we ſhould no doubt have them in equal eſteem; but what do theſe honourable wanderers uſually import, but foreign faſhions, foreign fopperies, and foreign vices?

Would they diſcover the arts that have rendered the Dutch, and of late the French, ſuch exquiſite merchants and planters; would they, as Sir THOMAS LOMBE has done, to his immortal honour, bring home the model of ſome uſeful engine, teach us to plant the vine, to raiſe Silk and Flax, to improve our Sugar and Tobacco Colonies, to manage our fiſheries with ſucceſs, and particularly the Whale-fiſhery, in which the colonies of New-England and New-York have of late made ſome progreſs: Were theſe the views of our nobility and gentry in their travels, they would deſerve the honours and eſtates they enjoy, and could not fail of acquiring ſtill greater; their own families would enjoy the fruits of their glorious labours, and they would be eſteemed by all mankind real benefactors to their country.

A Con-

A

CONTINUATION

OF

MODERN HISTORY:

OR, THE

PRESENT STATE of ALL NATIONS.

Deſcribing their reſpective Situations, Perſons, Habits, Buildings, Religion and Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Huſbandry, Plants, Animals, and Minerals, brought down to the preſent Year 1738. In which is comprehended the lateſt Travels and Diſcoveries, with ſuch Alterations and Revolutions as have happened ſince the former Volumes were publiſhed.

By Mr. *SALMON.*

A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
AMERICA.

America.

THE continent of America is ſituated between 80 degrees north and 58 degrees ſouth latitude, and between 35 and 140 degrees weſt longitude, being divided into North and South America, by a line drawn croſs the Iſthmus of Darien from Porto Bello to Panama; the firſt of theſe towns lying in ten degrees, and the latter in nine degrees north latitude. The Spaniſh provinces of North America, are Old Mexico, New Mexico, and part of Florida.

In ſouth America are the Spaniſh provinces of Terra-Firma, Peru, Chili, Patagonia, or Terra Magellanica, Paragua, La-Plata, the country of the Amazons, and the Spaniſh Iſlands.

The Portugueze are poſſeſſed of the extenſive country of Braſil in South America.

The Britiſh dominions are ſituated in North America, and conſiſt of the provinces of Hudſon's-Bay (part of Canada) New-Britain, New-Scotland, or Acadie, New-England, New-York, New-Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, and the Britiſh American iſlands.

The territories the French claim are part of Canada and Florida in North-America, and Caen, or equinoctial France in South America, with the French American iſlands.

A continuation of the preſent ſtate of New-England.

New-England.

The following pages are the anſwer of a gentleman lately come from New-England, and a native of that country, to ſome enquiries made by the author of this work, in relation to New-England.

There are in New-England about ſixty thouſand fighting men, from ſixteen to ſixty years of age, and about three hundred thouſand ſouls. The Maſſachuſets-Bay contains about thirty thouſand effective men, from ſixteen to ſixty.

The colony of Connecticut fourteen thouſand fighting men: Rhode-Iſland and Providence-Plantation, ſeven thouſand effective men: New-Hampſhire five thouſand fighting men; and the province of Maine about four thouſand men fit to bear arms.

Governor BURNEY frequented the epiſcopal church. The governors and magiſtrates uſually go to the independent congregations.

One member of the epiſcopal church is a judge. Several gentlemen of the church of England have received commiſſions, both civil and military, from his excellency governor BELCHER; and this year 1738, JOHN READ, Eſq; a counſellor at law, was choſen one of the repreſentatives for the town of Boſton (being the firſt inſtance of that kind.) Two years ago, JOHN EASTWICKE, Eſq; was choſen one of the ſelect men of Boſton, after many years ſtruggle to get a churchman in. There are for Boſton four repreſentatives, twelve overſeers of the poor, ſeven ſelect men, and ſeven aſſeſſors, all which have great influence in the town affairs. Notwithſtanding the churchmen in Boſton pay one fifth part of the town rates, yet till within theſe two years, no churchman was ſuffered to be choſen, tho' the churchmen have been ſtruggling for it more than twenty years It muſt be obſerved, that altho' the churchmen pay one fifth part of the tax, they have not the one tenth part of the wealth of the town. The governor's ſalary is not ſettled.

The manufactures of New-England are ſo inconſiderable in compariſon of England, that they muſt not be mentioned together; the New-Englanders being ſtill ſupplied with nineteen parts in twenty of Engliſh manufactures. Yet it muſt be acknowledged, that the making of linen greatly encreaſes in New-England; the Iriſh people who have lately ſettled there, having brought that buſineſs to great perfection.

Some Linen made at Londonderry, in the province of New-Hampſhire, hath often been ſold for ſix ſhillings ſterling the Engliſh yard, and the greater part of the linen made in that flouriſhing town, ſells for twenty pence to two ſhillings per yard ſterling money.

And if good encouragement was given to the making of canvas or ſail-cloth, even the royal navy might be ſupplied in a few years with that uſeful commodity from New-England; the Iriſh people finding the country exceedingly well adapted for the linen manufacture.

They do not trade to the French iſlands for Rum, Moloſſes, &c. as heretofore.

The cod fiſhery is in a flouriſhing condition, and they are not now interrupted by the French in the ſame from Cape Breton.

The whale fiſhery on the coaſt of Greenland hath lately been attempted with very good ſucceſs by the Nantucket men, who are undoubtedly the moſt expert and ſkilful men in the world in that particular affair. And it is the opinion of many, that a few years will determine who are the beſt whale-fiſhers on the coaſt of Greenland, the hardy people of Nantucket, or the Dutchmen.

The fort at Annapolis Royal is made of earth, being built formerly by the French, and is a regular fortification, conſiſting of four baſtions, a deep dry moat, a covert way and counterſcarp, with an half-moon and outworks, detached from the body of the place, the lower battery of ſeventeen pieces of full canon was ſlighted ſome years ago.

The other Engliſh fort in Acadie upon the iſland at Canſo, is not worth mentioning, eſpecially when we conſider what a large and regular fortification of ſtone the French have at Cape Breton, very near to Canſo.

The frontiers of Maine are defended by regular blockhouſes, moſt of them being in good repair. And on the frontiers of Maſſachuſets, Maine, and New-Hampſhire, are many regular blockhouſes well flank'd, ſupported and defended in time of war by their proper owners.

The old fort at Pemaquid, rebuilt by the honourable colonel DUNBAR, by direction from England, hath ſince been ſlighted by an order from hence. It would have been an excellent barrier in that quarter, and great ſettlements were carrying on in that place by the farmers from Ireland. No attempts have been made to civilize the natives of Acadie, or cultivate the ſoil: It hath been found by experience, that few ſettlements have ever been made under a military government. The Indians of Acadie, thoſe bordering upon the frontiers of Maine, New-Hampſhire, and upon the north-weſt part of Maſſachuſet, are all of them to a man in the intereſt of France, having miſſionaries from France ſettled among them, who take a great deal of pains with the Indians.

The following piece is a letter from SAMUEL DALE, M. L. to Sir HANS SLOANE, bart. preſident of the royal ſociety, containing the deſcriptions of the mooſe deer of New-England, and a ſort of ſtag in Virginia.

SIR,

Mooſe deer.

“The preſent which I herewith make you is the head, or rather the attire (as it is called in heraldry) of the mooſe-deer, ſent me ſome years ſince from New England by the honourable SAMUEL SHUTE, Eſq. then governor of that colony. This animal has been mentioned by ſeveral authors, but their accounts have generally been ſo very imperfect, that little ſatisfaction hath thereby been given to the curious enquirers after natural hiſtory. The firſt mention that I find of this mooſe deer is by Mr. JOSELYN, in a little tract called New England rarities, where page the 19th that author writes, That it is a goodly creature, ſome of them twelve feet high, their horns exceeding fair, with broad palms, ſome being two fathoms from the top of one horn to the other. Much to the ſame purpoſe is the account he gives of this animal in another book of his called Two voyages to New England, p. 88. in which he ſaith, That a mooſe, or elke, is a creature, or rather a monſter of ſuperfluity when full grown, being many times bigger than an Engliſh ox. What NEAL in his hiſtory of New-England, vol. 2. p. 573. hath of this animal, called by him the mooſe, is copied from the aforeſaid JOSELYN. The beſt and fulleſt account of this animal was ſent by the honourable PAUL DUDLEY, Eſq. fellow of the royal ſociety. This is publiſhed in the philoſophical tranſactions of the royal ſociety, no. 368. p. 165. where he makes them to be of two ſorts, viz. the common light grey mooſe, called by the Indians wampooſe, and the large or black mooſe; which is the beaſt whoſe horns I herewith repreſent. As to the grey mooſe, I take it to be no other than what Mr. JOHN CLAYTON, in his account of the Virginian quadrupedes, publiſhed in the aforeſaid tranſactions, no. 210. p. 122. calls the elke, which beaſt by the Pariſians in their memoirs for a natural hiſtory of animals, engliſhed by Mr. PITFIELD, p. 167, is called by the name of the ſtag of Canada, of which I have ſeen a ſingle horn ſent by Mr. MARK CATESBY, from Virginia, by the name of an elkes-horn, and was in all reſpects like thoſe of our red deer, or ſtags, only larger, weighing about twelve pounds averdupoiz, and from the burr to the tip, meaſured by a ſtring, about ſix feet high. Mr. DUDLEY writes, that his grey mooſe is moſt like to the ordinary deer; that they ſpring like them, and herd together ſometimes to thirty in a company: but whether he means by that term the red, the Virginian, or fallow deer, is uncertain, he having ſaid nothing of their horns, which was needful to diſtinguiſh them. The black mooſe is (by all that have hitherto writ of it) accounted a very large creature. Mr. JOSELYN (as I before mentioned) makes it many times bigger than an ox, and Mr. DUDLEY writes, that the hunters have found a buck or a ſtag mooſe fourteen ſpans in height from the withers, which at nine inches to the ſpan, is ten feet and a half; and that a doe or hind of the fourth year, killed by a gentleman near Boſton, wanted but one inch of ſeven feet in height. The ſtag, buck, or male of this kind, hath a palmed horn, not like that of our common or fallow deer, but the palm is much longer, and more like to that of the German elke, from which it differs in that the mooſe hath a branched brow antler between the burr and the palm, which the German elke hath not.

“Nor doth the horn of this New England black mooſe agree in figure with either of thoſe mentioned in the philoſophical tranſactions, no. 227. p. 489. and no. 394. p. 123. to be found foſſil in Ireland, the laſt of which Mr. KELLY writes that for want of another name they called elkes horns. I ſuſpect that thoſe horns which the late reverend and learned Mr. RAY mentions in the ſynopſis methodica animalium quadrupedium, to have ſeen with one Mr. HOLNEY, an apothecary of Lewes in Suſſex, as likewiſe in divers muſæums, were not the horns of this black or American mooſe, but of the German elke, becauſe that inquiſitive gentleman takes no notice of any brow antlers they had, which I think was too notorious to have eſcaped his obſervation, had there been any ſuch.

“Concerning the number of young ones or calves, which a mooſe brings forth at a time, authors vary; for Mr. DUDLEY ſaith, that they bring forth but two; but JOSELYN, in his two voyages, p. 89. and from him NEAL, that they are three; and that they do not go ſo long pregnant as our hinds by two months. What theſe two laſt mentioned authors write concerning their caſting their calves a mile diſtant from each other, doth not ſeem to me probable: nor do I find that NEAL, in his deſcription of this beaſt, makes any mention of their having a long tail, though ſo charged to do by Mr. DUDLEY, who likewiſe omits the brow antlers in his deſcription of their horns.

“There is another beaſt of the deer kind, which, though very common in Virginia, and without doubt in other of the northern provinces in America, yet I think it is not deſcribed by any author, (but it is expected that it will not eſcape being taken notice of by Mr. CATESBY in his natural hiſtory of Florida, &c.) Mr. BEVERLY, in his preſent ſtate of Virginia, mentions both elke and deer in that country, but doth not deſcribe either: but by what I have received from Mr. CATESBY, the firſt ſhould have been the Canada ſtag, and the other the deer I have here mentioned. Mr. CLAYTON likewiſe mentions the elke, which he ſaith are beyond the inhabited parts, and are the ſame with Mr. BEVERLY's; as alſo the deer, of which he ſaith there are abundance, yet doth not deſcribe them, but calls them red deer, though they are not the ſame as we here call by that name, but of thoſe which are fallow. Mr. NEAL likewiſe mentions deer in New-England, but gives only the name, which being general, nothing can be inferred from it.

“That which I take for the undeſcribed deer, is a beaſt of the ſtag kind, having round horns like them, not ſpreading out as in the ſtag or red deer, but meeting nearer together at their tips, and bending forward over the face of the animal: the brow antlers likewiſe are not crooked and ſtanding forward, but ſtrait and upright. The ſkin of this deer is of an arenaceous, or ſandy colour, with ſome black hairs intermixed, and ſpotted all over while young with white ſpots, like ſome ſorts of our fallow deer, being alſo about the bigneſs of them when fully grown. The dama Virginiana Raii ſynop. animal. quad. p. 86. which was formerly in St. James's park, ſeems to be different from this, if Mr. WILLOUGHBY was not led into a miſtake in taking it to be of the palmate kind, by only ſeeing it when the horns were ſhed; perhaps this laſt of Mr. RAY, may be the mauroſe of JOSELYN's voyages, p. 91. which he ſaith is like the mooſe, but his horns are but ſmall, and the beaſt about the ſize of a ſtag; but his deſcription is too ſhort to be ſatisfactory.”

A continuation of the preſent ſtate of Carolina.

The following pages are an anſwer from general OGLETHORPE, to ſome enquiries made by the author, concerning the ſtate of Carolina and Georgia.

Carolina is part of that territory which was originally diſcovered by Sir SEBASTIAN CABOT. The Engliſh now poſſeſs the ſea-coaſt, from the river St. John's, in 30 degrees 21 minutes north latitude. Weſtward the King's charter declares it to be bounded by the Pacifick Ocean.

Carolina is divided into North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; the latter is a province which his Majeſty has taken out of Carolina, and is the ſouthern and weſtern frontier of that province, lying between it and the French, Spaniards, and Indians.

The part of Carolina that is ſettled, is for the moſt part a flat country: All near the ſea, is a range of iſlands, which breaks the fury of the ocean: Within is generally low-land for twenty or twenty five miles, where the country begins to riſe in gentle ſwellings. At ſeventy or eighty miles from the ſea, the hills grow higher, till they terminate in mountains,

The coaſt of Georgia is alſo defended from the rage of the ſea by a range of iſlands. Thoſe iſlands are divided from the main by canals of ſalt water, navigable for the largeſt boats, and even for ſmall ſloops, the lofty woods growing on each ſide the canals, make very pleaſant landſcapes. The land at about ſeven or eight miles from the ſea is tolerably high; and the farther you go weſtward the more it riſes, till at about 150 miles diſtance from the ſea, to the weſt, the Cherikees or Apellachean mountains begin, which are ſo high that the ſnow lies upon ſome of them all the year.

This ridge of mountains runs in a line from north to ſouth, on the back of the Engliſh colonies of Carolina and Virginia; beginning at the great lakes of Canada, and extending ſouth, it ends in the province of Georgia, at about two hundred miles from the bay of Apellachee, which is part of the gulph of Mexico. There is a plain country from the foot of theſe mountains to that ſea.

The face of the country is moſtly covered with woods; the banks of the rivers are in ſome places low, and form a kind of natural meadows, where the floods prevent trees from growing. In other places, in the hollows, between the hillocks, the brooks and ſtreams being ſtopt by falls of trees, or other obſtructions, the water is penn'd back: Theſe places are often covered with canes and thickets, and are called in the corrupted American dialect, ſwamps. The ſides of the hills are generally covered with oaks and hiccary, or wild walnuts, cedar, ſaſſafras, and the famous laurel tulip, which is eſteemed one of the moſt beautiful trees in the world: The flat tops of the hillocks are all covered with groves of pine-trees, with plenty of graſs growing under them; and free from underwood, that you may gallop a horſe for forty or fifty miles an end. In the low grounds, and iſlands in the river, there are cypreſs, bay-trees, poplar, plane, frankincenſe, or gum-trees, and other aquaticks. All parts of the province are well watered; and in digging a moderate depth, you never miſs of a fine ſpring.

What we call the Atlantick Ocean, waſhes the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt coaſts of theſe provinces. The gulph ſtream of Florida ſets with a tide in the ocean to the eaſt of the province; and it is very remarkable, that the banks and ſoundings of the coaſt extend twenty or twenty-five miles to the eaſt of the coaſt. To explain this, we will mention the manner of the voyage from Europe. You ſet out with variable winds, and having got enough to the weſt of Europe, you ſtand ſoutherly till you meet with the trade winds; which you do, on this ſide the 20th degree north latitude. Thoſe winds blowing generally eaſtwardly and moderately briſk, ſoon drive you over the greateſt part of the Atlantick Ocean: You keep the ſame latitude, till you think you are near the Bahama's, and then you ſteer northwardly, to avoid falling in with them, till you come into 29 degrees, and then you run in to make the ſhore. You croſs the gulph ſtream of Florida, which is a rapid tide, that ſets out from between the iſland of Cuba and Bahama, on the one ſide, and Florida on the other. It is upwards of twenty leagues wide, and ſo rapid that it runs to the northward, at the rate of three miles an hour. When you are paſt the gulph ſtream, you throw the lead, and if you find the ground at twenty five leagues of the coaſt of Georgia or Carolina, theſe they call the banks, and the water ſhoals gradually to ſhore, till you come within two leagues, where the banks are ſo ſhoaly that they bar all further paſſage, excepting in the chanels which lie between the bars. Theſe bars are the defence of the coaſt againſt enemies fleets, and the reaſon that it has laid ſo long undiſcovered; for without good pilots you cannot come into any harbour, the ſhoalineſs of the coaſt frightened ſhips ſo from coming to make diſcoveries upon it: till Mr. OGLETHORPE had the entries on the coaſt of Georgia ſounded in the year 1733, no ſhip attempted to go into ports in Georgia, nor did the merchants believe there were any ports upon that coaſt. Though now they find the river Savannah an excellent harbour; and upon the worſt of the bar, three fathom at dead low water. There is alſo a noble harbour to the ſouthward, called Teky-Sound, where there is anchoring for a large ſquadron in ten or fourteen fathom water land-locked, and a good and ſafe entry through the bar.

Between theſe harbours on the one ſide, and the Bahama's on the other, the Spaniſh ſhips muſt come home with all the treaſures of Mexico; and a ſquadron here in time of war, can hardly miſs intercepting them, and at the ſame time have ſafe harbours under their lee, and a healthy climate; have all Georgia, Carolina, and North-America a plentiful country, to ſupply them with freſh proviſions; ſo that they would be under none of thoſe inconveniences from want and ſickneſs, which thoſe ſquadrons ſuffered who lay at Porto Bello.

The tides upon this coaſt flow generally ſeven foot: The ſoundings are ſand, or ooze, and ſome oyſter banks, but no rocks: The coaſt appears low from the ſea, and covered with woods.

Cape Fear is a point which runs with dreadful ſhoals far into the ſea from the mouth of Clarendon river, in North-Carolina. Sulwan's Iſland, and the Coffin-land, are the marks of the entry into Charles-Town harbour: Hilton-head upon Trenches Iſland, ſhews the entry into Port-Royal; and the Point of Tybee Iſland, makes the entry of the Savannah river. Upon that point the truſtees for Georgia have erected a noble ſinal or lighthouſe, 90 foot high, and 25 foot wide; it is an octagon, and upon the top there is a flag-ſtaff 30 foot high.

The province of Georgia is watered by three great rivers, which riſe in the mountains, viz. the Alatamaha, the Ogechee, and the Savannah, the laſt of which is navigable ſix hundred miles for canoes, and three hundred miles for boats. The Britiſh dominions are divided from the Spaniſh Florida by a noble river called St. John's. Theſe rivers fall into the Atlantick Ocean; but there are beſides them, the Flint, the Catooche, and even the Miſſiſſipi river, which paſs through part of Carolina, or Georgia, and fall into the gulph of Apellachee or Mexico.

All Carolina is divided into three parts: North Carolina, which is divided from South Carolina by Clarendon river, and of late by a line marked out by order of the council: South Carolina; which on the ſouth is divided from Georgia by the river Savannah. Carolina is divided into ſeveral counties; but in Georgia there is but one yet erected, viz. the county of Savannah: it is bounded on the one ſide by the river Savannah, on the other by the ſea, on the third by the river Ogechee, on the fourth by the river Ebenezer, and a line drawn from the Ebenezer to the Ogechee. In this country are the rivers of Vernon, Little Ogechee, and of Weſtbrook. There is the town of Savannah, where there is a ſeat of judicature, conſiſting of three bailiffs and a recorder. It is ſituated upon the banks of the river of the ſame name. It conſiſts of about two hundred houſes, and lies upon a plain of about a mile wide, the bank ſteep to the river, forty five foot perpendicularly high: The ſtreets are laid out regular. There are near Savannah, in the ſame country, the villages of Hampſtead, Highgate, Skydo way, and Thunderbolt; the latter of which is a tranſlation of a name: Their fables ſay, that a thunderbolt fell, and a ſpring thereupon aroſe in that place, which ſtill ſmells of the thunder. This ſpring is impregnated with a mixture of ſulphur and ſteel, and from this ſmell probably the ſtory aroſe. In the ſame county is Joſeph's Town, and the town of Ebenezer, both upon the river Savannah, and the villages of Abercorn and Weſtbrook. There are ſaw-mills erecting on the river Ebenezer, and the fort Argyle lies upon the paſs of this county over the Ogechee. In the ſouthern diviſions of the province lies the town of Frederica, with its diſtrict, where there is a court with three bailiffs and a recorder. It lies on one of the branches of the Alatamaha. There is alſo the town of Darien, upon the ſame river, and ſeveral forts, upon the proper paſſes, ſome of four baſtions, ſome are only redoubts; beſides which there are villages in different parts of Georgia. At Savannah there is a publick ſtore-houſe built of large ſquare timbers; there is alſo a handſome court-houſe, guard-houſe, and work-houſe: the church is not yet begun, but materials are collecting, and it is deſigned to be a handſome edifice. The private houſes are generally ſawed timber, framed and covered with ſhingles; many of them are painted, and moſt have chimneys of brick. At Frederica, ſome of the houſes are built of brick; the reſt of the province is moſtly wood. They are not got into luxury yet in their furniture, hewing only what is plain and needful; the winters being mild, there are yet but few houſes with glaſs-windows.

The Indians are a manly well-ſhaped race; the men tall, the women little: They, as the ancient Grecians did, anoint with oil, and expoſe themſelves to the ſun, which occaſions their ſkins to be brown of colour. The men paint themſelves of various colours, red, blue, yellow and black: the men wear generally a girdle, with a piece of cloth drawn through their legs, and turned over the girdle both before and behind, ſo as to hide their nakedneſs. The women wear a kind of petticoat to their knees. Both men and women in the winter wear mantles, ſomething leſs than two yards ſquare, which they wrap round their bodies, as the Romans did their toga, generally keeping their arms bare: They are ſometimes of woollen, bought of the Engliſh; ſometimes of furs, which they dreſs themſelves. They wear a kind of pumps, which they call morgiſons, made of deer ſkins, which they dreſs for that purpoſe. They are a generous good-natured people, very humane to ſtrangers; patient of want and pain; ſlow to anger, and not eaſily provoked; but when they are thoroughly incenſed, they are implacable; very quick of apprehenſion, and gay of temper. Their publick conferences ſhew them to be men of genius, and they have a natural eloquence, they never having had the uſe of letters. They love eating, and the Engliſh have taught many of them to drink ſtrong liquors, which, when they do, they are miſerable ſights. They have no manufactures but what each family makes for its own uſe: They ſeem to deſpiſe working for hire, and ſpend their time chiefly in hunting and war; but plant corn enough for the ſupport of their families, and of the ſtrangers that come to viſit them. Their food, inſtead of bread, is flour of Indian corn boiled, and ſeaſoned like haſty pudding; and this is called homminy. They alſo boil veniſon and make broth: They alſo roaſt or rather broil their meat. The fleſh they feed on is buffaloe, deer, wild-turkeys, and other game; ſo that hunting is neceſſary, to provide fleſh, and planting for corn. The land belongs to the women, and the corn that grows upon it; but meat muſt be got by the men, becauſe it is they only that hunt. This makes marriage neceſſary, that the women may furniſh corn, and the men meat. They have alſo fruit-trees in their gardens, viz. peaches, nectarines and locuſts, melons and water-melons; potatoes, pumpkins, and onions, &c. in plenty, and many wild kinds of fruits; as parſimonies, grapes, chinquepins, and hickary-nuts, of which they make oil. The bees make their combs in the hollow trees, and the Indians find plenty of honey there, which they uſe inſtead of ſugar. They make what anſwers ſalt of wood-aſhes, and long-pepper which grows in their gardens; and bay-leaves ſupply their want of ſpice. Their exerciſes are a kind of ball-playing, hunting, and running; and they are very fond of dancing: Their muſick is a kind of a drum, as alſo hollow cocoa-nut ſhells. They have a ſquare in the middle of their towns, in which the warriors ſit, converſe, and ſmoak together; but in rainy weather they meet in the King's houſe.

They are very healthy people, and have hardly any diſeaſes, except thoſe occaſioned by the drinking of rum, and the ſmall pox: Thoſe who do not drink rum are exceeding long-lived. Old Brim, Emperor of the Creeks, who died but a few years ago, lived to one hundred and thirty years; and he was neither blind nor bed-rid, till ſome months before his death. They have ſometimes pleuriſies and fevers, but no chronical diſtempers. They know of ſeveral herbs that have great virtues in phyſick, particularly for the cure of venomous bites and wounds.

The native animals are, firſt the urus or zorax, deſcribed by Cæsar, which the Engliſh very ignorantly and improperly call the buffaloe. They have deer of ſeveral kinds, and plenty of roe-bucks and rabbits. There are bears and wolves, which are very ſmall and timorous; and a brown wild-cat, without ſpots, which they very improperly call a tyger; otters, beavers, foxes, and a ſpecies of badgers, which they call racoons.

There is great abundance of wild fowls, viz. the wild turkey, the partridge, doves of various kinds; wild geeſe, wild ducks, teal, cranes, herons, of many kinds, not known in Europe: There are great variety of eagles and hawks, and great numbers of ſmall birds, particularly the rice bird, which is very like the ortelan. There are alſo ſome rattle ſnakes, but not near ſo frequent as is generally reported. There are ſeveral ſpecies of ſnakes, ſome of which are not venomous. There are crocodiles, porpoiſes, ſturgeon, mullets, cat-fiſh, baſs, drum, devil-fiſh, and many ſpecies of freſh water fiſh, that we have not in Europe; oyſters upon the ſea iſlands in great abundance. But what is moſt troubleſome there, are flies and gnats, which are very troubleſome near the rivers; but as the country is cleared, they diſperſe and go away. Beſides the animals that are natives, there are all the ſame animals as in Europe, cows, ſheep, hogs, &c.

The vegetables are innumerable; for all that grow in Europe grow there; and many that cannot ſtand in our winters thrive there.

An account of the logwood countries by Mr. Atkins.

Mr. Atkins, ſpeaking of the logwood cutters, obſerves, that they were originally ſettled at the Bay of Campeachy, but being diſturbed there by the Spaniards, they removed to the Bay of Honduras, where they ſupport themſelves by force of arms, being about 500 (later accounts ſay 1500) merchants and ſervants.

Their principal reſidence is at a place called the Barcederas, about forty miles up a narrow river full of alligators; and what is a greater inconvenience againſt tranſporting their effects, is a ſtrong current in it from the freſhes up land, and the banks being covered with ſhrubs, that makes it difficult to walk and tow the boats; covered alſo with infinite numbers of ſand-flies and muſkitoes: they live in pavillions; a ſervant, at their time of lying down to reſt, ſhaking them till cleared of theſe vermin, that are an unſufferable plague and impediment to ſleep.

At the ſeaſon (once a year) they move their pavilions from the pleaſurable ſpots, the better to attend the logwood cutting, which carries them ſometimes many miles from this principal reſidence, to follow the wood, which runs in a line or vein (like minerals in the earth) of ſome miles perhaps, and then as many without a ſtick of it. They cut it into large pieces, and leave it on the ground till the land-floods favour their bringing it into the river, and then canoes are laden away with it to lay in ſtore at the Barcaderas, where the chief are ſtill left reſiding.

They have all good arms; and knowing the Spaniſh clemency, defend themſelves deſperately if attacked, which has happened ſeldomer than at Campeachy, and always by ſea.

A ſervant, which is the firſt ſtep with ſea-men into the trade, is hired at a tun of logwood per month, and has one day in ſeven for himſelf, making about ten pounds per month to him: Hence, if thoughtful and ſober, they in time become maſters, join ſtock, and trade independently. They have a King, choſe from among their body, and his conſort is ſtiled Queen; agreeing to ſome laws by common conſent, as a guide to them.

The ſhips that come into the bay are on their guard alſo, and fetch it down in flat-bottomed boats, each crew being allowed on the voyage a bottle of rum, and ſome ſugar, and row generally in the night, as freeſt from ſtinging flies, and reſt in the day.

The exchange with ſhips is for money, beer, flour, or any ſort of proviſions and neceſſaries; theſe the cunningeſt reſerve in ſtore againſt the wants and demands of the inconſiderate, and ſo make extraordinary returns.

An account of the logwood countries by Mr. URING.

Honduras logwood-cutters.

The country of Honduras, where the Engliſh cut their logwood, is all a flat, and great part of it a moraſs, with ſeveral large lacunes, which in the rain-times are almoſt all over-flowed. In the dry time of the year, the logwood cutters ſearch for a work, that is, where there are a good number of logwood trees, and then build a hut near them, where they live during the time of their cutting. When they have cut down the tree, they log it, and chip it, which is cutting off the bark and ſap, and then lay it in heaps, cutting away the underwood, and making paths to each heap, that when the rains come in which overflow the ground, it ſerves as ſo many creeks or channels, where they go with ſmall canoes or dories, and load them, bringing them ſometimes to the Barcaderas, thirty miles, from whence the people who buy it fetch it: But if it ſo happens, that the wood ſtands upon a ridge, or on ſuch high ground that the water does not flow to it, they cut it into logs proper for backing, and back it out, as they call it. Some of theſe trees grow very tall and ſtraight, tho' moſt of them are low and crooked: It bears a ſmall leaf, ſomething like our white thorn, and the underwood is prickly, not much unlike it: It bloſſoms, and bears ſeed, which, by falling off ſows the ground from whence it ſprings up, and the overflowing the ground brings the ſoil over it, which makes it take root and grow a great pace. The general price of the wood at the Barcaderas is five pounds per ton, Jamaica money. The wood-cutters are generally a rude drunken crew; ſome of which have been pirates, and moſt of them ſailors: Their chief delight is in drinking; and when they broach a quarter caſk, or a hogſhead of wine, they ſeldom ſtir from it while there is a drop left: It is the ſame thing when they open a hogſhead of bottle-ale or cyder, keeping at it ſometimes a week together, drinking till they fall aſleep; and as ſoon as they wake at it again, without ſtirring off the place. Rum punch is their general drink which they'll ſometimes ſit ſeveral days at; alſo they do moſt work when they have no ſtrong drink; for while the liquor is moving they don't care to leave it. I had a very unpleaſant time living among theſe people, tho' they paid me a conſiderable deference; and when they killed a deer, or wild fowl, I was always ſure to have part of them; but I ſhould have been much more agreeable to them, if I would have kept them company at their drinking-bouts. The wild creatures I ſaw were deer, tygers, alligators, and guanoes; the deer are ſmall, but lean. I ſaw at ſeveral times two tygers; we fired at one of them, but the gun miſſed fire, and we walked leiſurely away into the woods: Being both times in a creek upon the water, we were in no danger. I was informed they have monkeys, picarry, and warree, but I ſaw none. They have quams, coriſo's, Muſcovy ducks, whiſtling ducks; which laſt are ſomething bigger than our teal, and as good eating; cockrecoes, macaws, parrots, two-penny chicks, double and ſingle curliews, crab-catchers, and other fowls. There are great numbers of guanoes, upon whoſe eggs we often feaſted, drinking them mixed in punch. All their rivers and creeks are full of fiſh; which alſo ſwarm with alligators that will ſeize a man in the water. I have taſted of their fleſh, which is coarſe, and eat of their eggs, but they are not ſo good as a turtle's or guanoe's.

The logwood cutters during the floods, dwell at the Barcaderas, which are forty-two miles up the river, where they have built their huts upon pretty high banks, which juſt keep them out of the water in the time of the floods. As ſoon as they have notice of any ſhip's or veſſel's arrival at the river's mouth, they flock down on board, in order to purchaſe ſuch things as they want, and are ſure to provide good ſtore of ſtrong liquor. The commodities which ſuit them are all ſorts of ſtrong liquors, proviſions, ſmall arms, gunpowder, and ſmall ſhot; cutlaſſes, or hangers, axes, ozenbrigs, and ſhoes. Ozenbrigs is their general wear, and almoſt all their cloathing, except hats and ſhoes: Their pavilions are alſo made of ozenbrigs; there is no poſſibility of living without them; there being ſuch multitudes of biting and ſtinging flies, as muskitoes, ſand-flies, galley-nippers, and bottle-aſſes, which laſt poiſon the blood to that degree, wherever they bite, that it leaves a black ſpeck as big as a large pin's head, which in two or three days grows rotten. In the northerly winds there are few flies to be ſeen, nor are they in ſuch numbers during the floods, as in the dry times. Among the ſmall iſlands or kays in the bay are great numbers of green turtle, which the bay men never want when they fiſh for them, and are moſtly taken in nets. The manatee is often found here, and there is likewiſe great quantities of ſeveral ſorts of excellent fiſh, among which the Jew fiſh exceeds in goodneſs: They are ſhaped ſomething like a cod, but thicker in proportion, and much better eating: They have very broad ſcales, and ſome of them weigh eighty pounds.

The trade between Jamaica and Spaniſh America.

Trade between Jamaica and Spaniſh America.

In the beginning of the year 1711, I went over in a ſloop well mann'd and arm'd, to trade on the coaſt of New Spain, and we carried with us a great quantity of dry goods, and about a hundred and fifty negroes. We firſt touched at Porto Bello, but being war-time, we uſed to go to the Grout within Monkey-Kay, which is a very good harbour, and is about four or five miles from the harbour and town of Porto-Bello. As ſoon as we arrived there, our cuſtom was to ſend one of our people who could ſpeak Spaniſh into the town, with letters to the merchants, to give them notice of our arrival, and they appointed the time and place where and when our canoe ſhould wait for them to bring them on board, in order to traffick with us; and when they had agreed with us for ſo many negroes, and ſuch a quantity of goods as they wanted, they returned to the town, and the next day brought their money on board, and received them. We lay at this place trading ſix weeks, in which time the Spaniſh merchants at Panama had notice of our being there, and they came over the Iſthmus to trade with us. Theſe merchants frequently travelled in the habits of peaſants, and had their mules with them, on which they brought their money in jars, which they filled up with meal; and if any of the King's officers met them, nothing appeared but meal, and they pretended they were poor people going to Porto-Bello to buy ſome trifles; but they for the moſt part went through the woods, and not in the road, in order to prevent their being diſcovered by the royal officers. When they had bought as many negroes, and ſuch a quantity of dry goods as their money would purchaſe, they uſed to proportion and make them up in little packs fit for one man to carry, and we ſupplied them with as much proviſions as was neceſſary for their journey, croſs the Iſthmus to the South-Sea, and thus they paſſed together through the woods in the moſt ſecret manner. While we lay at the Grout, the firſt voyage a Spaniard agreed with us for ſeventy ſlaves, and a good quantity of dry goods, which we delivered between Chagre and Porto Nova; the ſignal agreed upon being made from the caſtle of Chagre, we anchored about two miles from it, and ſent our canoe on ſhore, where we found the Spaniards with ſeveral aſſes and mules laden with gold and ſilver, which we carried on board, and when the money was found to be right, and all things were adjuſted, we landed the negroes and dry goods, providing them with neceſſaries for their journey over to the South Sea, and then ſailed again for the Grout; but being not able to diſpoſe of all our cargo there, we ſet ſail for Carthagena, and by the way touched at Tolue, where we furniſhed ourſelves with poultry, which are reckoned the beſt upon the main. When we arrived at Brew, which is the place where we lay to trade with the merchants of Carthagena, we gave notice of it to ſome of the people of that iſland, who ſent word into the city of our being there; ſeveral merchants came from thence to trade with us; and when we had ſold what we could we returned to Jamaica. This place is about eight miles from the city, and a good road for veſſels to ride in. I was ſeveral voyages to the Spaniſh coaſt, trading in this manner.

A deſcription of Jamaica by Mr. Atkins.

Mr. Atkins gives the following deſcription of the chief towns in Jamaica.

Chief towns in Jamaica.

St. Jago is irregular and low built, to ſecure it againſt ſtorms: Even the governor's, or what they call the King's houſe, is but a ground floor, and makes one ſide of a quadrangle, with a parade where all gentlemen meet to tranſact their buſineſs: The merchants and factors for diſtant planters, and the officers, civil and military, do together make a conſiderable number, dividing in the evenings into parties of dancing, gaming, or drinking, and generally to a publick houſe, to avoid the obligation of returns and treats, very coſtly in this country.

Kingſton, at the upper end of Port Royal harbour, the place of lading and unlading almoſt all ſhips to and from the iſland, is, in my eye, preferable to the former. The ſtreets are wide and more regular to face the ſea breezes, and the croſs ſtreets at right angles, that the air may have as little interruption as poſſible; a convenience that cannot be too much meditated in ſo hot a climate; for the land breezes failing betimes in the morning, you have it exceſſively hot, all creatures languiſh and faint till the ſea ones ſucceed, which will not be till ten o'clock, ſometimes eleven, or later, and may be eſteemed the life of the iſland, diſpelling thoſe impure vapours continually exhaled from the mountains, and refreſhing and rouſing the animal nature from backgammon, or loitering, to buſineſs.

The harbour is ſpacious here, and the ſhips lie land-locked; but the peninſula that covers them from the ſea being low and narrow, they are not ſo ſafe againſt ſtorms as one would imagine.

From hence to Spaniſh Town, when called on any law-ſuit or buſineſs, they take boat to Paſſage Fort, on the other ſide a ſmall river at the bottom of the harbour, where are three or four houſes that furniſh paſſengers for the journey (6 miles) at twenty ſhillings a coach, or five ſhillings a horſe, and are rarely without cuſtomers, the calls in traffick are ſo frequent.

Port Royal, which makes up, with the former two, all the towns of note on the whole iſland, is on the ſtarboard entrance of the harbour. The road before it is reckoned good holding ground, and fenced from ſoutherly winds by ſandy kays without. The town itſelf ſtands on ſuch a ſandy kay, not much above the ſurface of the water, and contains no more ground than holds the buildings, and the fort contiguous with it on the outer point; which, with a line, or rampart of guns to the ſea (together about one hundred) is their chief defence. Under the fort is a little nook or bay called Chocolate-hole, where we have a hulk lies for cleaning ſhips

Mr. Atkins alſo gives us the following account of a ſtranger's daily expences at Jamaica.

	Bits of 7d. ½
Dinner.	5
A bottle of ſmall beer.	1
A bottle of ale.	4
Coffee per diſh.	1
A quart of rum punch.	4
Lodging per night.	8

Ordinaries are filled with a mixture of land and ſea-faring people, who have three or four ſorts of cookery at dinner, and each a pint of Madeira, with a deſart of guavas, and other inſipid or ill-taſted fruit. One of our diſhes is frequently turtle, much eſteemed in this part of the world, and are ſupplied to the market here by ſloops, and ſold at a bit a pound, like other fleſh, now alſo increaſed to a tolerable plenty, by the planters having ſet apart ſervants, pens, and paſture-grounds, for rearing up all kinds of domeſtick animals, in which of late years they have found their account; our ſhips companies being victualled here twice a week with freſh beef, during a ſtay of ſix months, and an hoſpital on ſhore provided with lighter food.

Bartering is the eaſieſt way of living on ſhore, or rather, no man can live long without it: Madeira wines, refined ſugars, linens, and neceſſaries of almoſt all kinds, ſelling from one hundred pound to one hundred and fifty per cent. advance; their rum to you three bits per gallon; ſugars from four to ſeven dollars a hundred, both ſuperior to Barbadoes. Other commodities are ginger, piemento, cacao, or the chocolate nut, indigo, cotton, tortoiſe-ſhell, dyers wood, cedar, mahogany and manchineel woods; and they allow 35 per cent. advance on money

The Creoles (thoſe born here) which are properly the natives of the iſland, the ancient ones being all extirpated by the cruelty of the Spaniard before our poſſeſſion, are a ſpurious race; the firſt change by a black and white they call mulatto, the ſecond a muſtee, the third a caſtee; the faces, like a coat of arms, diſcovering their diſtinction. They are half negriſh in their manners, proceeding from the promiſcuous and confined converſation, with their relations, the ſervants at the plantations, and have a language equally pleaſant, a kind of gipſy gibberiſh that runs ſmootheſt in ſwearing.

The Engliſh are computed at ſeven or eight thouſand, the Negroes at eighty thouſand, a diſproportion, that together with the ſeverity of their patrons renders the whole colony unſafe. Many hundreds of them have at different times run to the mountains, where they aſſociate and commit robberies upon the defenceleſs and neareſt plantations; and which, I imagine, they would not have done but for the cruelty of their uſage, becauſe they ſubſiſt very hard, and with danger, by reaſon of parties continually ſending out by the government againſt them, who have five pound a head for every one killed, and their ears are a ſufficient warrant for the next juſtice to pay it: If the negro be brought in a priſoner, he is tormented and burnt alive. Our lateſt advices from Jamaica concerning them, are, that they have choſe a king, that they daily increaſe, have ſome inacceſſible places of retreat, and are ſuſpected of being encouraged and ſupplied with powder and arms from Cuba.

The natural remedy againſt this evil is an increaſe of hands. They have large ſavannahs both on the north and ſouth ſides, ſuppoſed formerly to have been fields of Indian wheat, that afford good paſturage, and breed up a great number of cattle, with a great waſte of land, ſtill left capable of large improvements, into ſugar plantations, or tillage; but here lies the objection to any further encouragement. If the preſent proprietors can export eleven thouſand hogſheads of Sugar annually, and the price with that number is kept low at market, whoever contributes to the making eleven thouſand more, is depreciating his own eſtate, and lending a hand to ruin himſelf. Tillage and grazing, tho' not employing the land to one tenth of its value in ſuch colonies, would interfere with the preſent intereſt alſo, by lowering the price of proviſions; wherefore the ſecurity from ſuch augmentation of people (the merchants being judges) gives place to profit, a neglect that muſt be repaired in the end, by undertakers of more generous ſentiments. This convinces me, that altho' trade be wealth and power to a nation, yet if it cannot be put under reſtrictions, and controlled by a ſuperior and diſintereſted power, exceſs and irregularity will be an oppreſſion to many, and counter-balance the publick advantages by increaſing the difficulties of ſubſiſtence, and with it mens diſaffection.

Here is a diſtant evil, the cure of which lies in an expence that nobody likes, nor for ſuch diſlike will ever blame himſelf in time of danger. The merchant and planter think, if leſs ſugars were made it would be better; provided (every one means) the bad crop do not happen upon their own plantations; and thus for the ſame reaſon, the Dutch and other companies burn their ſpice, India goods, tobacco, &c. viz. to keep up a price; for rendering things common, or cheap, or aſſiſting towards the ſame liberty, would border too much upon the chriſtian precepts.

The ſloop-trade hence to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, under the protection of our men of war, has been reckoned at two hundred thouſand pounds per annum. In 1702, orders came to the governor to hinder it, on account of a treaty between us and the Dutch for that purpoſe, who have ſince gone into it themſelves from Curiſao. And in 1716, a yet greater obſtruction was put upon them by the peculiar privileges of the aſſiento factors: However, they continue on, and complain of no other illegalities than the Spaniſh ſeizures of late years, very frequent; and, together with the decay of this branch of trade, their want of Spaniſh wrecks, privateering, and fall of Sugars, makes the iſland not ſo flouriſhing as in times paſt.

An account of Barbadoes, and its ſugar-works, from Mr. ATKINS.

The negroes of Barbadoes are computed to be eighty or ninety thouſand countenanced in polygamy, Engliſh twenty thouſand; the women among them moſt Scotch and Iriſh, very homely, and great ſwearers. The men, contrarily, are very gay, clean, and handſome; from mean originals, often ſucceeding with rich widows, it being but juſtice to link a fat plantation to the truly nauſeous draught of matrimony.

The way of feeding ſuch a multitude, and providing neceſſaries in an iſland yielding little beſides ſugar, is principally by their fiſheries and importations.

The ſea gives them great plenty of flying fiſh, dolphins, barricuda, and king-fiſh, particularly the firſt: They bait with their own ſpecie, which thrown about, the fiſh fly in ſuch numbers to the boats, that they take them up with dip-nets, and ſometimes the dolphins with them. The ſeaſon goes off at the autumnal equinox. Their importations by ſhips from England, Ireland, New-England, Penſylvania, Carolina, or New-York, conſtantly ſupply any defect of food or neceſſaries, every veſſel bringing them ſomething or other of this kind, which the merchants keep in ſtore, and ſell the planters occaſionally, who give their ſugars, rum, and moloſſes, in return. The price in what I was acquainted was, viz.

Bought.

Rum, at 1s. 2d. per gallon
Citron water, 40s. and 30s.
Pickled pepper, 10s.
Preſerved ginger, 5s. per pound,

Sugar 20 s. a hundred, and before our improvements (ſays Gee) the Portugueze ſold for 7 and 8 l. a hundred.

Cocoa, 3 or 4 l. per hundred.

Aloes, 4 d. per pound.

Sold.

Salt beef and pork, 40 s. for a caſk of two hundred weight.

Biſket, 17 s. per hundred.

Candles, 6 d. halfpenny per pound, &c.

Exchange 30 per cent. or more.

The ſugar canes are ſet out between Auguſt and December ſix inches deep, and do not come to maturity until one year and a quarter. When ripe, which is known by their colour, they cut them up with a bill, and ſend them to the windmills, which preſſes out the juice ſo clean, that the canes, by being an hour or two in the ſun, become fit for fuel.

The liquor muſt not remain in the ciſtern above a day for fear of ſouring; it is therefore by a gutter conveyed to the copper or boiler, and in the boiling the filth ſcummed off: thence it is conveyed into the ſecond and third; and in the laſt, called the tack, is boiled to a conſiſtency, and turned into a grain by throwing in of temper, which is only the infuſion of lime and water made ſtrong, according to the goodneſs of the cane. Nine pounds of juice make one of muſcovado, and one of moloſſes.

From hence it is carried to the cooling ciſtern till fit to put in pots, which have holes at bottom to drain off the moloſſes.

Of theſe moloſſes again they ſometimes make another worſe ſugar, called paneels. Of the ſcum, coarſe moloſſes, waſhings of the boilers and pots fomented together, is made rum.

To refine ſugar is to boil it over again, and clarify with the ſame lime water, and eggs; reckoned better than the clayed ſugars of this region, made by putting a clayey earth mixed with water to the thickneſs of a batter upon them, and repeated three or four times, according to the degree of whiteneſs deſigned: both ways carry the treacle and moloſſes downwards, but the former is moſt eſteemed, as mixing leſs, and purging to better purpoſe. Lime refines from impurities, and imparts a ſofter taſte, experienced in throwing it into wells of hard water: the beſt refined in loaves comes back to the ſugar colonies from England, ſell at fifty or one hundred per cent. advance, and are of common uſe; they muſt be kept dry, a hot and moiſt air diſſolving them.

From moloſſes diſtillers make a clean brandy; and it gives a pretty taſted ſpirit to malt liquors boil'd, and worked in the tun.

Beſides rum and ſugars, they have quantities of ginger, aloes, tamarinds, citron, caſſia, coloquintida, caſſava, limes, oranges, guavas, pine apples, maſtich, cedar, cotton, palmetto trees, and prickled pear; but our apples and pears, or any of our ſhrub-fruits, gooſeberry or currant, will not thrive. Of the potatoe they make a briſk ſmall beer, called mobby.

The enterpriſe to the iſlands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, from Mr. Uring.

St. Lucia.

His Majeſty King George I. by letters patents, dated 20 June, 1722, granted to his grace John duke of Montagu, the iſlands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, ſituated in the American ocean, between 12 and 14 minutes north latitude, and between 60 and 61 minutes weſt longitude; the firſt about 24 leagues weſt-north-weſt of Barbadoes, and ſeven leagues ſouth of the French iſland of Martinico, and the ſame diſtance north and by eaſt from St. Vincent.

The duke was alſo conſtituted captain general of the iſlands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which till that time were included in the commiſſion, and under the government of the governors of Barbadoes.

His grace having appointed captain Uring his deputy-governor, and provided ſeven ſhips and veſſels to carry over the planters, with ſuch proviſions and neceſſaries as were requiſite to ſettle colonies in theſe iſlands, and obtained of his Majeſty the Wincheſter man of war, commanded by captain Orme, to convoy, attend, and protect the planters; Mr. Uring embarked on board the Winchelſea on the 10th of September 1722, and ſailing to Ireland to take in proviſions, made it the 15th of December before he arrived at St. Lucia: being come to an anchor in Pigeon Iſland Bay, a Barbadoes ſloop ſoon after arrived from Martinico, the maſter whereof communicated to Mr. Uring the copy of a mandate by the King of France, which he ſaid was publiſhed by order of the French general in all the churches of that iſland, and in all their towns by beat of drum, which contained in ſubſtance, that if the Engliſh did not leave the iſland of St. Lucia in the ſpace of fifteen days, they were to be drove off by force of arms.

The next morning Mr. Uring weighed from Pigeon Iſland-Bay, and ſtood for the harbour of Petite Careenage; which they found to be a very good one, and in it ſeveral places fit for careening ſhips, ſheltered from every wind; in one of which ſhips of ſixty guns and upwards may careen very conveniently: the land is very hilly all round the harbour, and in moſt places ſteep, aſcending from the water-ſide. At two in the afternoon he landed fifty men, to cut down the trees and buſhes on the point, that lay fit for a battery of guns to command the entrance of the harbour. The ſame day he ſent Mr. Faulkner to Martinico, with letters from the duke of Montagu and the admiralty, directed to captain Charles Brown, commander of the Feverſham man of war, and captain Ellis, commander of the Hector, who were then at Martinico, and acquainted them that the duke had appointed him deputy governor of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, and that being come to ſettle theſe iſlands under the protection of the Winchelſea man of war, he deſired, that in purſuance of the orders they had received from the admiralty for that purpoſe, they would join him as ſoon as poſſible, being apprehenſive the governor of Martinico deſigned to moleſt the colony.

In the mean time he proceeded to land his people, guns, tools, planks, and ſtores to fortify the harbour, and build a large houſe to ſhelter the workmen. On the 22d of december, captain Bland and captain Brown arrived from Martinico with his Majeſty's ſhips the Hector and Feverſham, and ſoon after a French ſloop, which brought a letter from the French general, to acquaint Mr. Uring, that he had heard of his landing Engliſh forces in the iſland of St. Lucia, and deſired to know his intentions; and at the ſame time he received the following copy of the French King's mandate, viz.

A mandate of the King to the ſieur chevalier **DE FEUQUIERE**, governor and lieutenant general of the windward iſlands in America.

"His Majeſty having been informed that the "King of England has given the iſlands of St. "Vincent and St. Lucia to the duke of Montagu, "has made his complaint of it to the court of "England, and has alledged that neither the one "nor the other of theſe iſlands belong to that "crown: the firſt of them ought to remain to "the Caribbees, according to conventions made "with that people; and the ſecond belong to "France, who has been willing to ſuſpend the "ſettlement of that iſland on the requeſt of the "King of England. Notwithſtanding thoſe rea- "ſons, his Majeſty hath not been informed, that "there has been any revocation of this grant. On "the contrary, he underſtands that the duke of "Montagu is preparing to ſend and take poſſeſ- "ſion of thoſe iſlands, and to tranſport numbers "of families thither. This undertaking being con- "trary to the rights of his Majeſty, his intention is, "that in caſe the Engliſh ſhould take poſſeſſion "of St. Lucia, and ſettle there, the ſieur cheva- "lier **DE FEUQUIERE** ſhall ſummon them to "retire in fifteen days, in regard that iſland be- "longs to France; and if they do not ſo depart, "he ſhall compel them to it by force of arms. "He ſhall take care to charge ſome of the wiſeſt "and moſt experienced of his officers with this "expedition. His Majeſty deſires there ſhould "be as little effuſion of blood as poſſible, nor "will he have any pillage made: he only wiſhes "the Engliſh would retire, and not poſſeſs them- "ſelves of a country which belongs to him.

Done at Verſailles the 21ſt of September 1722.

Signed **LOUIS**. Seen and approved, **PHILIP** de Orleance.	Compared with the original 31 Dec. 1722. de pas **FEUQUIERE**.

Upon reading the mandate, and the French governor's letter, in which it was encloſed, Mr. **URING** ſent to captain **BRAND** and captain **BROWN**, to know if he might depend upon their aſſiſtance, if he was attacked by the French; but they would give him no poſitive anſwer, and ſoon after ſailed to Barbadoes: he alſo ſent a letter to the governor of Martinico, to acquaint him, that he had orders from the duke of Montagu, the lord proprietor, under his Britiſh Majeſty's patent, to plant St. Lucia, and defend it; but propoſed the ſuſpending all acts of hoſtility till they could hear from their reſpective courts of Great Britain and France.

Mr. **URING** alſo thought fit to write to the preſident of Barbadoes, that the governor of Martinico had threatened to drive the Engliſh from the iſland, if they did not depart in fifteen days, and to deſire his aſſiſtance to ſupport this part of his Majeſty's dominions. To which the preſident anſwered, that he was ready to give him all the aſſiſtance in his power. But the captains **BROWN** and **BRAND** remained ſo long abſent from St. Lucia, that the French had an opportunity of ſending between two and three thouſand men from Martinico, and landing them on the iſland: the captains of the men of war alſo refuſed to give him any aſſiſtance towards fortifying and defending the colony by land; and a great many of the planters falling ſick, and others deſerting over to the French at the ſame time, Mr. **URING** had not fourſcore left fit to bear arms; which compelled him at length to come to a treaty with the French general, the marquis of Champigny; and the following articles were concluded between them.

1. That the Engliſh ſhould quit the iſland of St. Lucia within ſeven days, provided that the ſhips of the Engliſh nation ſhould at all times have liberty to come into the ports of the ſaid iſland, and wood and water there, and ſerve their other occaſions, as the French veſſels alſo might.

2. That the Engliſh colony ſhould be at liberty to re-imbark all their cannon, ſtores, arms, baggage, and every thing belonging to them, without moleſtation.

3. That all deſerters ſhould be given up.

4. That immediately after the Engliſh had evacuated the iſland, the French forces alſo ſhould evacuate it; and that the iſland ſhould remain in the ſame ſtate it was till the controverſies between the two crowns, relating to this iſland, were decided.

In purſuance of which agreement Mr. **URING** embarked with his people, and ſailed to Antigua, ſending the Winchelſea man of war, and captain **BRAITHWAITE** in the Griffin ſloop, to take a view of the iſland of St. Vincent, and ſee if it was practicable to make a ſettlement there: in the mean time a conſiderable reinforcement arrived at Barbadoes from the duke of Montagu, with ammunition and proviſion, and orders to attempt a ſettlement on St. Vincent, if the planters were driven from St. Lucia.

Captain **BRAITHWAITE** arrived at Antigua ſome few days afterwards, and made the following report of his expedition to St. Vincent.

In purſuance of a reſolution in council, and your order for ſo doing the day you ſailed with his grace's colony for Antigua, I ſailed with the Griffin ſloop, in company with his Majeſty's ſhip the Winchelſea, to St. Vincent. We made the iſland that night, and next morning run along the ſhore, and ſaw ſeveral Indian huts; but as yet no Indians came off to us, nor could we get aſhore to them, by reaſon there was no ground to anchor in. Towards the evening two Indians came on board, and told us we might anchor in a bay to leeward, and when we were at anchor they would bring their general on board. Here we came to an anchor in deep water, and very dangerous for the ſloop. One, whom they called general, came on board, with ſeveral others, to the number of twenty-two: I entertained them very handſomely, and made the chief ſome trifling preſents; but found him to be a perſon of no conſequence, and that they called him chief to get ſome preſent from me. Here two of the Indians were ſo drunk, they would not go aſhore, but ſtayed on board ſome days, and were well entertained. After this, little winds and great currents drove us off for ſeveral days; but at laſt we come to an anchor in a ſpacious bay, to the leeward of all the iſland, the draught of which I ordered to be taken by our ſurveyor, for your better underſtanding the place, being the only one where a ſettlement could be made. The ſhip and ſloop were ſcarce come to an anchor before the ſtrand of the ſhore was covered with Indians; and amongſt them we could diſcover a white man, who proved to be a Frenchman. I took captain **WATSON** in the boat with me, with a Frenchman, and immediately went aſhore. As ſoon as I came amongſt them, I aſked why they appeared all armed; for every man had cutlaſſes;

ſome had muſkets, piſtols, bows and arrows, &c. They, with very little ceremony, incloſed me, and carried me up the country for about a mile, over a little rivulet, where I was told I was to ſee their general. I found him ſitting amidſt a guard of about an hundred Indians; thoſe neareſt his perſon had all muſkets, the reſt bows and arrows, and great ſilence. He ordered me a ſeat, and a Frenchman ſtood at his right hand for an interpreter. He demanded of me, what brought me into his country, and of what nation? I told him Engliſh, and I was put in to wood and water, as not caring to ſay any thing elſe before the Frenchman; but told him, if he would be pleaſed to come on board our ſhips, I would leave Engliſhmen in hoſtage for thoſe he ſhould be pleaſed to bring with him; but I could not prevail with him either to come on board, or ſuffer me to have wood or water. He ſaid, he was informed we were come to force a ſettlement, and we had no other way to remove that jealouſy, but by getting under ſail. As ſoon as I found what influence the Frenchman's company had upon him, I took my leave, after making ſuch replies as I thought proper, and returned to my boat under a guard. When I came to the ſhore, I found the guard was increaſed by a number of negroes, all armed with fuzees: I got into my boat without any injury, and went on board to captain Orme, and told him my ill ſucceſs.

Immediately after I ſent on ſhore the ſloop's boat with a mate, with rum, beef, and bread, &c. with ſome cutlaſſes; and ordered a Frenchman, who went with a mate, to deſire the guard to conduct them to their general, and to tell him, that tho' he deny'd me the common good of water, and a little uſeleſs wood, nevertheleſs I had ſent him ſuch refreſhments as our ſhips afforded. Our people found the Frenchman gone, and that then the Indian general ſeemed pleaſed, and received what was ſent him, and in return ſent me bows and arrows.

Our people had not been long returned but their general ſent a canoe, with two chief Indians, who ſpoke very good French, to thank me for my preſents, and to aſk pardon for his refuſing me wood and water, and aſſured me I might have what I pleaſed; and they had orders to tell me, if I pleaſed to go a-ſhore again, they were to remain hoſtages for my civil treatment. I ſent them on board the man of war, and with captain Watson went aſhore: I was well received, and conducted as before. But now I found the brother, the chief of the negroes, was arrived with 500 negroes, moſt armed with fuzees; they told my interpreter, they were aſſured we were come to force a ſettlement, or elſe they would not have denied me what they never before denied any Engliſh, viz. wood and water; but if I pleaſed, I might take in what I wanted under a guard. Finding them in ſo good a humour, I once more introduced the deſire I had to entertain them on board our ſhips, and with ſome difficulty prevailed with them, by leaving captain Watson on ſhore under their guard, as a hoſtage. I carried them on board the King's ſhip; where they were well entertained by captain Orme, who gave the Indian general a fine fuzee of his own, and to the chief of the negroes ſomething that pleaſed him. Captain Orme aſſured him of the friendſhip of the King of England, &c. The negroe chief ſpoke excellent French, and gave anſwers with the French compliments. Afterwards I carried them on board the duke's ſloop, and after opening their hearts with wine, for they ſcorn'd to drink rum, I thought it a good time to tell them my commiſſion, and what brought me upon their coaſt. They told me it was well I had not mentioned it a-ſhore, for their power could not have protected me: that it was impoſſible; the Dutch had before attempted it, but were glad to retire. They likewiſe told me, two French ſloops had the day before we came been amongſt them, gave them arms and ammunition, and aſſured them of the whole force of Martinico for their protection againſt us: they told them alſo, that they had drove us from St. Lucia, and that we were come now to endeavour to force a ſettlement there, and notwithſtanding all our ſpecious pretences, when we had power we ſhould enſlave them; but declared, they would truſt no Europeans: that they owned themſelves under the protection of the French, but would as ſoon oppoſe their ſettling amongſt them, or any act of force from them, as us, as they had lately given an example, by killing ſeveral: and they further told me, it was by very large preſents the French ever got in their favour again, but they reſolved never to put it in their power, or any European, to hurt them. They adviſed me to think what they ſaid was an act of friendſhip. This being all I could get from them, I diſmiſſed them with ſuch preſents as his grace ordered for that ſervice, with a diſcharge of cannon, and received in return as regular vollies of ſmall-ſhot as I ever heard. In the night the Winchelſea drove from her anchors, which, as ſoon as I perceived, and had received captain Watson from the ſhore, I got under ſail, and ſtood to the man of war. This is a faithful report of all I can recollect.

John Braithwaite.

Upon conſidering this report, it being adjudged impracticable by Mr. Uring, and the duke's friends at Antigua, to fix an Engliſh colony at St. Vincent, his grace's ſtores which remained were put on ſhore at St. Chriſtopher's, to be diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage; and Mr. Uring returned to England, and gave the duke of Montagu ſuch an account of the expedition, that his grace perfectly approved his conduct.

The gentleman, who wrote the account of this expedition, gives us the following deſcription of the iſland of St. Lucia, and enumerates ſome of the advantages that would accrue to Great-Britain by planting it.

St. Lucia, ſays this writer, is about twenty two miles in length, and eleven broad; the greateſt part of it very good land, and in many places hilly, and very rich vallies, very well watered with fine rivers all through the iſland, which make it exceeding pleaſant and delightful; and it muſt be very healthful, by its being ſo narrow, and the hills being not ſo high to intercept the continual trade-winds that always fan it from the eaſtward, whereby the heat of the climate is mitigated, and made rather agreeable than troubleſome. The variety of ſituations that it affords by the hills and vales, makes it both convenient and delightful, as well as the pleaſantneſs of the proſpects; and it is full of tall trees, amongſt which are great quantities of good timber fit for building houſes and windmills, from whence both Barbadoes and Martinico have been furniſhed with very great quantities, and are ſtill. The cacao or chocolate nut grows here very well; and there grows alſo a great deal of fuſtick, and there is great plenty of wild fowl. It lies weſt-north-weſt from the iſland of Barbadoes about twenty four leagues, ſouth from Martinico about ſeven leagues, and the ſame diſtance north by eaſt from St. Vincent; and hath ſeveral good bays and excellent harbours for ſhips to anchor in, one of which is the Petite Careenage, where we deſigned the firſt ſettlement. This harbour is on the north-weſt part of the iſland, and is much the fineſt and moſt convenient in all the Caribbee iſlands. Great numbers of ſhips may be there ſafe in all kinds of weather; and it is very commodious for careening ſhips of war, and other veſſels.

If this iſland had been ſettled, as was intended by his grace the duke of Montagu, proper forts built, and garriſons placed therein for the protection and defence thereof, it would have been of the greateſt importance for the ſecuring the Leeward Iſlands, and even Barbadoes, from being invaded by France in time of war; for no armament can be made, nor any expedition carried on by the French at Martinico againſt any of thoſe iſlands, but muſt be known at St. Lucia almoſt as ſoon as the deſign is formed, by the nearneſs of its neighbourhood to that iſland; from whence likewiſe Barbadoes and the Leeward iſlands, might have timely notice to provide for their better defence. If St. Lucia were well inhabited by the Engliſh, the people of Martinico would know their intereſt better than to enter upon any expedition againſt Barbadoes, or the Leeward Iſlands, when they had an enemy ſo near them; for they muſt need conſider, if their men were ſent off that iſland to invade the Leeward Iſlands, the Barbadians would join the people of St. Lucia, and fall upon Martinico in the abſence of their men, which would endanger the loſs of that iſland, or at leaſt the plundering or ſpoiling of it, and would be more damage to them than any benefit they can propoſe to themſelves by invading the Leeward Iſlands; and ſo the ſame, if their deſign is againſt Barbadoes, the Leeward-Iſland people joining thoſe of St. Lucia, Martinico will be in the ſame danger; and by that means our plantations in thoſe parts will be intirely ſecured, by the poſſeſſion of St. Lucia; and it will always be in the power of the Engliſh to diſturb the French, and not in the power of the French to hurt the Engliſh: But if both nations ſhould ſit ſtill, without invading each other, yet St. Lucia will be of the greateſt advantage to Great Britain, if it were appointed the place of rendezvous for his Majeſty's ſhips of war, from whence they might continually relieve each other, if need were, and keep always cruiſing on the French, that they could not be able to have a veſſel go in or out of their harbours, but what might be intercepted by the King's ſhips; and ſo the trade of our plantations would thereby become ſecured, and the Martinicans would have no reaſon to boaſt, as they did in the late war, that they maintained their iſlands chiefly by privateering on the Engliſh, which is too well known to the merchants that have been traders to thoſe parts. But in caſe St. Lucia was ſettled, and proper meaſures purſued, it would entirely prevent ſuch miſchiefs for the future, and the Engliſh would ſoon grow too powerful for the French, who at preſent have greatly the advantage of the Engliſh; and the Leeward Iſlands are in the greateſt danger, in caſe of a war with France, of being invaded, which the Engliſh planters are moſt ſenſible of, and it is what the wiſeſt of them apprehend every day.

Notwithſtanding his Majeſty's undoubted right to theſe iſlands, and the peace and friendſhip then ſubſiſting between the two crowns, thus unhappily ended the expedition to St. Lucia. An undertaking truly worthy the notice and generous diſpoſition of his grace the duke of Montagu, and the greateſt ever undertaken by a ſubject at his own expence. When we reckon up the vaſt charge of the ſhips, with four hundred and twenty-five ſervants, ſtores, cannon, ammunition, &c. and the paying more than fifty officers ſalaries from fifty to four hundred pounds ſterling, for a year and a half, beſides providing for their daily ſubſiſtence in a dear country, and eighty-five tradeſmen and artificers, from twenty to thirty pounds wages yearly, which his grace has alſo paid; we cannot conclude, but it muſt have coſt him forty thouſand pounds and upwards. Had it met the ſucceſs the greatneſs of the undertaking deſerved, by what we may judge from the other Caribbee Iſlands, it would have very conſiderably increaſed the revenue of the crown; and at the ſame time, would have brought a profit to the nation of two hundred thouſand pounds yearly, beſides giving an intire ſecurity to the other Caribbee Iſlands, and the trade thither, by the poſſeſſion of an iſland, in which only a ſquadron of his Majeſty's ſhips can remain in the like ſafety. At preſent, the Duke of Montagu is the greateſt ſufferer by this diſappointment: and although we are now, bleſſed be God, in a profound peace with all our neighbours, yet it may be reaſonably hoped, from the prudence and foreſight of a wiſe miniſtry, ſuch meaſures may be taken, that we may not loſe the advantages of theſe iſlands (of right belonging to the crown of England) in caſe of a war.

A continuation of the preſent ſtate of Lapland.

Monſieur MAUPERTUIS, of the royal academy of ſciences at Paris, having lately publiſhed, the figure of the earth determined from obſervations made by order of the French King, has in it ſome ſhort remarks on Lapland; we have choſen to inſert them here; tho' out of their proper place, rather than omit them.

MAUPERTUIS's remarks on Lapland.

In the deſarts we paſſed between Tornea and Cape Nord, we were expoſed to the great flies with green heads, which in this ſeaſon (July 1736) are ſo inſufferable, as to drive the Laplanders, and their rain-deer, from their habitations, to ſeek ſhelter on the coaſts of the ocean: They fetch blood wherever they fix. At the foot of the mountain of Horrilakero the flies were ſtill more mercileſs, and were not to be driven off with ſmoke, for with great fires they defend themſelves from theſe flies; but we were obliged, notwithſtanding the exceſſive heats, to wrap our heads in our lapmades (a gown made of rain-deer ſkins) and to cover us with branches of fir, which rather ſtifled than defended us from theſe troubleſome animals.

The inſects poiſoned our victuals too: No ſooner was a diſh of meat ſerved up but it was covered with them, while another ſwarm, with all the rapaciouſneſs of birds of prey, were fluttering about to carry off ſome pieces of mutton which were dreſſing for us. Theſe flies here are ſo terrible, that the ſoldiers of the regiment of

Weſtro-Bothnia, a body diſtinguiſhed even in Sweden, where there are ſo many brave troops: theſe men, hardened with the greateſt fatigues, were obliged to wrap up their faces, or cover them with tar to defend themſelves from them.

Mr. **Maupertuis** ſays, in Auguſt 1736. for a month paſt, we had been inhabitants of the deſarts, or rather of the mountains tops; the earth or rocks, ſpread with the ſkin of a rain-deer, had been our beds; and our food chiefly fiſhes, that the Finlanders brought us, or which ourſelves had catched with ſome ſorts of berries, or wild-fruits, that grew in the woods. I left Turtula to go a-croſs the foreſt, and find out the ſignal, which the officer had erected at Niemi, and a frightful journey it was. We ſet out from Turtula on foot till we got to a brook, where we embarked on three little boats; but they paſſed with ſuch difficulty between the ſtones, that we had to go out of them at every turn, and leap from one rock to another: the brook brought us to a lake, ſo full of little yellowiſh grains, of the bigneſs of millet, that the whole water was diſcoloured with them. I took them to be the chryſalis of ſome inſect, and was tempted to fancy, that this inſect muſt be ſome kind of thoſe flies that ſo tormented us: for I could think of no other ſpecies of animals, whoſe numbers correſponded to the quantity of grains, that covered this large body of water. From the extremity of this lake, we had to walk to another of very clear water: here we found a boat, and putting our quadrant on board, reſolved to follow it along the ſide of the lake on foot; but the wood was ſo thick, that we were forced to cut our way thro' it, and were entangled at every ſtep by the depth of the moſs, and fallen fir-trees, that lay a-croſs our road in all theſe woods. There are almoſt as many fallen trees as ſtanding. The ſoil, after it has reared them to a certain height, can no longer furniſh the proper nouriſhment: nor is it deep enough to allow them to take firm root; the leaſt blaſt of wind overſets them; and in all theſe woods one ſees nothing but firs and birches, rooted out in this manner: the wood of later time reduces to duſt, without at all affecting the bark; and one is ſurprized to find pretty large trees, that crumble upon the ſlighteſt touch. This has probably given the hint of the uſe the Swedes make of it to cover their houſes: and, indeed, there could be nothing imagined fitter for the purpoſe. In ſome provinces they cover the bark with earth, which forms upon the roof a ſort of garden, ſuch as are to be ſeen upon the houſes of Upſal. In Weſtro-Bothnia the bark is bound with fir-poles, fixed a-top, and hanging down on either ſide of the roof: our woods then had rather the aſpect of the ruins of woods, whoſe trees have moſt of them periſhed; and it was thro' one of theſe, one of the moſt horrid of them too, that we muſt paſs, with the twelve ſoldiers that carried our baggage. Having at length reached a third lake, very large, and the fineſt water that can be imagined, we put our inſtruments and baggage on board: two boats we found there, and waited their return upon the coaſt. The high winds, and bad condition of their boats, rendered their paſſage tedious, yet they came back at laſt, and ferried us over to the foot of Niemi, by three o'clock in the afternoon.

The beautiful lakes that ſurround this mountain, and the many difficulties we had overcome in getting thither, gave it the air of an inchanted iſland in a romance; and, indeed, any where but in Lapland, it would be a moſt delightful place: on one hand, you ſee a grove of trees riſe from a plain, ſmooth and level as the walks of a garden, and at ſuch eaſy diſtances, as neither to embarraſs the walks, nor the proſpect of the lake that waſhes the foot of the mountain: on the other, you have apartments of different ſizes, that ſeem artificially cut in the rock, and to want only a roof to compleat them; and the rocks themſelves ſo perpendicular, ſo high, and ſo ſmooth, that you would take them for the walls of an unfiniſhed palace, rather than for the works of nature. From this height, we had occaſion ſeveral times to ſee thoſe vapours riſe from the lake, which the people of the country call Haltios, and which they deem to be the guardian ſpirits of the mountains: we had been frightened with ſtories of bears that haunted this place, but ſaw none; it ſeemed rather a place of reſort for fairies and genii, than for bears. He ſays, they parted from Turtula the twelfth of Auguſt, and entered the Tenglio with boats: Its cataracts are troubleſome, rather for the little water there is, and the great number of ſtones, than for the rapidity of its ſtream. As we ſailed along, ſays **Maupertuis**, I was ſurprized to ſee upon the banks of the river, roſes of as lively a red as any that are in our gardens. We reached Horrilakero the next day, at nine at night: having gone up to Avaſaxa in the evening, we ſaw Horrilakero all in flames. It is an accident not uncommon in theſe woods, where there is no living in the ſummer time without ſmoke, and where the moſs and firs are ſo combuſtible, that a fire once kindled, will ſpread over ſome thouſands of acres. Theſe fires, or their ſmoke, have ſometimes retarded our obſervations, as much as the thickneſs of the air. As this burning of Horrilakero had been no doubt occaſioned by our not taking ſufficient care to extinguiſh our fires, we diſpatched thirty men to cut off its communication with the neighbouring woods; but on the twenty-firſt, after we had finiſhed our obſervations at Avaſaxa, Horrilakero was ſtill burning; we ſaw it involved in a cloud of ſmoke, and the fire that had made its way downwards, was ravaging all the foreſt below.

The cold was ſo extreme in December 1736, that whenever we would taſte a little brandy, the only thing that could be kept liquid, our tongues and lips froze to the cup, and came away bloody. The froſt even congealed the fingers of ſome of us, and threatened us with yet more diſmal accidents. While the extremities of our bodies were thus freezing, the reſt, thro' exceſſive toil, was bathed in ſweat. Brandy did not quench our thirſt; we muſt have recourſe to deep wells dug thro' the ice, which were ſhut almoſt as ſoon as open, and from which the water could ſcarce be conveyed unfrozen to our lips; and muſt thus run the hazard of the dangerous contraſt which icy water might produce in our heated bodies. Judge what it muſt be to walk in ſnow two foot deep, with heavy poles in our hands, which we were continually laying upon the ſnow, and lifting up again.

The ſledge which the rain-deer draws here is a ſort of boat, ſcarce large enough to hold the half of one's body. As this travelling in the ſnow is a kind of navigation, that the veſſel may ſuffer the leſs reſiſtance in its courſe, it has a ſharp head, and a narrow keel, like an ordinary boat; and on this keel it tumbles ſo from ſide to ſide, that if one takes not good care to balance himſelf, it will be in danger of over-ſetting every moment. It is fixed by a thong to the collar of the rain-deer, who as ſoon as he finds himſelf on a firm beaten road, runs with incredible fury. If you would ſtop him, it avails little to pull a ſort of rein which is tied to his horns. Wild and unmanageable, it will only make him turn upon you, and revenge himſelf by kicking. If this happens to a Laplander, he turns the boat over him, and uſes it as a buckler againſt the attacks of the rain-deer: But as we were ſtrangers to this addreſs, we might have been killed before we could put ourſelves in ſuch a poſture of defence. Our only defence was a little ſtick each of us had got in his hand, by way of rudder to ſteer our courſe, and keep clear of the trunks of trees. In this manner was I to climb Avaſaxa, accompanied by the Abbé OUTHIER, two men and a woman of the country, and Mr. BRUNNIUS, their curate.

The firſt part of our journey was done in a moment; our flight over the plain beaten road, from the curate's houſe to the foot of the mountain, can be compared only to that of birds. And tho' the mountain, where there was no track, very much abated the ſpeed of our rain-deer, they got at length to the top of it, where we immediately made the obſervation for which we came. In the mean time our rain-deer had dug deep holes in the ſnow, where they browzed the moſs that covered the rocks. And the Laplanders had lighted a great fire, at which we preſently joined them to warm ourſelves. The cold was ſo exceeding great, that the heat of this fire could reach but to a very ſmall diſtance. As the ſnow juſt by it melted, it was immediately froze again, forming a hearth of ice all round.

If our journey up hill had been painful, our concern now was, leſt our return ſhould be too rapid. We had to come down a ſteep, in conveyances, which, tho' partly ſunk in the ſnow, ſlid on, notwithſtanding drawn by animals, whoſe fury in the plain we had already tried, and who tho' ſinking in the ſnow to their bellies, would endeavour to free themſelves by the ſwiftneſs of their flight. We very ſoon found ourſelves at the bottom of the hill; a moment after all this great river was croſſed, and we back at the curate's houſe.

The town of Tornea, at our arrival on the 30th of December, had really a moſt frightful aſpect. Its little houſes were buried to the tops in ſnow; which, if there had been any day-light, muſt have effectually ſhut it out. But the ſnows continually falling, or ready to fall, for the moſt part hid the ſun the few moments that he might have ſhewed himſelf at mid-day. In the month of January, the cold was increaſed to that extremity, that Mr. REAUMUR's mercurial thermometers, which at Paris, in the great froſt of 1709, it was thought ſtrange to ſee fall to 14 degrees below the freezing point, were now got down to 37. The ſpirit of wine in the others was frozen. If we opened the door of a warm room, the external air inſtantly converted all the vapour in it into ſnow, whirling it round in white vortexes. If we went abroad, we felt as if the air was tearing our breaſts in pieces. And the cracking of the wood, whereof the houſes are built, as the violence of the cold ſplit it, continually alarmed us with an approaching increaſe of cold. The ſolitude of the ſtreets was no leſs than if the inhabitants had been all dead. And in this country you may often ſee people that have been maimed, and had an arm or a leg froze off. The cold, which is always very great, increaſes ſometimes by ſuch violent and ſudden fits, as are almoſt infallibly fatal to thoſe that happen to be expoſed to it. Sometimes there riſe ſudden tempeſts of ſnow that are ſtill more dangerous. The winds ſeem to blow from all quarters at once, and drive about the ſnow with ſuch fury, that in a moment all the roads are loſt. Unhappy he, who is ſurprized by ſuch a ſtorm in the fields. His acquaintance with the country, or the marks he may have taken by the trees, cannot avail him; he is blinded by the ſnow, and loſt if he ſtirs but a ſtep.

During our whole ſtay in the frigid zone, the cold was ſo exceſſive, that the 7th of April 1737, at five in the morning, the thermometer was fallen to twenty diviſions below the point of freezing, altho' every afternoon it roſe two or three diviſions above it: A difference of height not much leſs than that which the greateſt heats and colds that are felt at Paris, uſually produce in the thermometer. Here, in the ſpace of twelve hours, we had all the variety that is felt in the temperate zones in a whole year.

In May the ſun was come nearer, or rather no more quitted us. It was curious enough to ſee him enlighten, for ſo long a time, a whole horizon of ice, and to ſee ſummer in the heavens, while winter ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the earth. We were now in the morning of that long day of ſeveral months; yet the ſun, with all his aſſiduity, had wrought no change either upon the ice or ſnows.

The 6th of May it began to rain, and ſome water appeared on the ice of the river. At noon a little ſnow melted; but in the evening winter reſumed his rights. At length, on the 10th of May, the earth, which had been ſo long hid, began to appear. Some high points that were expoſed to the ſun, ſhewed themſelves as the tops of the mountains did after the deluge, and all the fowls of the country returned. Towards the beginning of June (1737) winter yielded up both earth and ſea; and we ſet out for Stockholm on the ninth, having finiſhed our obſervations here.

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